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BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY

OF

EMINENT SCOTSMEN.

BY ROBERT CHAMBERS,

AUTHOR OF "TRADITIONS OF EDINBURGH," "HISTORIES OF THE REBELLIONS IN SCOTLAND," &c.

Embellished with splendid and authentic Portraits.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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GLASGOW:
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TO

HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY,

KING WILLIAM THE FOURTH,

THIS WORK,

RECORDING THE LIVES OF THOSE INDIVIDUALS BELONGING TO HIS

Ancient Kingdom of Scotland,

WHO,

FROM THEIR GENIUS OR VIRTUE,
SITUATION OR ENTERPRISE, HAVE DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES IN THE
ANNALS OF THEIR COUNTRY,

IS,

BY SPECIAL PERMISSION,

MOST HUMBLY AND RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED.

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PREFACE.

A BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY of eminent natives of Scotland has been regarded as a desideratum in our national literature, for the greater part of a century. Such a work was successively contemplated by Sir David Dalrymple and Mr William Smellie, each of whom proceeded so far with the design as to write a few of the articles. When the editor of the present work began a few years ago to inquire into the literary and historical antiquities of his country, he found the desire of possessing a dictionary of this kind not in the least abated, but very little hope entertained that, under the existing prospects of literature, it would be possible to present such a book to the public. He proceeded, nevertheless, perhaps rather under the influence of a peculiar enthusiasm, than any wiser or more considerate motive, to take upon himself a task which at least two of his predecessors had failed to accomplish, and for which he could not but feel himself to be in many respects imperfectly qualified. Sometime after beginning his labours, a fortunate alliance with his present publishers, who had projected a similar work, removed many of the original difficulties, and he was enabled to commence the publication in 1832.

In now taking a retrospective view of his labours, he sees, with some regret, passages which he could amend, and even one or two articles which, upon a more rigid estimate of merit, he would be disposed to omit. He has much satisfaction, however, in reflecting that very few instances of error in point of fact have been indicated to him; so that he is enabled to hope that his work, upon the whole, makes that near approach to correctness, which is the most valuable feature in a book of reference.

With regard to one very important point in the composition of the work, he trusts he may be permitted to hazard an observation. Of the many hundreds of persons whom he has commemorated, there are men of all denominations, religious and political, and even some who were the direct antagonists of each other, either in controversy or in civil war. He is aware that the most of writers, under his circumstances, would have felt it to be a duty, wherever there was occasion to allude to points of controversy, to express their own

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views, and adjust the estimate of every character by a reference to certain standards erected in their own minds. Such the present editor did not feel to be his duty. Considering that there can hardly be a Scottish Biographical Dictionary on each side of the great questions, and, furthermore, disposed to such a course by a sincere though humble desire to take a mild view of the opinions and proceedings of all honourable men, he studied, on the contrary, to confine himself to a simple *representation* of the prepossessions of the various individuals under his notice, even to the extent, occasionally, of what may appear a tenderness, or perhaps something more, for the opinions of various opposite thinkers, and the deeds of various contending partisans. Such a method of memoir-writing may expose him to some degree of censure, in an age characterized so much as the present by party heats; but he trusts that it is the course which will be most approved of by those who may chance to consult his pages in future times, when it is to be hoped that the most of the now existing controversies will only be matter of historical curiosity.

While he experiences a natural, and, he hopes, allowable satisfaction in thus bringing to a close the greatest literary undertaking of his life, he cannot suppress a simultaneous feeling of regret at observing, throughout his volumes, the names of so many men who, at the time he commenced his undertaking, seemed little likely to go so soon through that solemn change which was to fit them for commemoration in his pages. Some of these he had the pleasure of considering as his friends; and the pain with which he found himself called upon to narrate their biography, was proportionally great. Even in such a matter as this, humanity may read a touching lesson of the frailty and uncertainty of all that here belongs to it.

He cannot conclude without gratefully acknowledging the kindness of many eminent and respectable individuals, in supplying him with the information which he required, and also the zeal and talent displayed by various gentlemen in assisting him in the details of the work.

Anne Street, Edinburgh;
November 7, 1834.

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SCOTTISH

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY.

A

ABERCROMBY, Alexander, an elegant occasional writer of the latter part of the eighteenth century, was the youngest son of George Abercromby of Tullibody, and the brother of the celebrated Sir Ralph Abercromby. He was born on the 15th of October, 1745. While the elder sons of the laird of Tullibody were destined for the army, Alexander chose the profession of the law, which was more consistent with his gentle and studious character. After going through the ordinary course of classes at the university of Edinburgh, he became, in 1766, a member of the Faculty of Advocates; in which character he soon distinguished himself. He was at this early period of his life the favourite of all who knew him, not only for the uncommon handsomeness of his person, but for the extreme sweetness of his disposition, and what his biographer calls "a certain gaiety and sportfulness of mind, which, in a character of less native vigour and ability, might have been fatal to the future prospects of his life." In 1780 he became one of the depute advocates, under Henry Dundas, (afterwards Viscount Melville,) who was then the representative of Majesty for the management of criminal prosecutions before the court of Justiciary. He was taken, in 1792, from an excellent course of practice at the bar, to assume a place upon the bench; on which occasion, in compliance with the custom of the Scottish judges, he adopted the title of Lord Abercromby. His literary performances and character are thus summed by his friend Henry Mackenzie, who, after his death, undertook the task of recording his virtues and merits for the Royal Society. "The laborious employments of his profession did not so entirely engross him, as to preclude his indulging in the elegant amusements of polite literature. He was one of that society of gentlemen, who, in 1779, set on foot the periodical paper, published at Edinburgh during that and the subsequent year, under the title of the *Mirror*, and who afterwards gave to the world another work of a similar kind, the *Lounger*, published in 1785 and 1786. To these papers he was a very valuable contributor, being the author of ten papers in the *Mirror*,[1] and nine in the *Lounger*.[2] His papers are distinguished by an ease and gentlemanlike turn of expression, by a delicate and polished irony, by a strain of manly, honourable, and virtuous sentiment." Mr Mackenzie acknowledges that they are also characterized by an unaffected tenderness, which he had displayed even in his speeches as a barrister, and adduces a specimen which we shall extract

[1] Nos. 4, 9, 18, 45, 51, 57, 65, 68, 87, 90, 104.

[2] Nos. 3, 10, 14, 23, 30, 47, 74, 81, 91.

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"There is one circumstance," says Mr Abercromby, in debating whether long or short life be most desirable, "which with me is alone sufficient to decide the question. If there be any thing that can compensate the unavoidable evils with which this life is attended, and the numberless calamities to which mankind are subject, it is the pleasure arising from the society of those we love and esteem. Friendship is the cordial of life. Without it, who would wish to exist an hour? But every one who arrives at extreme old age, must make his account with surviving the greater part, perhaps the whole, of his friends. He must see them fall from him by degrees, while he is left alone, single and unsupported, like a leafless trunk, exposed to every storm, and shrinking from every blast." Such was not destined to be the fate of Lord Abercromby, who, after exemplifying almost every virtue, and acting for some years in a public situation with the undivided applause of the world, was cut off by a pulmonary complaint, at Falmouth, whither he had gone for the sake of his health, November 17, 1795.

ABERCROMBY, John, whom Dempster supposes to have been a Benedictine monk, flourished about the middle of the sixteenth century. He was a most vigorous defender of the ancient faith of Rome against the doctrines of the Reformers, and wrote two treatises, one entitled, "Veritatis Defensio," the other, "Hæresis Confusio."

ABERCROMBY, John, whose works on gardening have attained for him a considerable fame, was the son of a respectable gardener near Edinburgh, where he was born about the year 1726. Having been bred by his father to his own profession, he removed to London at the early age of eighteen, and became a workman in the gardens attached to the royal palaces. Here he distinguished himself so much by his taste in laying out grounds, that he was encouraged to write upon the subject. His first work, however, was published with the name of a more eminent horticulturist, Mr Mawe, gardener to the Duke of Leeds, in order to give it a weight which it could not have been expected to carry under his own name; and for this liberty, Mr Mawe was rewarded with the sum of twenty guineas. The work was published under the title of "Mawe's Gardener's Calendar," and it quickly gained notice and approbation. Encouraged by the success of this effort, Abercromby afterwards published, under his own name, "The Universal Dictionary of Gardening and Botany," in 4to.; which was followed, in succession, by the Gardener's Dictionary, the Gardener's Daily Assistant, the Gardener's Vade Mecum, the Kitchen Gardener and Hot-bed Forcer, the Hot-house Gardener, &c. the most of which were popular productions. Abercromby, after a life of eminent usefulness and virtue, died at London in 1806, aged about eighty years.

ABERCROMBY, Patrick, historian, was the third son of Alexander Abercromby of Fetterneir in Aberdeenshire, a branch of the house of Birkenbog in Banffshire, which again derived its descent from Abercromby of Abercromby in Fife. Francis, the eldest son of Abercromby of Fetterneir, was created Lord Glassford in 1685; but, as the patent, by an extraordinary restriction, was limited to his own life only, the title did not descend to his children. Patrick Abercromby was born at Forfar in 1656, and was educated at the university of St Andrews, where he took the degree of doctor in medicine in 1685. His family being eminently loyal, the young physician is said to have consented to change his religion, to please James VII., who consequently made him one of the physicians of the court. A proceeding so adverse to all natural ideas of propriety, though perhaps excused in some degree by excess of loyal feeling and the temper of the times, was speedily and severely punished; for, at the Revolution, Abercromby, and all other friends of the exiled monarch, were deprived of their places. For some years after this event, Dr Abercromby appears to have lived abroad;

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SIR RALPH ABERCROMBY.

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but he returned to Scotland in the reign of Queen Anne, and devoted himself to the study of national antiquities. In 1707, he published a translation of M. Beague's very rare book, "L'Histoire de la Guerre d'Ecosse, 1556," under the title of, "The History of the Campagnes 1548 and 1549; being an exact account of the Martial Expeditions performed in those days by the Scots and French on the one hand, and the English and their foreign auxiliaries on the other: done in French by Mons. Beaugue, a French gentleman; with an introductory preface by the Translator." In the preface to this work, the ancient alliance between Scotland and France is strenuously asserted. This curious French work, which gives a complete account of the war carried on by the catholic government of Cardinal Beatoun, with the assistance of the French, against the English under Protector Somerset, was reprinted in the original by Mr Smythe of Methven for the Bannatyne Club, 1829, along with a preface, giving an account of Abercromby's translation. The great work of Dr Abercromby is one in two volumes, folio, entitled, "The Martial Atchievements of the Scots nation." He tells us in the preface to this work, that, not venturing to write regular history or biography, he had resolved to relate the deeds of all the great men of his country, in a less ambitious strain, and with a more minute attention to small facts, than is compatible with those styles of composition. He also, with great modesty, apologises for his manner of writing, by saying, "When my reader is told, that 'twas my fate to spend most part of my youth in foreign countries, to have but viewed, *en passant*, the south part of Britain, and to have been conversant with Roman and French, rather than with English authors; he will not expect from me those modish turns of phrase, nor that exact propriety of words, Scotsmen, by reason of their distance from the fountain of custom, so seldom attain to." The first volume of the Martial Achievements was published in 1711 by Mr Robert Freebairn, and shows a respectable list of subscribers. About one-half of it is occupied by the early fabulous history of Scotland, in which the author, like almost all men of his time, and especially the Jacobites, was a devout believer. It closes with the end of the reign of Robert Bruce. The second volume appeared, with a still more numerous and respectable list of subscribers, in 1715; it was partly printed by Freebairn, and partly by Thomas Ruddiman, who not only corrected the manuscript of the work, but also superintended it in its progress through the press. This is said by Chalmers to have been the first typographical effort of Ruddiman. Abercromby's Martial Achievements is upon the whole a very creditable work for a Scottish antiquary of that period: the author is not superior to the credulity of his age and party; but he is eminently industrious, and his narration is written in an entertaining style. The work shows a wide range of authorities; and is liberally interspersed with controversial discussions of the points most contested by antiquaries. Dr Patrick Abercromby died poor in 1716, or, as other writers say, in 1726, leaving a widow in distressed circumstances.

ABERCROMBY, Sir Ralph, under whom the British arms met their first success in the French revolutionary war, was the eldest son of George Abercromby of Tullibody, a gentleman of ancient and respectable family in Stirlingshire,[1] and of Anne Dundas, daughter of Mr Dundas of Manor. He was born in the year 1734. His father having a numerous family, thought it advisable, according to the custom of the country, to destine him for active employment. Ralph was educated with a view to the military profession, and entered into the army early in life. His first commission was a cornetcy in the third dragoon guards, and bore

[1] He was born in 1705, called to the bar in 1728, and died, June 8th, 1800, at the advanced age of ninety-five, being the eldest member of the college of Justice.

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date May twenty-third, 1756. He obtained a lieutenancy in the same regiment in the year 1760, which he held till the month of April, 1762, when he obtained a company in the third horse. In this regiment he rose, in 1770, to the rank of major, and, in 1773, to that of lieutenant-colonel. He was included in the list of brevet colonels in 1780, and in 1781, was made colonel of the hundred and third, or king's Irish infantry, a new regiment which was broke at the peace in 1783, when colonel Abercromby was placed on half-pay. It may be noticed in passing, that he represented the shire of Kinross in the British parliament from the year 1774 till the year 1780, but made no attempts to shine as a politician. In the month of September, 1787, he was promoted to the rank of major-general, and next year obtained the command of the sixty-ninth regiment of foot. From this corps he was, in the year 1792, removed to the sixth regiment, from that again to the fifth, and in November, 1797, to the seventh regiment of dragoons.

On the breaking out of the French revolutionary war, Abercromby had the local rank of lieutenant-general conferred on him, and served with distinguished honour in the campaigns of 1794 and 1795, under the duke of York. He commanded the advanced guard in the affair of Cateau, (April 16, 1794,) in which Chapny the French general was taken prisoner, and thirty-five pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the British. In the reverses that followed, the British army escaped entire destruction solely by the masterly manœuvres of Abercromby, who was second in command. He was wounded at Nimeguen, in the month of October following; notwithstanding which the arduous service of conducting the retreat through Holland in the dreadfully severe winter of 1794, was devolved wholly upon him and general Dundas. Than this retreat nothing could be conceived more calamitous. The troops did all that could be expected from them in the situation in which they were placed. Oppressed by numbers, having lost all their stores, they made good their retreat in the face of the foe, amidst the rigours of a singularly severe winter, resembling more that of the arctic circle than that of the north of Germany. For the removal of the sick nothing could be procured but open waggons, in which they were exposed to the intense severity of the weather, to drifting snows and heavy falls of sleet and rain. The mortality, of course, was very great. The regiments were so scattered, marching through the snow, that no returns could be made out, and both men and horses were found in great numbers frozen to death. "The march," says an eye-witness, "was marked by scenes of the most calamitous nature. We could not proceed a hundred yards without seeing the dead bodies of men, women, children, and horses, in every direction. One scene," adds the writer, "made an impression on my mind, which time will never be able to efface. Near a cart, a little further in the common, we perceived a stout looking man and a beautiful young woman, with an infant about seven months old at the breast, all three frozen dead. The mother had most certainly died in the act of suckling her child, as, with one breast exposed, she lay upon the drifted snow, the milk to all appearance in a stream drawn from the nipple by the babe, and instantly congealed. The infant seemed as if its lips had just then been disengaged, and it reposed its little head upon the mother's bosom, with an overflow of milk frozen as it trickled down from its mouth. Their countenances were perfectly composed and fresh, as if they had only been in a sound and tranquil slumber." The British army reached Deventer, after incredible exertion, on the twenty-seventh of January, 1795, but they were not able to maintain the position, being closely pursued by a well appointed army, upwards of fifty thousand strong. They continued their progress, alternately fighting and retreating till the end of March, when the main body, now

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reduced one-half, reached Bremen, where they were embarked for England. Nothing could exceed the vigilance, the patience, and perseverance of General Abercromby, on this perilous and painful retreat, and he was ably seconded by general Dundas and lord Cathcart; nor did the troops ever hesitate, when ordered, to halt, face about, and fight, even in the most disastrous and distressing circumstances.

While the French were making those gigantic efforts at home, which confounded all calculations made upon the data of former European warfare, they also made desperate and unexpected struggles abroad. They repossessed themselves in the West Indies of Guadaloupe and St Lucia; made good a landing upon several points in the island of Martinico, and made partial descents on the islands of St Vincent, Grenada, and Marie Golante. In these various incursions, they plundered, in the several islands, property to the amount of one thousand eight hundred millions of livres. To put an end to these depredations, a fleet was fitted out in the autumn of the year 1795, for the purpose of conveying a military force to the West Indies; sufficient for not only protecting what yet remained, but recovering that which had been lost. The charge of the land troops was given to Sir Ralph Abercromby, with the appointment of commander-in-chief of the forces in the West Indies. In consequence of this appointment, Sir Ralph repaired to Southampton in the end of August, when he took the command of the troops destined for the expedition. Every thing that could be done to hasten the embarkation was done; yet the equinox overtook them, and, in the squalls that usually attend it, several of the transports were lost in the Channel. The fleet, however, made the best of its way to the West Indies, and by the month of March, 1796, the troops were landed and in active operation. St Lucia was speedily captured by a detachment of the army under Sir John Moore, as was St Vincent and Grenada by another under general Knox. The Dutch colonies on the coast of Guiana, Demerara, Essequebo, and Berbice, likewise fell into the hands of the British about the same time nearly without stroke of sword. The remainder of the year, 1796, having been employed in these operations, Sir Ralph Abercromby made preparations for attacking, early in the year 1797, the Spanish island of Trinidad. For this purpose the troops were ordered from the different islands to rendezvous at Curacao, for which island admiral Hervey sailed from Martinique, on the 13th day of February, 1797. Every thing being in readiness, the fleet sailed with all the transports from the island of Curacao on the morning of the 15th, and next day passed through the Barns into the gulf of Bria, where they found the Spanish admiral with four sail of the line and one frigate at anchor under cover of the island of Gaspagrande, which was strongly fortified. The British squadron lost not a moment in coming to anchor opposite, and almost within gun-shot of the Spanish ships. The frigates, with the transports, were sent to anchor higher up the bay, at the distance of about five miles from the town of Port d'Espagne. Dispositions were immediately made for attacking the town and the ships of war next morning by break of day. By two o'clock of the morning, however, the Spanish squadron was observed to be on fire. The ships burned very fast, one only escaping the conflagration, which was taken possession of by the English. The Spaniards, at the same time that they had set their ships of war on fire, evacuated the island. The troops under Sir Ralph Abercromby were of course landed without opposition, and the whole colony fell into the hands of the British, where it still remains. Sir Ralph next made an attack upon Puerto Rico, in which he was unsuccessful, and shortly after returned to Britain, where he was received with every mark of respect. He had in his absence been complimented with the colonelcy of the second dragoons or Scots Greys, and made governor of the Isle of Wight; gifted with the order of the

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Bath; raised to the rank of a lieutenant-general in the army, and invested with the lucrative governments of Forts George and Augustus.

The disturbed state of Ireland at this time calling for the utmost vigilance on the part of the government, Sir Ralph Abercromby was now appointed to the command of the forces in that unhappy country, where he exerted himself most strenuously, though with less success than could have been wished, to preserve order where any degree of it yet remained, and to restore it where it had been violated. He was particularly anxious, by the strictest attention to discipline, to restore to the army that reputation which it had lost, for it had according to his own emphatic declaration, by irregularity and insubordination become more formidable to its friends than to its enemies. He was, however, in a short time superseded by the marquis Cornwallis, who was appointed to fill the offices of lord lieutenant and commander-in-chief of the forces at the same time. Sir Ralph was in the meantime appointed to the command of the forces in North Britain.

In the succeeding year an expedition having been planned for Holland, for the purpose of restoring the prince of Orange to the Stadtholdership, Sir Ralph was again selected to take the chief command. The troops destined for this service, being assembled on the coast of Kent, sailed on the 13th of August, under convoy of the fleet which was commanded by vice-admiral Mitchell; and after encountering heavy gales, came to anchor off the Texel, on the twenty-second of the month. On the 27th the troops were disembarked to the south-west of the Helder point without opposition. Scarcely had they begun to move, however, when they were attacked by general Daendels, and a warm but irregular action was kept up from five o'clock in the morning till five in the afternoon, after which the enemy retired, leaving the British in possession of a ridge of sandhills stretching along the coast from south to north. In this day's evolutions, the enemy lost upwards of one thousand men, and the British about half that number. Encouraged by this success, Sir Ralph Abercromby determined to seize upon the Helder next morning, when he would be in possession of a sea-port, an arsenal, and a fleet The brigades of generals Moore and Burrard were ordered to be in readiness to make the attack early in the morning; but the garrison was withdrawn through the night, leaving a considerable train of artillery, a naval magazine, thirteen ships of war, and three Indiamen, which fell into the hands of the British without opposition. Admiral Mitchell, having shipped pilots at the Helder, immediately stood down into the Texel, and offered battle to the Dutch fleet lying there, the whole of which, consisting of twelve sail of the line, surrendered to the British admiral, the sailors refusing to fight, and compelling their officers to give up the ships for the service of the prince of Orange. Taking the surrender of the fleet as the criterion of Dutch feeling, the most extravagant hopes of the success of the expedition were entertained by the people of England. The sentiments of the people of Holland generally were not as yet in unison with that of her sailors, and every precaution was taken for defence. The British army in the mean. time left the sand hills, and took up a new position, their right extending to Petten on the German Ocean, and their left to Oude Sluys on the Zuyder Zee. A fertile country was thus laid open to the invaders; while the canal of Zuyper, immediately in front, contributed to strengthen their position, enabling them to remain on the defensive, until the arrival of additional forces. The combined Dutch and French forces, under generals Daendels and Brune, attacked the centre and right of the British lines from St Martins to Petten, at day-break of the 11th of September, with a force of ten thousand men. They advanced in three columns; the right composed of Dutch troops, commanded by general Daendels, against St Martins; the centre, under D'Monceau, upon Zuyper Sluys; and the left, composed entirely of French troops, under general Brune, upon

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Petten. The attack, particularly on the left and centre, was made with the most daring intrepidity; it was repulsed without difficulty by the British, and the enemy lost upwards of a thousand men. On this occasion, general Sir John Moore was opposed to general Brune, and distinguished himself by the most masterly manœuvres, and had the British had anything like a competency of numbers to follow up their advantage, the United Provinces might have had the honour of shaking off the yoke that had been imposed upon them, even at this early period. The want of numbers was usually felt too late, but to remedy the evil, the Russian troops, engaged for the expedition, were hastily embarked at the ports of Cronstadt and Revel to the number of seventeen thousand, under the command of general D'Hermann, and were speedily upon the scene of action. The duke of York now arrived as commander-in-chief, and his army, with the Russians and some battalions of Dutch troops, formed of deserters from the Batavian army, and volunteers from the Dutch ships, amounted to upwards of thirty-six thousand men, a force considerably superior to that under generals Daendels and Brune. In consequence of this, the duke of York, in concert with D'Hermann, hesitated not to make an immediate attack upon the enemy's position, which was on the heights of Camperdown, and along the high sand hills, extending from the sea in front of Petten to the town of Bergen. The advantages of this position, improved by strong entrenchments at the intermediate villages, and the nature of the ground, intersected with wet ditches and canals, all the bridges over which had been removed, and the roads rendered impassable, either by being broken up, or by means of felled trees stuck in the earth and placed horizontally, so as to present an almost impenetrable barrier, far more than counterbalanced any deficiency of men on the part of the enemy. The attack, however, notwithstanding all disadvantages, was made with the most determined resolution, early on the morning of the 19th of September, and was successful at all points. By eight o'clock in the morning, the Russians under D'Hermann had made themselves masters of Bergen; but they no sooner found the place evacuated, than, relaxing their efforts, according to custom, they flew upon the spoil and began to plunder the citizens, whom they had professedly come to relieve from oppression. The vigilant enemy seized the opportunity to rally his broken battalions, and, reinforced from the garrison at Alckmaer, attacked the dispersed Russians with so much impetuosity, that, in despite of every exertion on the part of the officers and the natural courage of the men, they were driven from Bergen to Schorel, with the loss of generals D'Hermann and Tcherchekoff wounded and taken prisoners. This failure on the part of the Russians, compelled the other three columns of the British army to abandon the positions they had already stormed, and return to the station they had left in the morning. For this disappointment three thousand prisoners taken in the engagement was but a poor recompense; while the impression made upon the minds of the Dutch by the conduct of the Russians, was incalculably injurious to the objects of the expedition. The conflict was renewed on the 2d of October, by another attack on the whole line of the enemy, the troops advancing as before in four columns, under generals Abercromby, D'Eson, Dundas, and Pultney. The centre ascended the sand hills at Campe and carried the heights of Schorel; and, after a vigorous contest, the Russians and British obtained possession of the whole range of sand hills in the neighbourhood of Bergen; but the severest conflict, and that which decided the fate of the day, was sustained by the first column under Sir Ralph Abercromby. He had marched without opposition to within a mile of Egmont-op-Zee, where a large body of cavalry and infantry waited to receive him. The gallant general Sir John Moore led his brigade here to the charge in person, which was met by a counter charge on the part of the enemy,

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and the conflict was maintained till the close of the day with unexampled fury. The marquis of Huntley, who, with his regiment (the ninety-second) was eminently distinguished, received a wound by a musket ball in the shoulder; and general Sir John Moore, after receiving two severe wounds, was reluctantly carried out of the field. Sir Ralph Abercromby had two horses shot under him; but he continued to animate the troops by his example, and the most desperate efforts of the enemy were unavailing. As the night began to close in, the French made a most furious charge, in which they took two field-pieces. Fortunately lord Paget at the moment rushed from between two sand hills and fell upon them with such irresistible impetuosity, that they fled in the utmost confusion, leaving the guns they had taken behind them. Their loss in this day's engagement was upwards of four thousand men. During the night they abandoned their posts on the Lange Dyke and at Bergen, and next day the British took up the positions that had been occupied by the French at Alckmaer and Egmont-op-Zee. Brune having taken up a strong position between Beverwyck and the Zuyder Zee, it was determined to dislodge him before the arrival of his daily expected reinforcements. In the first movements made for this purpose, the British met with little opposition; but the Russians under general D'Esson, attempting to gain a height near Buccum, were suddenly charged by an overwhelming body of the enemy. Sir Ralph Abercromby, observing the critical situation of the Russians, hastened with his column to support them. The enemy also sent up fresh forces, and the action, undesignedly by either party, became general along the whole line, from Lemmen to the sea, and was contested on both sides with the most determined obstinacy. About two o'clock in the afternoon, the right and centre of the Anglo-Russian army began to lose ground and to retire upon Egmont; where, with the co-operation of the brigade under major-general Coote, they succeeded in keeping the enemy in check during the remainder of the day. Evening closed over the combatants, evening darkened by deluges of rain; yet the work of mutual destruction knew no intermission. The fire of musketry, which ran in undulating lines along the hills, with the thunder-flash of the artillery, and the fiery train of the death-charged shell, lighted up with momentary and fitful blaze the whole horizon. About ten o'clock at night, worn out by such a lengthened period of exertion, though their mutual hostility was not in the least abated, the contending parties ceased fighting, and the British were left in possession of the ground, upon which they had fought, with upwards of two thousand of their companions lying dead around them. General Brune was in the course of the night or next morning reinforced by an addition of six thousand men, and the ground he occupied was by nature and art rendered nearly impregnable. The British lay through the night exposed to the weather, which was terrible, on the naked sand hills; their clothing drenched, and their arms and ammunition rendered useless by the rain. Nor was the inhospitality of the people less than that of the elements, the greater part being violently hostile, and the remainder sunk in supine indifference. Retreat was therefore a measure of necessity, and next night, the 7th of the month, about ten o'clock, amidst a deluge of rain, the troops marched back to their former station at Petten and Alckmaer, which they reached without immediate pursuit or any serious loss. To embark, however, upon such a shore and in the face of such an enemy, without great loss, was impossible, and to prevent the unnecessary effusion of blood, an armistice was proposed by the duke of York, till the troops should be quietly embarked. The French general was willing to accede to the proposal, provided the Dutch fleet were restored, and all forts, dykes, &c., &c., left as they had been taken, or if any improvements had been made upon them, in their improved state. To the first part of the proposal the duke utterly refused for a moment to listen, and

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being in possession of the principal dykes, he threatened to break them down and inundate the country. The fleet was of course given up, but in lieu thereof, eight thousand French and Dutch prisoners that had been taken previous to this campaign, were to be restored, with all that had been taken in it, the Dutch seamen excepted. The troops were instantly embarked, and safely landed in England, with the exception of the Russians, who were landed in the islands of Guernsey and Jersey. Though this expedition totally failed in its main object, the liberation of Holland, it was not without advantage. The capture of the Dutch fleet in the then state of affairs was of very considerable importance. Nor was the impression it left upon the enemy of the superior skill of British officers, particularly of the subject of this memoir, and the daring valour of British troops, without its use in the succeeding periods of the war.

Sir Ralph Abercromby was now a universal favourite with the public, and supposed to be the most skilful officer in the British service; and he was in consequence sent out in the month of June, 1800, to take the command of the troops sent out upon a secret expedition to the Mediterranean, and which were for the time quartered on the island of Minorca, where he arrived on the 22d of June. The very next day the troops were again embarked, and sailed for Leghorn, where they arrived on the 9th of July; but in consequence of an armistice having been concluded between the French and the Austrians, they were not allowed to land. Part of them now proceeded to Malta, and the remainder sailed back to Minorca. Sir Ralph himself arrived again at that island on the 26th of July, and on the 30th of September the troops were again embarked, and on the 14th the fleet came to anchor off Europa point in the bay of Gibraltar. On the 20th the whole sailed for the bay of Teutan to procure water, and on the 23d returned to Gibraltar. In a few days the fleet was again ordered to rendezvous in the bay of Teutan, and, on the 3d of October, the whole, consisting of upwards of two hundred sail, came to anchor off Cadiz, and preparations were made for landing the troops without delay. On the 6th the troops got into the boats, and everything was ready for the disembarkation. In consequence of a flag of truce from the shore, the landing was delayed, and in the afternoon the troops returned to their respective ships. The negotiations between the commanders having failed, the order was renewed for disembarking the troops next day. This order was again countermanded about midnight; the morning became stormy and at break of day the signal was made for the fleet to weigh. The ammunition that had been served out to the men was of course taken from them and returned to the governor's store; and by the afternoon the whole fleet was again under sail. Part of the forces were now ordered for Portugal under the command of general Sir James Pulteney, and the remainder for Malta, where they arrived about the middle of November. Than this sailing backwards and forwards, ordering and counter-ordering, nothing was ever exhibited more strongly indicative of extreme folly and absolute imbecility in the national councils. In the whole history of this expedition it is impossible to discover that there was any rational object in view; and one is almost tempted to suspect that it was meant only to demonstrate how indifferent the administration of that day was to the waste of human life, and to any thing like a reasonable use of the national resources.

It was now resolved by the British government to drive the French out of Egypt by force; although that government had but a short time before refused to ratify a treaty made with Sir Sydney Smith, by which they had engaged to evacuate the country, leaving all the fortified places in that state of improvement to which they had been brought under the most skilful of the French generals. The armament, which had uselessly rolled about the Mediterranean for so many months, was appointed for that purpose. Sir Ralph Abercromby,

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after having inspected all the troops, and issued such general orders as the occasion seemed to call for, embarked at Malta on the 20th of December for the bay of Marmorice, on the coast of Caramania; where cavalry horses were to be procured, and stores collected for the expedition, which, it was calculated, would sail for Alexandria by the first of January, 1801. Many things however occurred to retard their preparations. Among others of a like nature, three hundred horses, purchased by order of lord Elgin, the British ambassador at Constantinople, were found, when they arrived at Marmorice, so small and so galled in their backs, as to be of no use, so that it was found necessary to shoot some, and to sell others at the low price of a dollar a piece. It was believed that lord Elgin had paid for a very different description of horses, but the persons to whose care they had been confided, had found their account in changing them by the way. Good horses were procured by parties sent into the country for that purpose; but the sailing of the expedition was in consequence delayed till the end of February, instead of the first of January, as had been originally intended; and from the state of the weather and other casualties the landing could not be attempted before the 8th of March, on which day it was accomplished in Aboukir Bay, in a manner that reflected the highest honour on the British troops. During the stay of the British armament at Marmorice, Bonaparte had found means to reinforce his army in Egypt, and to furnish it with all necessary stores; and the state of the weather, preventing the immediate disembarkation of the troops, enabled the French to make every possible preparation to receive them. The sand hills which form the coast they had lined with numerous bodies of infantry, and every height was bristled with artillery. A most tremendous discharge of grape-shot and shells from the batteries, and of musketry from the numerous bodies of infantry that lined the shore, seemed for a moment to stay the progress of the boats as they approached. But it was only for a moment. The rowers swept through the iron tempest to the beach; the troops leaped on shore, formed as they advanced, and rushing up the slippery declivity without firing a shot, drove the enemy from their position at the point of the bayonet. Successive bodies, as they were disembarked, proceeded to the help of their precursors, and, in spite of every obstruction, the whole army was landed before night; and Sir Ralph Abercromby advancing three miles into the country, took up a position with his right resting upon lake Maadie or Aboukir, and his left stretching to the Mediterranean. On the 12th he moved forward to attack the French, who were most advantageously posted on a ridge of sand hills, their right towards the sea, and their left resting upon the canal of Alexandria. On the morning of the 13th, the army marched in two lines by the left, to turn the right flank of the enemy. Aware of their intention, the French, with their whole cavalry and a considerable body of infantry, poured down from the heights and attacked the heads of both lines with the utmost impetuosity. They were, however, repulsed by the advanced guard, consisting of the ninetieth and ninety-second regiments, with incomparable gallantry. The first line then formed into two, and in that manner continued to advance, while the second line turned the right of the French army, and drove it from its position. The enemy, however, made a regular retreat, and contested every inch of ground till he had reached the heights of Nicopolis, which form the principal defence of Alexandria. Anxious to carry these heights, Sir Ralph Abercromby unfortunately ordered forward the reserve under Sir John Moore, and the second line under general Hutcheson, to attack (the latter the right, and the former the left,) both flanks at once. Advancing into the open plain they were exposed to the whole range of the enemy's shot, which they had it not in their power to return, and, after all, the position was found to be commanded by the guns of the forts

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of Alexandria, so that it could not have been kept though they had stormed it. They were accordingly withdrawn, but with a most serious loss of men; and the British army took up the ground from which the enemy had been driven, occupying a position with its right to the sea and its left to the canal of Alexandria, a situation of great advantage, as it cut off all communication with Alexandria, except by the way of the desert. In this action, Sir Ralph was nearly enveloped in the charge made by the French cavalry, and was only saved by the intrepidity of the ninetieth regiment. The garrison of Aboukir surrendered on the 18th; but to counterbalance this advantage, the French commander-in-chief, Menou, arrived at Alexandria from Cairo on the 20th, bringing with him a reinforcement of nine thousand men. Expecting to take the British by surprise, Menou, next morning, March the 21st, between three and four o'clock, attacked their position with his whole force, amounting to from eleven to twelve thousand men. The action was commenced by a false attack on the left, their main strength being directed against the right, upon which they advanced in great force and with a prodigious noise, shouting, "Vive la France! Vive la Republique!" They were received, however, with perfect coolness by the British troops, who not only checked the impetuosity of the infantry, but repulsed several charges of cavalry. Greater courage was perhaps never exhibited than on this occasion, and that by both parties. The different corps of both nations rivalled each other in the most determined bravery, and exhibited the extraordinary spectacle of an engagement in front, flanks, and rear, at the same time; so much were the contending parties intermingled. Every man fought as if the honour of his nation and the fate of the day had centred in his individual person. Nine hundred of Bonaparte's best soldiers, and from their tried valour denominated Invincibles, succeeded in turning the right of the British, between the walls of a large ruin and a battery. Three times did they storm the battery, and three times were the successive parties exterminated. Getting at last into the rear of the reserve, the forty-second and the twenty-eighth regiments charged them with the bayonet, and drove them step by step into the inclosure of the ruin, where, between six and seven hundred of them being already stretched lifeless on the ground, the remainder called out for quarter, and were made prisoners. Not one of them returned. Equally determined was their attack on the centre, and it was there repelled with equal success. A heavy column having broken through the line, the cavalry accompanying it wheeled to their left and charged the rear of the reserve; but this charge was broken by the accidental state of the ground, which had been excavated into pit-holes about three feet deep for the men to sleep in, before the arrival of their camp equipage. Over these holes they had to make their charge, and in consequence were completely routed, more than three hundred of them being left dead on the spot. Finding that all his movements had been frustrated, general Menou at length ordered a retreat, which he was able to effect in good order; the British having too few cavalry to pursue. His loss was supposed to be between three and four thousand men, including many officers, among whom were general Raize, commander of the cavalry, who fell in the field, and two generals who died of their wounds. The loss of the British was also heavy, upwards of seventy officers being killed, wounded, and missing. Among these was the lamented commander-in-chief. Having hastened, on the first alarm, towards the cannonading, Sir Ralph must have ridden straight among the enemy, who had already broken the front line and got into its rear. It was not yet day, and, being unable to distinguish friend from foe, he must have been embarrassed among the assailants, but he was extricated by the valour of his troops. To the first soldier that came up to him, he said, "Soldier, if you know me, don't name me." A French dragoon, at the moment, conceiving the

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prize he had lost, rode up to Sir Ralph, and made a cut at him, but not being near enough, only cut through the clothes, and grazed the skin with the point of his sabre. The dragoon's horse wheeling about, brought him again to the charge, and he made a second attempt by a lounge, but the sabre passed between Sir Ralph's side and his right arm. The dragoon being at the instant shot dead, the sabre remained with the general. About the same time it was discovered that he had been wounded in the thigh, and was entreated to have the wound examined; but he treated it as a trifle, and would not for a moment leave the field. No sooner, however, had the enemy begun to retreat, and the excitement of feeling under which he had been acting to subside, than he fainted from pain and the loss of blood. His wound was now examined, and a large incision made in order to extract the ball, but it could not be found. He was then put upon a litter and carried aboard the Foudroyant, where he languished till the 28th, when he died.

Of the character of Sir Ralph Abercromby there can be but one opinion. Bred to arms almost from his infancy, he appeared to be formed for command. His dispositions were always masterly, and his success certain. He had served in America, in the West Indies, in Ireland, in the Netherlands, in Holland, and in Egypt, and had in all of these countries gained himself great distinction. In the two latter countries, especially, he performed services that were of incalculable advantage to his country. The battle of the 21st of March, or of Alexandria, while it decided the fate of Egypt, left an impression of British skill and of British valour upon the minds of both her friends and her enemies, that materially contributed to the splendid results of a contest longer in continuance and involving interests of greater magnitude than Britain had ever before been engaged in. The manner in which he repressed the licentiousness of the troops in Ireland, was at once magnanimous and effective; and he ended a life of dignified exertion by a death worthy of a hero. "We have sustained an irreparable loss," says his successor, "in the person of our never enough to be lamented commander-in-chief, Sir Ralph Abercromby; but it is some consolation to those who tenderly loved him, that, as his life was honourable, so was his death glorious. His memory will be recorded in the annals of his country, will be sacred to every British soldier, and embalmed in the recollection of a grateful posterity."[1]

How sleep the brave, who sink to rest,
By all their country's wishes blest!
When Spring, with dewy fingers cold,
Returns to deck their hallowed mould.
She there shall dress a sweeter sod
Than Fancy's feet have ever trod;
By fairy hands their knell is rung,
By forms unseen their dirge is sung;
There Honour comes, a pilgrim gray,
To bless the turf that wraps their clay;
And Freedom shall a while repair,
To dwell a weeping hermit there.

1 The following panegyric upon Sir Ralph in another character was written before his death.—"As a country gentleman, ever attentive to all within the circle of his movement, he stands high in the estimation of his neighbours and dependants; and when his military glory shall have fallen into oblivion, it will be gratefully remembered that he was the friend of the destitute poor, the patron of useful knowledge, and the promoter of education among the meanest of his cottagers: as an instance it may be mentioned, that in the village of Tullibody, on his paternal estate, a reading school, under his immediate inspection, was established many years back."—*Campbell's Journey through Scotland*, 4to, 1802, vol. ii.

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Sensible of his great merits, the house of commons voted a monument to his memory at the public expense. His majesty, too, in consideration of the eminent services of the Right Honourable General Sir Ralph Abercromby, conferred upon his relict lady Abercromby the dignity of a baroness of Great Britain, by the title of Baroness of Aboukir, with remainder to the heirs male of the body of the said Sir Ralph Abercromby; and being further desirous of granting to lady Abercromby and the two next succeeding heirs male of the body of Sir Ralph Abercromby, to whom the title of Baron Abercromby should descend, a net annuity of two thousand pounds; he recommended it to his faithful Commons to consider of a proper method for enabling his majesty to grant such annuity, which was done accordingly without one dissenting voice.

ADAM, Alexander, an eminent grammarian and writer on Roman antiquities, was born at Coats of Burgie, in the parish of Rafford, and county of Moray, about the month of June, 1741. His father, John Adam, rented one of those small farms which were formerly so common in the north of Scotland. In his earlier years, like many children of his own class, and even of a class higher removed above poverty, he occasionally tended his father's cattle. Being destined by his parents, poor as they were, for a learned profession, he was kept at the parish-school till he was thought fit to come forward as an exhibitioner, or, as it is called in Scotland, a bursar, at the university of Aberdeen. He made this attempt, but failed, from the alleged inferiority of his acquirements, and was requested by the judges to go back and study for another year at school. This incident did not mortify the young student, but only stimulated him to fresh exertions. He was prevented, however, from renewing his attempt at Aberdeen, by the representations of the Rev. Mr Watson, a minister at Edinburgh, and a relation of his mother, who induced him to try his fortune in the metropolis. He removed thither early in the year 1758, but, it appears, without any assured means of supporting himself during the progress of his studies. For a considerable time, while attending the classes at the college, the only means of subsistence he enjoyed consisted of the small sum of one guinea per quarter, which he derived from Mr Alan Macconochie, (afterwards Lord Meadowbank,) for assisting him in the capacity of a tutor. The details of his system of life at this period, as given by his biographer Mr Henderson, are painfully interesting. "He lodged in a small room at Restalrig, in the north-eastern suburbs; and for this accommodation he paid fourpence a-week. All his meals, except dinner, uniformly consisted of oat-meal made into porridge, together with small beer, of which he only allowed himself half a bottle at a time. When he wished to dine, he purchased a penny loaf at the nearest baker's shop; and, if the day was fair, he would despatch his meal in a walk to the Meadows or Hope Park, which is adjoining to the southern part of the city; but if the weather was foul, he had recourse to some long and lonely stair, which he would climb, eating his dinner at every step. By this means all expense for cookery was avoided, and he wasted neither coal nor candles; for, when he was chill, he used to run till his blood began to glow, and his evening studies were always prosecuted under the roof of some one or other of his companions." There are many instances, we believe, among Scottish students, of the most rigid self-denial, crowned at length by splendid success; but there is certainly no case known in which the self-denial was so chastened, and the triumph so grand, as that of Dr Adam. Ere he had yet reached his twenty-first year, he was employed as a teacher in George Watson's Hospital at Edinburgh, an institution designed for the support and education of a certain number of boys. In 1761, when he was exactly twenty, he stood a trial for the situation of head teacher in this establishment, and was

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successful. In this place he is said to have continued about three years; during which period, besides discharging the duties of his office, he was anxiously engaged in cultivating an intimacy with the classics—reading, with great care, and in a critical manner, the works of Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Cicero, and Livy. At the same time he began to make a collection of books connected with the studies which he afterwards prosecuted with so much success. His views were now directed towards the church, and it is said that he was on the eve of being licensed as a preacher of the gospel, when suddenly a prospect opened before him of becoming assistant, with the prospect of being eventually the successor, of Mr Matheson, rector of the High School. It would appear that his pretensions were fortified on this occasion by the influence of Mr Kincaid, provost of Edinburgh, whose son he had for some time attended as tutor. It was not till 1771 that the increased infirmities of Mr Matheson threw the whole of this charge into the hands of Mr Adam: the retired rector was then permitted to draw the whole of the salary given by the town, (about £30,) besides £20 given by Mr Adam out of the school fees, the remainder furnishing a scanty provision for the man who performed the duty.

The time when Adam assumed this respectable office was very fortunate. Every department of knowledge in Scotland was at this period adorned by higher names than had ever before graced it; and hence the office of Master in the principal elementary school of the country presented to a man of superior qualifications a fair opportunity of distinguishing himself. This opportunity was not lost upon Mr Adam. He devoted himself with singular assiduity to his laborious duties; and, under his auspices, the school gradually increased in numbers and reputation. Soon after his appointment, he began to compose a series of works adapted to facilitate the study of the Latin language. His Rudiments of Latin and English Grammar were published in 1772, and, though composed in a style which appeared to the generality of teachers as a dreadful schism and heresy, met with the approbation of a discerning few, whose praise was sufficient to overbalance the censure of the multitude. The mind of Dr Adam was that of a liberal; that is to say, he had more regard for new things with the appearance of much utility, than dread of forsaking old things, of which a small degree of good was ascertained with a great deal of evil. It had occurred to him that the hitherto universal practice of teaching children Latin in the language which they were yet to learn, was a solecism. He therefore had composed his grammar in English. Experience has now shown the propriety of this course; and the same system, we believe, must speedily be adopted in all other foreign and dead languages: but at the time when Adam divulged his plan, not only did a certain *prestige* sanctify the old system, but many intelligent persons were conscientiously of opinion, that the rules of grammar could only be fixed upon the memory by being embodied in Latin verse. It was in vain to assert, that neither is it possible to commit the principles of Latin grammar with perfect accuracy to Latin verse, nor, after they are committed, can the generality of the pupils learn them otherwise than by rote. Ruddiman was fixed in too secure an anchorage to be displaced by such representations. As in all similar cases, the profession were amongst the most zealous of Mr Adam's opponents. He was a living equal, Ruddiman a dead superior—could there be any hesitation in making choice of a dictator between the two? Besides, there is a natural difficulty in instructing the instructed. Adam had introduced his own system into his own class, as that which he thought the best; but none of the inferior masters, who are accustomed at this school to send forward their pupils to finish their course under the rector, could be prevailed upon to use it. Hence, as boys in their fifth year

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have little use for a grammar of any kind, the innovating grammarian found it scarcely possible, even in his own case, to procure a fair hearing for his system.

Among those who took an active part in condemning his work, Dr Gilbert Stuart was very conspicuous. This extraordinary *litterateur* was a relation of Ruddiman, and, as an additional incentive to his hostility, conceived that Adam had gained the rectorship of the High School more by interest than by merit. He accordingly filled the periodical works of the day with ridicule and abuse directed against the unfortunate grammar. Amongst other pasquinades, appeared an account in Latin of a Roman funeral, in which that work was personified as the dead body, while the chief mourner was meant to represent Mr Adam, sorrowing for the untimely fate of his best-beloved child. The other persons officiating are introduced under the technical terms in use among the ancient Romans; and, to heighten the ridicule, and give it aid from local circumstances, the ingenious satirist placed in front of the mourners, a poor lunatic of the name of Duff, well known in Edinburgh at the time for his punctual attendance at the head of all funeral processions. While his work was still the subject of abuse, the ingenious author was partly compensated for all his sufferings by a degree of LL. D., which was conferred upon him by the College of Edinburgh, in 1780, chiefly at the suggestion of Principal Robertson. Some years after, the grammar began gradually to make its way in schools, and finally he had the satisfaction of seeing it adopted in his own seminary. Among the great names which at an early period had sanctioned it with their approbation, are those of Lord Kames, Bishop Lowth, and Dr Vincent, Master of St Paul's school.

The next work of Dr Adam is entitled, A Summary of Geography and History, but the date of the first edition is not mentioned by his biographer. In 1791 he published his excellent compendium of Roman Antiquities. For the copyright of this work he received £600. His Classical Biography made its appearance in 1800, and half of the above sum was given for the copy-right. Dr Adam's last, and perhaps his most laborious work, was his Latin Dictionary, published in 1805. Towards the beginning, his illustrations are brief, but, as he proceeds, they gradually become more copious. It was his intention to add an English-and-Latin part, and to enlarge the other to a considerable extent. In this favourite plan he had made some progress at the time of his death.

The latter part of Dr Adam's life was considerably embittered by the political aspect of the times. It scarcely requires to be explained that the extreme danger in which the institutions of this country were placed by the French revolution caused the ban of the government and of the major portion of society to fall upon all who had given token of disaffection to the existing state of things, or even of a theoretical prepossession in favour of the abstract idea of liberty. The character of Dr Adam's mind, as already hinted, was that of a liberal in politics. He thus became so generally obnoxious that many of even those who had been his pupils would pass him by upon the street without notice. It is testified, however, by his eloquent biographer Mr Henderson, that his character "derived a lustre of no common kind from his deportment amidst the harassing obstructions which were raised up against his philological lessons, and from his firmness during the rage of political terrorism. He had to cope with prejudice in all its most malignant forms; yet in maintaining a contest, under which the powers of an ordinary mind would have sunk, he never absented himself from his official avocations for a single day. While he thus fulfilled his duties to the public, he also continued, with the utmost calmness, his extensive classical researches. This composure of mind he must have derived from no other source than a full conviction of the rectitude of those principles upon which he set out, and of the pro-

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priety of his conduct. Such a conviction must have been strengthened, and in a great measure formed, by the previous habit of proving to himself, by a course of rigid self-examination, the expediency or impropriety of every act before it was committed. Exertions of this sort can only be made by a most vigorous mind. When they have been improved into regular habits, however, the great affairs of human life become plain and easy. But how few ever attain such habits! and how seldom does the mind submit to such discipline, without much apparent effort!" We learn from the same source, that, by dint of his uncommon self-command, Dr Adam in a great measure withdrew himself from all pretensions to a political character. He had even the fortitude to abstain in a great measure from reading newspapers; a species of publication in which, as he remarked with a pathos that must appeal to every free heart, he felt scarcely any interest after the period of the French revolution. His modesty at length had its reward, and gained back to respect those individuals who had formerly regarded the venerable grammarian with suspicion and perhaps with worse feelings.

On the 13th of December, 1809, Dr Adam was seized in the High School with an alarming indisposition, which had all the appearance of apoplexy. Having been conducted home, he was put to bed, and enjoyed a sound sleep, which appeared to have arrested the progress of the disease, for he was afterwards able to walk about his room. The apoplectic symptoms, however, returned in a few days, and he fell into a state of stupor. His last words marked the gradual darkening of the ray of life and intellect beneath this mortal disorder. He said, "It grows dark, boys—you may go—" his mind evidently wandering at that moment to the scene where he had spent the better part of his life. This *crepusculum* soon settled down into the night of death: he expired early in the morning of the 18th December, 1809.

Dr Adam had been twice married, and had children by both connections. It was generally supposed that his death was occasioned remotely by extreme grief for the declining health of his eldest son, who, when just about to attain the rank of captain in an India vessel, was seized with the final symptoms of consumption at Exeter, whence he wrote to his father to come with the utmost haste if he wished to see him alive. The death of the amiable and excellent Dr Adam operated, among his numerous friends and admirers, like a shock of electricity. Men of all ages and denominations were loud in lamenting an event which had bereaved them of a common benefactor. The effect of the general feeling was a resolution to honour him with what is a very rare circumstance in Scotland, a public funeral.

Of Dr Adam it may be said, that he would have proved, if any proof had been wanting, the possibility of rising to distinction in this country from any grade of life, and through whatsoever intervening difficulties. In 1758 and 1759 he was a student living at the inconceivably humble rate of four guineas a-year; in ten years thereafter, he had qualified himself for, and attained, a situation which, in Scotland, is an object of ambition to men of considerable literary rank. The principal features of his character were, unshaken independence and integrity, ardour in the cause of public liberty, the utmost purity of manners and singleness of heart, and a most indefatigable power of application to the severest studies. "His external appearance," to quote the account of his life and character already more than once referred to, "was that of a scholar who dressed neatly for his own sake, but who had never incommoded himself with fashion in the cut of his coat, or in the regulation of his gait. Upon the street he often appeared in a studious attitude, and in winter always walked with his hands crossed, and thrust into his sleeves. His features were regular and manly, and he was above the middle size. In his well-formed proportions,

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and in his firm regular pace, there appeared the marks of habitual temperance. He must have been generally attractive in his early days, and, in his old age, his manners and conversation enhanced the value and interest of every qualification. When he addressed his scholars, when he commended excellence, or when he was seated at his own fireside with a friend on whom he could rely, it was delightful to be near him; and no man could leave his company without declaring that he loved Dr Adam."

ADAM, Robert, an eminent architect, was born at Edinburgh in the year 1728. His father, William Adam, of Maryburgh, in the county of Fife, had distinguished himself as an architect, so far as the limited opportunities afforded by his native country would permit: Hopetoun House, and the Royal Infirmary at Edinburgh, are two, the one a splendid, the other, a plain specimen of his abilities. Robert, who was the second son of his father, inherited his taste, and lived in a time more favourable to its development. He was educated in the university of Edinburgh, where he enjoyed the kind attentions of Robertson, Smith, and Ferguson, all of whom were his father's friends. As he advanced in life, he had the happiness to enjoy the friendship and intimacy of Archibald Duke of Argyle, Sir Charles Townshend, and the Earl of Mansfield. About the year 1754, with a view to improve his taste and extend his knowledge of architecture, he travelled to the continent, and resided three years in Italy. Here he surveyed the magnificent specimens of Roman architecture, which have so remarkably survived all else of great and noble in that degenerate land. It was his opinion, that the buildings of the ancients are the proper school of the architectural student, as the works of nature form that of the artist and poet; a conception worthy of a superior mind. While he beheld with much pleasure the remains of the public buildings of the Romans, he regretted to find that hardly a vestige of their private houses or villas was any where to be found—scarcely even their situations known—though in erecting them their masters had lavished the riches and spoils of the world. In tracing the progress of Roman architecture he had remarked that it had declined previous to the age of Diocletian; but he was also convinced that the liberality and munificence of that emperor had revived during his reign a better taste, and had formed artists who were capable of imitating the more elegant styles of the preceding ages. He had seen this remarkably exemplified in the public baths at Rome, which were erected by Diocletian; the most entire and noble of the ancient buildings. The interest which he felt in this particular branch of Roman remains, and his anxiety to behold a good specimen of the private buildings of this wonderful people, induced him to undertake a voyage to Spalatro in Dalmatia, to visit and examine the palace of Diocletian, where that emperor had spent the last nine years of his life, after his resignation of the empire in 305. He sailed from Venice in 1754, accompanied by M. Clerisseau, a French antiquary and artist, besides two experienced draughtsmen. On their arrival at Spalatro, they were mortified to find that the palace had not suffered less from the dilapidations of the inhabitants, to procure materials for building, than from the injuries of time, and that, in many places, the very foundations of the ancient structures were covered with modern houses. When they began their labours, the vigilant jealousy of the government was alarmed, and they were soon interrupted. Suspecting that their object was to view and make plans of the fortifications, the governor issued a peremptory order, commanding them to desist. It was only through the influence and mediation of General Graeme, the commander-in-chief of the Venetian forces, (and probably a Scotsman,) that they were at length permitted to proceed. They resumed their labours with double ardour, and in five weeks finished plans and views of the remaining fragments, from which they afterwards executed per-

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fect designs of the whole building. Mr Adam soon after returned to England, and speedily rose to professional eminence. In 1762, he was appointed architect to their majesties, and in the year following he published, in one volume large folio, "Ruins of the Palace of the emperor Diocletian at Spalatro, in Dalmatia." This splendid work, which was dedicated to the king, contains seventy-one plates, executed in the most masterly manner, besides letter-press descriptions. He had at this time been elected a member of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies, and in 1768 he obtained an honour of a different kind, the representation of Kinross-shire in parliament, which was probably owing to the local influence of his family. A seat in the House of Commons being incompatible with employment under the crown, he now resigned his office as architect to their majesties. He continued, however, to prosecute his professional career with increasing reputation, being much employed by the English nobility and gentry in constructing new and embellishing ancient mansions. In the year 1773, in conjunction with his brother, James Adam, who also rose to considerable reputation as an architect, he commenced "The Works in Architecture of R. and J. Adam," which before 1776 had reached a fourth number, and was a work of equal splendour with the last. The four numbers contain, among other productions, Sion House, Caen Wood, Luton Park House, the Gateway of the Admiralty, and the General Register House at Edinburgh, all of which have been admired for elegant design and correct taste, though the present age, in its rage for a severe simplicity, might wish that certain minute ornaments, which the Adams were in the habit of giving, in order to fill up void spaces, were away. Before this period, the two brothers had reared that splendid monument of their taste and their names, the Adelphi, which, however, was too extensive a speculation to be profitable. They were obliged, in 1774, to obtain an act of parliament to dispose of the houses by way of lottery. "The edifices which have been more lately erected," says a biographer, "from the designs of Mr Adam, afford additional proof of the unlimited extent of his invention, and the amazing fertility of his genius. Those parts of the new University of Edinburgh, and the Infirmary of Glasgow, need only be mentioned in proof of our remark. The latter edifice we have often beheld, and contemplated with those feelings of admiration, which the rare union of perfect symmetry and elegant disposition of parts, with inexpressible beauty and lightness into one whole, seldom fails to inspire. We have also seen and admired elegant designs executed by Mr Adam, which were intended for the South Bridge and South Bridge Street of Edinburgh; and which, if they had been adopted, would have added much to the decoration of that part of the town. But they were considered unsuitable to the taste or economy of the times, and were therefore rejected. Strange incongruities," continues the same writer, "appear in some buildings which have been erected from designs by Mr Adam. But of these it must be observed, that they have been altered or mutilated in execution, according to the convenience or taste of the owner; and it is well known that a slight deviation changes the character, and mars the effect of the general design. A lady of rank was furnished by Mr Adam, with the design of a house, which he examined after it was erected, and was astonished to find out of all proportion. On inquiring the cause, he was informed that the pediment he had designed was too small to admit a piece of new sculpture which represented the arms of the family, and, by the date which it bore, incontestably proved its antiquity. It was therefore absolutely necessary to enlarge the dimensions of the pediment to receive this ancient badge of family honour, and sacrifice the beauty and proportion of the whole building. We have seen a large public building which was also designed by Mr Adam; but when it was erected, the length was curtailed of the space of

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two windows, while the other parts remained according to the original plan. It now appears a heavy unsightly pile, instead of exhibiting that elegance of proportion and correctness of style, which the faithful execution of Mr Adam's design would have probably given it. To the last period of his life, Mr Adam displayed the same vigour of genius and refinement of taste; for in the space of one year immediately preceding his death, he designed eight great public works, besides twenty-five private buildings, so various in style, and beautiful in composition, that they have been allowed by the best judges to be sufficient of themselves to establish his fame as an unrivalled artist. The present improved taste is certainly to be traced in a great measure to the elegant and correct style of Adam. His fertile genius was not confined merely to the external configuration of buildings; it displayed itself with equal effect in the internal arrangement and disposition of the apartments, and in the varied, elegant, and beautiful ornaments of chimney-pieces and ceilings. But not only did he introduce a total change in the architecture of the country; the manufactures, also, which are in any way connected with decoration, were considerably improved by hints thrown out by Mr Adam. Nor were his talents entirely limited to the line of his own profession; his numerous drawings in landscape display a luxuriance of composition, and an effect of light and shade, which have rarely been equalled." Mr Adam died on the 3d of March, 1792, by the bursting of a blood vessel, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. It remains only to be said that, while his works commanded the admiration of the public, his natural suavity of manners, joined to his excellent moral character, had made a deep impression upon the circle of his own private friends.

ADAMSON, Henry, a poet of the seventeenth century, and probably a relative of the subject of the following article, was the son of James Adamson, who was dean of guild in Perth, anno 1600, when the Gowrie conspiracy took place in that city. The poet was educated for the pulpit, and appears to have made considerable progress in classical studies, as he wrote Latin poetry above mediocrity. He enjoyed the friendship and esteem of a large circle of the eminent men of that age, particularly Drummond of Hawthornden, who induced him, in 1638, to publish a poem entitled, "Mirthful Musings for the death of Mr Gall;" being in fact a versified history of his native town, full of quaint allegorical allusions suitable to the taste of that age. A new edition of this curious poem, which had become exceedingly rare, was published in 1774, with illustrative notes by Mr James Cant. The ingenious author died in 1639, the year after the publication of his poem.

ADAMSON, Patrick, a learned prelate and elegant Latin poet, was born at Perth in 1543, of very poor but honest parents, who educated him at the school of his native place, and afterwards transferred him to the university of St Andrews, where he went through a course of philosophy, and attained the degree of Master of Arts. Having taken up a school for his support in Fife, he fell under the attention of M'Gill of Rankeillor, one of the judges of the Court of Session, who selected him as a tutor for his son, about to set out for Paris to study the Civil Law. Soon after he had arrived in that capital, his sovereign, Queen Mary, was delivered of her son, afterwards James VI., (June 19, 1566,) and Adamson, who had already begun to cultivate Latin poetry, celebrated the event in a copy of verses, which he entitled, "Serenissimi et Nobilissimi Scotiæ, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Principis, Henrici Stuarti Illustrissimi Herois, ac Mariæ Reginæ amplissimæ Filii Genethliacum." As this poem, which was published within six days of the event it celebrated, involved the question of Mary's title to the English and French thrones, it excited the disapprobation of the government,

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and the unfortunate poet expiated his folly by an imprisonment of six months. He only escaped severer punishment by the intercession of Queen Mary, assisted by some of the principal nobility of Scotland. Having removed with his pupil to Bourges, where both entered students of law, he had nearly fallen a victim to that outburst of Catholic enthusiasm which signalised itself so highly at Paris by the Bartholomew massacre. For no less than seven months he lay concealed in a public house, the master of which was afterwards rewarded for his charity to heretics by being thrown from the top of it, and dashed to pieces on the street. While in this sepulchre, as he styled it, Adamson wrote two excellent Latin poems, one of which, a version of the book of Job, must have been a most appropriate exercise for such a situation, while the other, entitled the tragedy of Herod, was no less applicable to the proceedings of the people out of doors. Afterwards, at the hazard of his life, he published a Latin translation of the Confession of Faith, which obtained very high credit in France and the Netherlands. In 1573, he returned to Scotland, married the daughter of a lawyer, and, entering holy orders, became minister of Paisley. In 1575, he was appointed one of the Commissioners of the General Assembly, to settle the policy and jurisdiction of the church; and in 1576 he was appointed one of the chaplains of the regent Earl of Morton. The Scottish church was at this time in the anomalous condition of being presbyterian in its actual form, while at the same time all the dignities of a Catholic and Episcopal system were nominally kept up, in order that the temporalities might be enjoyed by the powerful men in the state. Thus, Morton, having the temporalities of the archbishopric of St Andrews in his own hands, had to employ a nominal prelate for form's sake, in order that his cupidity might have a legal appearance. On the death of Archbishop Douglas in 1576, Adamson was raised to the empty dignity, which only brought him trouble and uneasiness. Being favourably disposed to a gradation of ecclesiastical dignities, he aimed at making rather more of his prelacy than any of his predecessors. On his refusing to submit to the limitations which the General Assembly were accustomed to enforce upon such officers, he underwent a severe persecution from that body, which he in vain endeavoured to appease, by publishing a very ingenious translation of the Catechism into Latin verse; a work said to have merited and obtained universal approbation. In 1578, he submitted himself to the Assembly; which procured him peace for a short time. But having once excited the suspicion of his brethren by his episcopal predilections, they soon found matter for fresh charges against him, and he was obliged to retire to the castle of St Andrews. While living here, "like a fox in a hole," such is the phrase of the historian Calderwood, he was attacked by a chronic distemper, which defied all regular physicians, and reduced him to great misery. He at length experienced some relief from a simple medicine administered by an old woman named Alison Pearson. His brethren seized upon this trivial incident, to form the ground of a most serious charge against him. They accused him of consulting a witch and emissary of the devil for the purpose of saving his life. The poor woman was imprisoned, but, by the archbishop's means, escaped. However, she was soon after taken once more, and burnt as a witch—though probably a desire of fixing the implied guilt of witch-consultation upon the archbishop was the chief motive for such a cruel action.

In 1583, king James came to St Andrews; and the archbishop being much recovered, preached before him, and held a disputation with Mr Andrew Melville, in which he was thought by his own party to have the best of the argument. That he displayed some great power on this occasion is perhaps proved by the fresh persecutions to which he was in consequence subjected. The syllogisms

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used by persons of all ways of thinking in that age, were sometimes of a remarkably substantial nature. In the attempt which king James made, with the earl of Arran, to establish a modified episcopal church in Scotland, he found a ready, though timid instrument in archbishop Adamson, who composed a declaration in favour of the policy thus pursued, which was published in January, 1585, and obtained great applause for the king in England. Being sent as ambassador to England, he preached such eloquent sermons in behalf of his young master, that queen Elizabeth thought it necessary to forbid his appearance in the pulpit during his stay in her dominions. The re-ascendancy of the purely presbyterian interest in November, 1585, threw him once more at the feet of his brethren, who were now so enraged at his courtier-like conduct, that they passed against him a sentence of excommunication. It was in vain that he exercised his own nominal power to excommunicate their president in return; nor was his appeal to the king, who was now deprived of all real sovereignty, at all availing. By the exertions of the clergy, he at length became so infamous as to be in danger from the mob when he appeared on the streets. A partial reconciliation to the church took place in 1586, but next year he became again obnoxious to censure, from his having permitted himself to be "put to the horn" for debt. He now fell into a state of great necessity, insomuch that his children wanted bread. In 1588, he was summoned before the general assembly for an offence which will excite the surprise of a modern reader—namely, his having married the catholic earl of Huntly to his countess, without first obliging him to renounce his religion, by subscribing the presbyterian Confession of Faith. For this and other alleged crimes, a commission was appointed to try him, by which he was deposed and again excommunicated. In the beginning of 1590, he published the Lamentations of Jeremiah in Latin verse, which he dedicated to the king, complaining of the hard usage he had met with. And in the latter part of the same year, he published a similar translation of the Apocalypse, which was also inscribed to king James. Yet neither these, nor a moving copy of Latin verses written to his majesty in his deep distress, procured him any favour. The latter years of this unfortunate poet were spent in miseries almost beyond description. His body was subject to severe distempers; his mind was agonized by contemplating the perpetual necessities of his family. On one hand he had an array of bitter theological enemies; on the other, was a negligent patron, for whose interests he had partly sacrificed his own comfort. Among all his miseries, that which weighed most heavily on his mind was the sentence of excommunication. He was at length reduced so low by poverty, disease, and the pressure of this sentimental evil, as to apply for relief to the chief of his opponents, the celebrated Andrew Melville. This generous enemy immediately became his protector, supplied him out of his own funds for some months, and afterwards procured for him a further contribution among the rest of the brethren. Softened by these acts of kindness, Adamson consented to purchase a relief from the ban of the church, at the expense of all his former principles, which he now solemnly abjured in writing. His "Recantation" was gladly received by the church as a triumph over the party which supported episcopacy.

Adamson died on the 19th of February, 1591-2. The following Latin verses, written by him a short while before he breathed his last, may be given as at once a fair specimen of his abilities as a Latin poet, and a touching account of the condition in which he spent the end of his life:

O Anima! assiduis vitæ jactata procellis,
Exilii pertæsa gravis; nunc lubrica, tempus
Regna tibi, et mundi invisas contemnere sordes.

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Quippe parens rerum cæco te corpore clemens
Evocat, et verbi crucifixi gratia, cæli
Pandit iter patrioque beatam limine sistet:
Progenies Jovæ, quo te cælestis origo
Invitat, felix perge, æternumque quiesce
Exuviæ carnis, cognato in pulvere vocem,
Angelicam expectent, sonitu quo putre cadaver
Exiliet redivivum, et totum me tibi reddet.
Ecce beata dies! nos agni dextera ligno
Fulgentes crucis, et radiantes sanguine vivo
Excipiet. Quam firma illic quam certa capesses
Gaudia, felices inter novus incola cives
Alme Deus, Deus alme, et non effabile numen,
Ad te unum et trinum, moribundo pectore anhelo.

The works of Archbishop Adamson were published in a quarto volume in London, in 1619, with his Life, by Thomas Volusenus or Wilson. Besides the contents of this volume, he wrote many things which were never published; such as six books on the Hebrew Republic, various translations of the Prophets into Latin verse, Prelections on St Paul's Epistles to Timothy, various apologetical and funeral orations, and, what deserves most to be regretted, a very candid history of his own times. His character has unfortunately been too much a matter of controversy to be capable of a proper representation by a modern writer.

AIKMAN, William. The fine arts were so lately introduced into Scotland, that it is surprising to find a general painter of considerable eminence, produced before the end of the seventeenth century. Such was William Aikman, the friend of Ramsay and Thomson, and the protegé of John Duke of Argyle, and Sir Robert Walpole. Aikman was the son of William Aikman of Cairney, Esq., a man of eminence at the Scottish bar; he was born, October 24th, 1682. It may be easily supposed, from the low state of the arts in Scotland, that young Aikman was not destined to painting as a profession. His father designed him for the bar; and it was only the irresistible force of genius which caused him to take up the pencil. The mind of this young enthusiast had a strong leaning to poetry. He was particularly delighted with those simple pastoral strains which have arisen in his native country without either patronage or scholarship—those breathings of unsophisticated passion and feeling, derived from no known author, but which float over hill and dale like exhalations, and are an everlasting heritage of the breasts of the Scottish peasantry. He seems to have been led by this taste into habits of painting—for poetry and painting are in some respects but one art. After shaking himself free of his studies, he resolved in 1707 to complete his education as an artist by a residence at Rome. For this purpose, he sold his paternal estate, situated near Arbroath, and settled all claims which at that time stood against him in Scotland. He resided at Rome for three years, during which period he took instructions from the best masters. After a trip to Constantinople and Smyrna, he returned to Rome, and renewed his studies. In 1712, he returned to his native country. There he practised for some time, applauded by the discerning few; but the public, too poor at that period to be able to purchase elaborate works of art, were unable to afford him adequate encouragement. It was at this period that he formed an intimacy with Allan Ramsay. John duke of Argyle, who equally admired the artist and esteemed the man, regretting that such talents should be lost, at length prevailed upon Mr Aikman, in the year 1723, to move with all his family to London, thinking this the only theatre in Britain where his powers could be properly displayed. There, under the auspices of his distinguished friend, he formed habits of intimacy with the

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most eminent British painters of the age, particularly with Sir Godfrey Kneller, whose studies and dispositions of mind were very congenial with his own. In this society, he soon became known to people of the first rank, and was in habits of intimacy with many of them; particularly the earl of Burlington, so well known for his taste in the fine arts, especially architecture. Under these circumstances he was able to be of much service to Thomson, who came to London soon after himself, as a literary adventurer. He introduced the poet of the Seasons to the brilliant literary circle of the day—Pope, Swift, Gay, Arbuthnot, &c.—and, what was perhaps of more immediate service, to Sir Robert Walpole, who aimed at being thought a friend to men of genius. Among the more intimate friends of Aikman, was William Somerville, author of the Chase, from whom he received an elegant tribute of the muse, on his painting a full length portrait of the poet in the decline of life, carrying him back, by the assistance of another portrait, to his youthful days. This poem was never published in any edition of Somerville's works. Aikman painted, for the earl of Burlington, a large picture of the royal family of England, which was erected at the end of a particular room in his lordship's house: it came into the possession of the duke of Devonshire, by alliance with the Burlington family. In the middle compartment are all the younger branches of the royal family on a very large canvas, and on one hand, above the door, a full-length portrait of queen Caroline: the picture of the king—that king who never could endure "boetry or bainting," as he styled the two arts in his broken English—was to have graced an opposite niche, but, Aikman dying before it was completed, the space was left blank. This was perhaps the last picture brought towards a close by Aikman, and it is allowed to have been in his best style; for like Raphael, whom he also resembled in the shortness of his life, he went on continually improving to the last. Some of his earlier works are in the possession of the Argyle and Hamilton families in Scotland; his more mature and mellow productions are chiefly to be found in England; a large portion at Blickling in Norfolk, the seat of Robert earl of Buckinghamshire: these are chiefly portraits of noblemen, gentlemen, and ladies, friends of the earl. He died, January 14th, 1731; his only son, John, (by his wife Marion Lawson, daughter of Mr Lawson of Cairnmuir in Peeblesshire,) whose death immediately preceded his own, was buried in the same grave with him, in the Greyfriars' church-yard, Edinburgh. A monument was erected over the remains of Mr Aikman, with the following epitaph by Mallet, which was long since obliterated:—

Dear to the good and wise, dispraised by none,
Here sleep in peace the father and the son.
By virtue as by nature close allied,
The painter's genius, but without the pride.
Worth unambitious, wit afraid to shine,
Honour's clear light, and friendship's warmth divine.
The son, fair-rising, knew too short a date;
But oh how more severe the parent's fate!
He saw him torn untimely from his side,
Felt all a father's anguish—wept, and died.

The following verses, in which Thomson bewails him with all the warmth of grateful friendship, are only partially printed in that poet's works:

Oh could I draw, my friend, thy genuine mind,
Just as the living forms by thee designed!
Of Raphael's figures none should fairer shine,
Nor Titian's colours longer last than thine.

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A mind in wisdom old, in lenience young,
From fervid truth, whence every virtue sprung;
Where all was real, modest, plain, sincere;
Worth above show, and goodness unsevere.
Viewed round and round, as lucid diamonds show,
Still as you turn them, a revolving glow:
So did his mind reflect with secret ray,
In various virtues, Heaven's eternal day.
Whether in high discourse it soared sublime,
And sprung impatient o'er the bounds of time,
Or wandering nature o'er with raptured eye,
Adored the hand that turned yon azure sky:
Whether to social joy he bent his thought,
And the right poise that mingling passions sought,
Gay converse blest, or in the thoughtful grove,
Bid the heart open every source of love:
In varying lights, still set before our eyes
The just, the good, the social, and the wise.
For such a death, who can, who would refuse,
The friend a tear, a verse the mournful muse?
Yet pay we must acknowledgment to heaven,
Though snatch'd so soon, that AIKMAN e'er was given.
Grateful from nature's banquet let us rise,
Nor leave the banquet with reluctant eyes:
A friend, when dead, is but removed from sight,
Sunk in the lustre of eternal light;
And when the parting storms of life are o'er,
May yet rejoin us on a happier shore.
As those we love decay, we die in part;
String after string is severed from the heart;
Till loosened life at last—but breathing clay—
Without one pang is glad to fall away.
Unhappy he who latest feels the blow;
Whose eyes have wept o'er every friend laid low;
Dragged lingering on from partial death to death,
And, dying, all he can resign is breath.

In his style of painting, Aikman seems to have aimed at imitating nature in her most simple forms: his lights are soft, his shades mellow, and his colouring mild and harmonious. His touches have neither the force nor harshness of Rubens; nor does he seem like Reynolds ever to have aimed at adorning his portraits with the elegance of adventitious graces. His mind, tranquil and serene, delighted rather to wander, with Thomson, in the enchanting fields of Tempe, than to burst, with Michael Angelo, into the ruder scenes of the terrible and sublime. His compositions are distinguished by a placid tranquillity and ease, rather than a striking brilliancy of effect; and his portraits may be more readily mistaken for those of Kneller than any other eminent artist; not only because of the general resemblance of the dresses, which were those of the times, they being contemporaries, but also for the manner of working, and the similarity and blandness of their tints.

AITON, WILLIAM, an eminent horticulturist and botanist, was born, in 1731, at a village in the neighbourhood of Hamilton. Having been regularly bred to the profession of a gardener, as it was and still is practised by numbers of his countrymen, with a union of manual skill and scientific knowledge, he removed to England in 1754, and in the year following obtained the notice

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of the celebrated Philip Miller, then superintendent of the physic garden at Chelsea, who employed him for some time as an assistant. The instructions which he received from that eminent gardener, laid the foundation, it is said, of his future fortune. His industry and abilities were so conspicuous, that, in 1759 he was pointed out to the Princess-dowager of Wales as a fit person to manage the botanical garden at Kew. The encouragement of botanical studies was a distinguished feature of the reign of George III, who, soon after his accession, determined to render Kew a grand repository of all the vegetable riches of the world. Specimens were accordingly procured from every quarter of the globe, and placed under the care of Mr Aiton, who showed a surprising degree of skill in their arrangement. Under his superintendence, a variety of improvements took place in the plan and edifices of Kew-gardens, till they attained an undoubted eminence over every other scene of botanical culture. The borders in the garden were enlarged for the more free circulation of the air where it was required, and the stoves were graduated in such a way that each set of plants received exactly the degree of heat which they would have had in their native climate. The professional labours of Mr Aiton were not unnoticed by the eminent botanists of the time; he was honoured, in 1764, with the friendship of Sir Joseph Banks, which subsisted through life: Dr Solander and Dr Dryander were also among the number of his friends. In 1783, on a vacancy occurring in the superintendence of the pleasure gardens at Kew, Mr Aiton received the appointment from George III., but was, at the same time, permitted to retain his more important office. His labours proved the king's favours were not ill bestowed, for in 1789 he published an ample catalogue of the plants at Kew, under the title "Hortus Kewensis," 3 vols. 8vo. with a number of plates. No catalogue, which could compare with this in richness, had ever been made public. The number of species contained in it is between five and six thousand, of which a very considerable part had not before been described. A new and curious article in it relates to the first introduction of particular exotics into the English gardens. The whole impression of this elaborate performance was sold within two years, and a second and improved edition was published by his son, William Townsend Aiton, in 1810. Mr Aiton has emphatically been styled the Scottish Linnæus, and it is certain that from him the younger Linnæus received, when in England, no small improvement. After a life of singular activity and usefulness, distinguished, moreover, by all the domestic virtues, Mr Aiton died on the 1st of February, 1793, of a schirrus in the liver, in the 63d year of his age. The king testified his respect for his memory, by appointing his son to the whole of his places, for which he is said to have been well qualified.

ALES or ALESSE, Alexander, a celebrated theologian of the sixteenth century, was born at Edinburgh, April 23d, 1500. He is first found in the situation of a canon in the cathedral of St Andrews, where he distinguished himself by entering into the fashionable controversy of the day against Luther. His zeal for the Catholic religion was staggered by the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton; but it is not probable that his doubts would have been carried further, if he had not suffered persecution for the slight degree of scepticism already manifested. Being obliged to fly from St Andrews, he retired to Germany, where he became a thorough convert to the Protestant doctrines. The Reformation, which took place in England after the marriage of Henry VIII, to Anne Boleyn, induced Ales to go to London in 1535, where he was highly esteemed by Cranmer, Latimer, and Cromwell, who were at that time in favour with the king. Henry regarded him also with favour, and used to call him "his scholar." Upon the fall of Cromwell, he was obliged to return to Germany, where the elector of Brandenburgh appointed him professor of divinity at Frankfort upon the Oder, in 1540. As a reformer, Ales did

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not always maintain the most orthodox doctrines: hence he was obliged, in 1542, to fly from his chair at Frankfort, and betake himself to Leipsic. He spent the remainder of his life in that city, as professor of divinity, and died in 1565. His works are:—1, "De necessitate et merito Bonorum Operum, disputatio proposita in celebri academia Leipsica, ad 29 Nov. 1560." 2, "Commentarii in evangelium Joannis, et in utramque epistolam ad Timotheum." 3, "Expositio in Psalmos Davidis." 4, "De Justificatione, contra Oscandrum." 5, "De Sancta Trinitate, cum confutatione erroris Valentini." 6, "Responsio ad triginta et duos articulos theologorum Lovaniensium." The fifth in this list is the most favourable specimen of his abilities.

ALEXANDER, JOHN, a painter of some eminence, during the earlier half of the eighteenth century, and a descendant of the more celebrated George Jameson, studied his art in Italy, and spent much of his time at Florence, in the court of Cosmo de Medicis. On returning to his native country he resided at Gordon Castle, and painted several subjects, consisting chiefly of poetical, allegorical, and ornamental pieces. The Duchess of Gordon, daughter of the earl of Peterborough, was a great lover of the arts, and Alexander found in her a liberal patroness. He painted portraits, history, and historical landscape. Many of the portraits of Queen Mary are by him; and it is said that he painted the escape of the captive queen from Lochleven castle, in which the scenery around the lake is introduced; but that he did not live to finish the picture.

ALEXANDER, WILLIAM, an eminent nobleman, statesman, and poet, of the reign of James VI. and Charles I. The original rank of this personage was that of a small land proprietor or laird; but he was elevated by dint of his various accomplishments, and through the favour of the two sovereigns above-mentioned, to the rank of an earl. His family, which possessed the small estate of Menstrie, near Stirling, is said to have derived the name Alexander from the prenomen of their ancestor Alexander Macdonald, a highlander, who had been settled in this property by the Earl of Argyle, whose residence of Castle Campbell is in the neighbourhood. William Alexander is supposed to have first seen the light in 1580. Nature having obviously marked him for a higher destiny than that to which he was born, he received from his friends the best education which the time and place could afford, and at a very early age he accompanied the young Earl of Argyle upon his foreign travels, in the capacity of tutor. Previous to this period, when only fifteen years of age, he had been smit with the charms of some country beauty, "the cynosure of neighbouring eyes;" on his return from the continent, his passion was found to have suffered no abatement. He spent some time in rural retirement, and wrote no fewer than a hundred sonnets, as a ventilation to the fervours of his breast; but all his poetry was in vain, so far as the lady was concerned. She thought of matrimony, while he thought of love; and accordingly, on being solicited by a more aged suitor, in other respects eligible, did not scruple to accept his hand. The poet took a more sensible way of consoling himself for this disappointment than might have been expected; he married another lady, the daughter and heiress of Sir William Erskine. His century of sonnets was published in London in 1604, under the title of "Aurora, containing the First Fancies of the Author's Youth, by W. Alexander, of Menstrie." From the situation of Alexander's estate near the residence of the king at Stirling, and in a vale which his majesty frequented for the pleasure of hawking, he had early been introduced to royal notice; and accordingly it appears that, when James removed to London in 1603, the poet did not remain long behind, but soon became a dependent upon the English court. It is honourable to Alexander that in this situation he did not, like most court poets of that age, employ his pen in the adulation of majesty; his works breathe a very different

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strain. Having studied deeply the ancient philosophers and poets, he descanted on the vanity of grandeur, the value of truth, the abuse of power, and the burthen of riches. His moralizings assumed the strange shape of tragedies—compositions not at all designed for the stage, but intended simply to embody the sentiments which arose in his mind upon such subjects as those we have mentioned. His first tragedy was grounded upon the story of Darius, and appeared at Edinburgh in 1603. He afterwards republished it at London, in 1607, along with similar compositions upon the stories of Alexander, Crœsus, and Cæsar, under the title of "Monarchick Tragedies, by William Alexander, gentleman of the Princes' Privy Chamber." It would thus appear that he had now obtained a place in the household of Prince Henry; to whom he had previously addressed a poem or parænesis, designed to show how the happiness of a sovereign depends upon his choosing such councillors as can throw off private grudges, regard public concerns, and will not, to betray their seats, become pensioners. This poem, of which no copy of the original edition is known to exist, except one in the University library at Edinburgh, was, after the death of Henry, addressed to Prince Charles, who then became heir-apparent; an economy in poetical, not to speak of court business, which cannot be sufficiently admired. He was, in 1613, appointed one of the gentlemen ushers of the presence to this unfortunate prince.

King James is said to have been a warm admirer of the poems of Alexander, to have honoured him with his conversation, and called him "my philosophical poet." He was now aspiring to the still more honourable character of a divine poet, for in 1614, appeared at Edinburgh, his largest and perhaps his most meritorious production, entitled, "Doomsday, or the Great Day of Judgment," which has been several times reprinted.

Hitherto the career of Alexander had been chiefly that of a poet: it was henceforth entirely that of a courtier. Advanced to the age of thirty-five, the pure and amiable temperament of the poet gave way before the calculating and mercenary views of the politician; and the future years of his life are therefore less agreeable in recital than those which are past. In 1614, he was knighted by king James, and appointed to the situation of master of requests. In 1621, the king gave him a grant by his royal deed of the province of Nova Scotia, which as yet had not been colonized. Alexander designed at first to establish settlers upon this new country, and, as an inducement to the purchase of land, it was proposed that the king should confer, upon all who paid a hundred and fifty pounds for six thousand acres, the honour of a knight baronetcy. Owing to the perplexed politics of the last years of king James, he did not get this scheme carried into effect, but Charles had no sooner acceded than he resolved upon giving it his support. Alexander, in 1625, published a pamphlet, entitled, "An Encouragement to Colonies," the object of which was to state the progress already made, to recommend the scheme to the nation, and to invite adventurers. It is also supposed that he had a hand in "A Brief Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England, and of sundry accidents therein occurring from the year 1607 to this present 1622: together with the state thereof as it now standeth, the general form of government intended, and the division of the whole territory into counties, baronies, &c." King Charles, who probably considered the scheme in a two-fold light, as a means of establishing a new colony, and of remunerating an old servant at the expense of others, conferred upon Sir William Alexander the rank of Lieutenant of New Scotland, and founded the necessary order of knights baronets of the same territory. The number of these baronets was not to exceed a hundred and fifty, and it was ordained that the title should be hereditary—that they should take precedence of all ordinary knights and lairds, and of all other gentlemen, except Sir William Alexander, and that they

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should have place in all his majesty's and his successors' armies, near and about the royal standard for the defence thereof, with other honourable distinctions of precedency, to them, their wives, and heirs. The ceremony of infeftment or sasine was decreed to take place on the Castle-hill of Edinburgh, the earth and stone of which were held, by a fiction, to represent the component particles of certain baronies and lordships on the other side of the Atlantic. For the amusement of the reader, we shall give an account of the equivocal mode of procedure adopted in this scheme, and of its shameful conclusion, from the fantastic pen of Sir Thomas Urquhart. "It did not satisfy him," says Sir Thomas, in reference to Alexander, (Discovery of a most Exquisite Jewel, &c., 8vo, 1652,) "to have a laurel from the Muses, and be esteemed a king among poets, but he must also be king of some new-found land; and, like another Alexander, indeed, searching after new worlds, have the sovereignty of Nova Scotia! He was born a poet, and aimed to be a king; therefore he would have his royal title from king James, who was born a king, and aimed to be a poet. Had he stopped there, it had been well; but the flame of his honour must have some oil wherewith to nourish it; like another Arthur he must have his knights, though nothing limited to so small a number; for how many soever, who could have looked but for one day like gentlemen, and given him but one hundred and fifty pounds sterling (without any need of a key for opening the gate to enter through the temple of virtue, which, in former times, was the only way to honour,) they had a scale from him whereby to ascend unto the platforms of virtue; which they treading under their feet, did slight the ordinary passages, and to take the more sudden possession of the temple of honour, went upon obscure by-paths of their own, towards some secret angiports and dark postern doors, which were so narrow that few of them could get in, until they had left all their gallantry behind them: Yet such being their resolution, that in they would and be worshipful upon any terms; they misregarded all formerly used steps of promotion, accounting them but unnecessary; and most rudely pushing into the very sanctuary, they immediately hung out the orange colours," the colour of the ribbon by which the order was suspended, "to testify their conquest of the honour of knight baronet. Their king nevertheless, not to stain his royal dignity, or to seem to merit the imputation of selling honour to his subjects, did, for their money, give them land, and that in so ample a measure, that every one of his knight baronets had, for his hundred and fifty pounds sterling, heritably disposed to him six thousand good and sufficient acres of Nova Scotia ground; which being at the rate of but sixpence an acre, and not to be thought very dear; considering how prettily, in the respective parchments of disposition, they were bounded and designed; fruitful cornfields, watered with pleasant rivers, running along most excellent and spacious meadows; nor did there want abundance of oaken groves, in the midst of very fertile plains, or if it wanted anything it was the scrivener's or writer's fault, for he" [Alexander] "gave orders, as soon as he received the three thousand Scots marks, that there should be no defect of quantity, or quality, in measure or goodness of land, and here and there most delicious gardens and orchards; with whatever else could, in matter of delightful ground, best content their fancies; as if they had made purchase among them of the Elysian fields or Mahomet's paradise; and although there should have happened a thousand acres more to be put into the charter, or writing of disposition, than was agreed upon at first, he cared not; half a piece to the clerk was able to make him dispense with that. But at last when he had enrolled three hundred knights, who for their hundred and fifty pieces each had purchased among them several millions of New Caledonian acres, confirmed to them and theirs for ever, under the great seal, the affixing whereof was to cost each of them but thirty pieces more; finding that the society was not

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likely to become any more numerous, and that the ancient gentry of Scotland esteemed such a whimsical dignity to be a disparagement, rather than any addition to their former honour; he bethought himself of a course more profitable to himself and the future establishment of his own state; in prosecuting whereof without the advice of his knights, who represented both houses of parliament, clergy and all, like an absolute king indeed, he disposed heritably to the French for a matter of five or six thousand pounds English money, both the dominion and property of the whole country of that kingdom of Nova Scotia; leaving the new baronets to search for land amongst the Seleites in the moon, or turn knights of the sun; so dearly have they bought their orange ribband, which, all things considered, is, and will be, more honourable to them, or their posterity, than it is or hath been profitable to either." It thus appears that Alexander's Nova Scotian scheme, whatever might have been originally contemplated, degenerated at last into a mere means of raising money by the sale of titles; a system too much practised in the English reign of James VI., and which gained, as it deserved, the contempt of all honourable minds. The territory of Nova Scotia afterwards fell into the hands of the French, who affected to believe that they had acquired a right to it by a treaty entered into with the king of Great Britain, in 1632, in which the country of Acadia was ceded to them. In the treaty of peace transacted between the two countries, in 1763, it was successfully asserted by the British government that Nova Scotia was totally distinct from Acadia, and accordingly the territory reverted to Britain, along with Canada. The country, however, having become the property of other individuals during the usurpation of the French, it appears that the Nova Scotia baronets have very slight prospects of ever regaining the lands to which their titles were originally attached.

In 1626, Sir William Alexander, was, by the favour of Charles I., made secretary of state for Scotland; an office to which the salary of £100 a-year, being that of a good mercantile clerk in the present day, was then attached. In 1630, by the further favour of his sovereign, he was raised to the peerage under the title of viscount Stirling; and in 1633, at the coronation of king Charles in Holyrood chapel, he was promoted to the rank of an earl under the same title. He held the office of secretary during fifteen years, and gained the credit of being a moderate statesman in the midst of many violent political scenes. It does not appear, however, that he was a popular character. Such esteem as he might have gained by his poetry, seems to have been lost in consequence of the arts by which his sovereign endeavoured to give him riches. A permission which he acquired, probably in his character of lieutenant of Nova Scotia, to coin base money, became a grievance to the community, and procured him much obloquy. He had erected a splendid mansion at Stirling out of his ill-acquired gains, and affixed upon its front his armorial bearings, with the motto "Per Mare, per Terras." This was parodied, as we are informed by the sarcastic Scott of Scotstarvet, into "Per metre, per turners," in allusion to the sources of his wealth, the people believing that the royal favour had a reference to his lordship's poetry, while *turners*, or *black farthings*, as they were otherwise called, had been one of the shapes in which this favour was expressed. The house still remains, a monument of the taste of the poet.

The earl of Stirling, in 1637, published a complete edition of his poetical works, under the general title of "Recreations with the Muses." The work contained his four "Monarchick Tragedies," his "Doomsday," the "Parænesis to Prince Henry," and "Jonathan, an Heroick Poem Intended, the first book," the whole revised and very much improved by the author. He died in 1640, leaving three sons and two daughters, whose posterity was supposed to have been com-

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pletely extinct, till a claimant appeared in 1830, as descended from one of the younger branches of the family, and who has assumed the titles of Stirling and Dovon. Considered as a poet, Alexander is intitled to considerable praise. "His style is certainly neither pure nor correct, which may perhaps be attributed to his long familiarity with the Scottish language; but his versification is in general much superior to that of his contemporaries, and approaches nearer to the elegance of modern times than could have been expected from one who wrote so much. There are innumerable beauties scattered over the whole of his works, but particularly in his songs and sonnets; the former are a species of irregular odes, in which the sentiment, occasionally partaking of the quaintness of his age, is more frequently new and forcibly expressed. The powers of mind displayed in his Doomsday and Parænesis are very considerable, although we are frequently able to trace the allusions and imagery to the language of holy writ; and he appears to have been less inspired by the sublimity than by the awful importance of his subject to rational beings. A habit of moralizing pervades all his writings; but in the 'Doomsday' he appears deeply impressed with his subject, and more anxious to persuade the heart than to delight the imagination."—*Johnson and Chalmers' English Poets*, edit. 1810, vol. v.

The Earl of Stirling was employed in his latter years in the task of revising the version of the Psalms prepared by king James, which duty was imposed upon him by the royal paraphrast himself. In a letter to his friend, Drummond of Hawthornden, 28th of April, 1620, Alexander says, "Brother, I received your last letter, with the psalm you sent, which I think very well done: I had done the same long before it came; but he [king James] prefers his own to all else; though, perchance when you see it, you will think it *the worst of the three*. No man must meddle with that subject, and therefore I advise you to take no more pains therein." In consideration of the pains which the Earl had bestowed upon this subject, Charles I., on the 28th of December, 1627, granted a license to his lordship, to print the late king's version of the Psalms exclusively for thirty-one years. The first edition appeared at Oxford, in 1631. The king endeavoured to enforce the use of his father's version alone throughout his dominions; and, if he had been successful, the privilege would have been a source of immense profit to the Earl of Stirling. But the royal wishes were resisted by the Scottish church, and were not very respectfully obeyed any where else; and the breaking out of the civil war soon after rendered the privilege entirely useless.[2]

ALEXANDER I., surnamed *Acer*, or the *Fierce*, king of Scots from 1106 to 1124, was the fifth son of Malcolm III. by his wife Margaret of England. Lord Hailes conjectures that his name was bestowed in honour of Pope Alexander II.; a circumstance worthy of attention, as it was the means of introducing the most common and familiar christian name in Scotland. The date of Alexander's birth is not known; but as his four elder brothers were all under age in 1093, at the death of their father, he must have been in the bloom of life at his accession to the throne. He succeeded his brother Edgar, January 8, 1106-7, and immediately after married Sybilla, the natural daughter of Henry I. of England, who had married his sister Matildis, or Maud. Such an alliance was not then considered dishonourable. Alexander was active in enforcing obedience to his dominion, and in suppressing the bands of rebels or robbers with which the northern parts of the kingdom were infested; but the chief events of his reign relate to the efforts made by the English church to assert a supremacy over that of Scotland. These efforts were resisted by the king of Scots, with

2 The corpse of the Earl of Stirling was deposited in a leaden coffin in the family-aisle in the church of Stirling, above ground, and remained entire for upwards of a hundred years.—*Paragraph from an old newspaper.*

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steady perseverance, and ultimate success, notwithstanding that the Pope countenanced the claims of the English prelates. It is to be presumed that this spirit would have incited the Scottish monarch to maintain the independency of his kingdom, had it ever been called in question during his reign. Alexander died April 27, 1124, after a reign of seventeen years and three months. As he left no issue, he was succeeded by his next and last-surviving brother David, so memorable for his bounty to the church. Alexander was also a pious monarch. Aldred, in his genealogy of the English kings, says of him, that "he was humble and courteous to the clergy, but, to the rest of his subjects, terrible beyond measure; high-spirited, always endeavouring to compass things beyond his power; not ignorant of letters; zealous in establishing churches, collecting relics, and providing vestments and books for the clergy; liberal even to profusion, and taking delight in the offices of charity to the poor." His donations to the church were very considerable. He made a large grant of lands to the church of St Andrews, increased the revenue of the monastery of Dunfermline, which his parents had founded, established a colony of canons regular at home, and built a monastery on Inch-colm in the Firth of Forth, in gratitude for having been preserved from a tempest on that island.

ALEXANDER II., the only legitimate son of king William, surnamed the *Lion*, was born in 1198. He succeeded his father, December 4, 1214, in his seventeenth year, and was crowned next day at Scone. Alexander II. is characterised by Fordun as a pious, just, and brave king—as the shield of the church, the safe-guard of the people, and the friend of the miserable. He espoused the cause of the English barons against king John, which led to mutual depredations between the two sovereigns; but on the accession of Henry III. to the crown of England, peace was restored; and in 1221, the friendly intercourse of the two nations was established by the marriage of the king of Scotland to Joan, eldest sister of the king of England. This princess died in 1238, without issue; and in the following year Alexander married Mary de Couci, the scion of a French house, which, in its motto, disclaimed royalty, and rested for distinction on its own merits:

> Je suis ni roi, ni prince aussi—
> Je suis le seigneur de Couci.

During the life of Joan, the British monarchs came to no open rupture, their friendly intimacy being only occasionally interrupted by Henry discovering a disposition to revive the claim of homage from the king of Scotland, which had been given up by Richard I., and by Alexander insisting on his claim to the three northern counties of England; but shortly after the death of Joan, national jealousies broke out, and in 1244, both princes raised armies and prepared for war. By the mediation, however, of several English barons, hostilities were prevented, and a peace concluded. Much of Alexander's reign was occupied in suppressing insurrections of the Celtic inhabitants of Scotland. He died A.D. 1249, in one of the islands of the Hebrides, while engaged in subjecting Angus, the Lord of Argyle, who refused his homage to the Scottish sovereign. He left by his second wife one son, who is the subject of the following article.

ALEXANDER III., born at Roxburgh, September 4, 1241, succeeded his father in the eighth year of his age. He was knighted and crowned only five days after his father's death—a precipitation adopted to prevent the interference of the king of England. When only a year old, Alexander had been betrothed to Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry III., a princess of his own age; and in 1251, their nuptials were celebrated at York with great pomp. On the ground

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of this union, Henry interested himself in the affairs of Sotland, and the young prince was a frequent visitor at the court of his father-in-law. The English monarch, taking advantage of Alexander's youth and other circumstances, endeavoured to prevail upon him to do homage for his crown and kingdom of Scotland; but the young king, with a fortitude and prudence beyond his years, and which gave promise of his future decision, resisted the requisition, saying that he could not treat of affairs of state without the advice of his parliament. During Alexander's minority, the country was divided into factions, and various struggles for ascendancy took place; but the administration was latterly committed to fifteen of the leading chiefs or barons. Alexander had reached the twenty-second year of his age, when his kingdom was invaded by one of the most formidable armaments that had ever sailed from Norway. Haco, king of that country, with a fleet of one hundred and sixty ships, freighted with many thousand northern warriors, who carried terror to almost all the shores of Europe, sailed towards Scotland in the summer of 1263, and after making himself master of the islands of Arran and Bute, arrived in the bay of Largs, near the mouth of the Clyde, and endeavoured to effect a landing. Here a Scottish army, under Alexander, assembled to resist the invasion; and here, on the 2d of October, after a fierce and bloody contest, the Norwegians were repulsed with great loss. A storm arising, completed the dissipation or destruction of their fleet. Haco escaped with difficulty through the strait between Sky and the mainland, since called Kyle Hacken, and reaching the Orkneys, died there, as is said, of a broken heart. By this defeat, all the islands of the western sea, including that of Man, but excepting those of Orkney and Shetland, submitted to Alexander.

From this period to the death of Alexander, Scotland enjoyed tranquillity, only disturbed by the pretensions of the pope and the encroachments of the clergy, both of which Alexander was successful in resisting. Religious crusades were at this time the rage over Europe, and Scotland did not escape the infection, as many of her bravest barons perished in Palestine. In 1274, Alexander attended the coronation of his brother-in-law, Edward I., at Westminster, and after the custom of the times did homage for the lands which he held of him in England. Six months after this, Margaret queen of Scotland died, leaving one daughter and two sons—Margaret, Alexander, and David. David died unmarried in 1281. Margaret was married in 1282, to Eric king of Norway, and died in the following year, after giving birth to an infant daughter, who received her own name. Alexander was married in 1283 to the daughter of Guy earl of Flanders, and died in the following year without issue. Thus, in the course of a few years, was the unhappy king of Scotland deprived of his wife and all his children—the only remaining descendant of his body being the Maiden of Norway, as she is called in Scottish history, an infant grandchild residing in a foreign land. In 1285, Alexander, to provide against the evils of a disputed succession, at the request of his nobility, married Joletta, daughter of the Count de Dreux; but shortly after his marriage, in riding along a precipitous road between Bruntisland and Kinghorn, his horse fell over a rock, and the unfortunate monarch was killed. This event took place on the 16th of March, 1286, in the 45th year of his age and 37th of his reign.

With Alexander III. terminated a race of kings, who, from the accession of Malcolm Cean-Mohr, had distinguished themselves by their activity in the administration of justice, and their courage in maintaining the rights and independence of their country against a powerful and too often an insidious foe. Few annals of a rude people, indeed, can present a more gratifying series of patriotic monarchs than those with whom Scotland was blessed from the middle of the eleventh to the close of the thirteenth century, whether we consider their wisdom

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and impartiality as legislators, their prudence as politicians, or their bravery as warriors, for Malcolm the Maiden and the terms upon which William the Lion effected his release from captivity must only be considered as exceptions to the general excellence of their conduct. But with the death of Alexander III., the peace and prosperity of the country was broken up; and much as he was lamented by the people, and gloomy as were their forebodings on his decease, no anticipation could exceed the real calamities in which the country was involved by his unhappy and untimely end.

ALLAN, David, a painter of great merit, was born at Alloa, February 13th, 1744. He was the son of Mr David Allan, shore-master at that small port. The mother of Allan, whose maiden name was Gullan, brought him prematurely into the world, and died a few days after his birth. The young painter had so small a mouth that no nurse could be found in the place fitted to give him suck: at length, one being heard of, who lived at the distance of some miles, he was packed up in a basket amidst cotton, and sent off under the charge of a man who carried him on horseback, the journey being rendered additionally dangerous by a deep snow. The horse happened to stumble, the man fell off, and the tiny wretch was ejected from the basket into the snow, receiving as he fell a severe cut upon his head. Such were the circumstances under which Mr David Allan commenced the business of existence.

Even after having experienced the tender cares of his nurse, misfortune continued to harass him. In the autumn of 1745, when he must have been about eighteen months old, a battery was erected at Alloa, to defend the passage of the Forth against the attempts of Prince Charles's army. While the men were firing the cannon for experiment, the maid entrusted with the charge of young Allan ran across the open space in front, at the moment when they were discharged, and he only escaped death by a hair-breadth.

His genius for designing was first developed by accident. Being confined at home with a burnt foot, his father one day said to him, "You idle little rogue, you are kept from school doing nothing! come, here is a bit of chalk, draw something with it upon the floor." He took the chalk, and began to delineate figures of houses, animals, and other familiar objects; in all of which he succeeded so well that the chalk was seldom afterwards out of his hand. When he was about ten years of age, his pedagogue happened to exercise his authority over some of the boys in a rather ludicrous manner: Allan immediately drew a caricature of the transaction upon a slate, and handed it about for the amusement of his companions. The master of the ferule, an old vain conceited person, who used to strut about the school dressed in a tartan night-cap and long tartan gown, got hold of the picture, and right soon detected that he himself was the most conspicuous and the most ridiculous figure. The satire was so keen, and the laugh which it excited sunk so deep, that the object of it was not satisfied till he had made a complaint to old Allan, and had the boy taken from his school. When questioned by his father how he had the effrontery to insult his master, by representing him so ridiculously on his slate, his answer was, "I only made it *like* him, and it was all for fun!"

The father observed the decided genius of his son, and had the good sense to offer it no resistance. At this time, the establishment of the Messrs Foulis' academy of Arts at Glasgow was making some noise in the country. Allan, therefore, resolved to apprentice his son to those gentlemen upon the terms given out in their prospectus of the institution. On the 25th of February, 1755, when exactly eleven years of age, the young draughtsman was bound apprentice to the Messrs Foulis for seven years, to attend their painting academy in the university of Glasgow. In Newhall house there is a sketch in oil, done by him, repre-

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senting the inside of the academy, with an exact portrait of Robert Foulis in the act of criticising a large picture, and giving instructions to his principal painter about it.

In the year 1764, some of his performances attracted the notice of lord Cathcart, whose seat, Shaw Park, was situated in Clackmannanshire near Alloa. Lady Cathcart introduced him to the notice of lady Frances Erskine, daughter of the insurgent earl of Mar, and mother of the gentleman to whom the peerage was restored in 1824; as also to lady Charlotte Erskine, to Mrs Abercromby of Tullibody, mother of Sir Ralph, and to some other personages of distinction in the neighbourhood of his birth-place. By the associated purses of these kind patrons, Allan was enabled to go to Italy, where he studied with unremitting application for eleven years. During his residence there, lady Cathcart used to write to him with all the care and affection of a mother. In 1773, while living at Rome, he gained the prize medal given by the academy of St Luke for the best specimen of historical composition; being the only Scotchman who had ever reached that honour, besides Mr Gavin Hamilton.

After his return in 1777, Allan resided for about two years in London; but, falling into a bad state of health, he was ordered home to Scotland for a change of air. Soon after his arrival in Edinburgh, he was appointed successor to Runciman (deceased), as master and director of the academy established by the Board of Trustees for Manufactures and Improvements, for the purpose of diffusing a knowledge of the principles of the fine arts and elegance of design, in the various manufactures and works which required to be figured and ornamented; a charge for which he was peculiarly well qualified, by the extensive knowledge he possessed of every branch of the art. He retained the situation till his death.

Allan was much admired for his talents in composition, the truth with which he delineated nature, and the characteristic humour which distinguished his pictures, drawings, and etchings. There are several engravings from his pictures, as, "The Origin of Painting, or the Corinthian maid drawing the shadow of her lover," and four in aqua-tinta by Paul Sandby, from drawings made by Allan when at Rome, representing the sports during the carnival. Several of the figures were portraits of persons well known to the English who visited Rome between 1770 and 1780. There is one caricature by Allan, which is well known to Scottish collectors: it represents the interior of a church or meeting-house at Dunfermline, at the moment when an imprudent couple are rebuked by the clergyman. There is a drollery about the whole of this performance that never fails to amuse. The alliance of his genius to that of our national poets, led Allan, in 1788, to publish an edition of the Gentle Shepherd, with characteristic drawings. He also published a collection of the most humorous of the old Scottish songs, each illustrated by a characteristic etching. At his death, which happened on the 6th of August, 1796, he left a series of drawings designed for the poems of Burns, in an equally graphic and humorous style. There is one property which runs through all the designs of Allan, and by which his productions may be distinguished at the most casual glance: this is a peculiar elegance of form which he always gives to the limbs of his figures—elegance to such a degree, that, in many cases, it may be pronounced out of nature.

Allan, by his wife, whom he married in 1788, left one son, bearing his own name, and who was sent out as a cadet to India, and one daughter named Barbara. In person, our Scottish Hogarth, as he was called, had nothing attractive. The misfortunes attending his entrance into the world were such as nothing in after life could repair. "His figure was a bad resemblance of his humorous precursor of the English metropolis. He was under the middle size; of a slender, feeble make; with a long, sharp, lean, white, coarse face, much pitted by the small-pox,

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and fair hair. His large prominent eyes, of a light colour, were weak, near-sighted, and not very animated. His nose was long and high, his mouth wide, and both ill-shaped. His whole exterior to strangers appeared unengaging, trifling, and mean; and his deportment was timid and obsequious. The prejudices naturally excited by these disadvantages at introduction, were, however, dispelled on acquaintance; and, as he became easy and pleased, gradually yielded to agreeable sensations; till they insensibly vanished, and at last, were not only overlooked, but, from the effect of contrast, even heightened the attractions by which they were so unexpectedly followed. When in company he esteemed, and which suited his taste, as restraint wore off, his eye imperceptibly became active, bright, and penetrating; his manner and address quick, lively, and interesting—always kind, polite, and respectful; his conversation open and gay, humorous without satire, and playfully replete with benevolence, observation, and anecdote."—*Brown's edition of the Gentle Shepherd*, 1808.

The author who thus forcibly delineates his external appearance, gives the following character of his genius. "As a painter, at least in his own country, he neither excelled in drawing, composition, colouring, nor effect. Like Hogarth, too, beauty, grace, and grandeur, of individual outline and form, or of style, constitute no part of his merit. He was no Corregio, Raphael, or Michael Angelo. He painted portraits as well as Hogarth, below the middle size; but they are void of all charms of elegance, and of the claro-obscuro, and are recommended by nothing but a strong homely resemblance. As an artist and a man of genius, his characteristic talent lay in *expression*, in the imitation of nature with truth and humour, especially in the representation of ludicrous scenes in low life. His eye was ever on the watch for every eccentric figure, every motley group, or ridiculous incident, out of which his pencil or his needle could draw innocent entertainment and mirth."

ALSTON, Charles, M.D. an eminent botanist, was born in 1683, in Lanarkshire, and spent his early years at Hamilton palace, under the patronage of the duchess of Hamilton. Her grace wished him to study the law, but he preferred botany and medicine, and accordingly, in 1716, set out for Leyden, where those sciences were at that time taught by the illustrious Boerhaave. Here he found a great number of young Scotsmen engaged in the same pursuit, and all inspired with an uncommon degree of enthusiam in their studies, which they had caught from their master. Alston, after taking his degree as doctor of physic, returned to his native country, and began to practise in Edinburgh. He obtained the sinecure office of king's botanist, through the influence of the duke of Hamilton, heritable keeper of Holyrood-house, to which the garden was attached. This garden he enriched by large collections which he had made in Holland, where botanical science was then more highly cultivated than in any other country in Europe. In 1720, notwithstanding that a botanical class was taught in the college by a professor of eminence named Preston, he began a course of lectures in the king's garden. Preston, at length waxing old, Alston was, in 1738, chosen to succeed him, as professor of botany and materia medica united. He was exceedingly laborious in his duties as a professor, giving a course on botany every summer, and one on materia medica every winter; and never sparing any pains which he thought could be conducive to the progress of his pupils. The celebrated Dr Fothergill, in his character of Dr Russell, bears ample testimony to the assiduity of Dr Alston, who had been his master; and describes in glowing language the benefit which those who attended him had the means of reaping, his caution in speculation, and how laborious he was in experiment. For the assistance of his pupils, he published, about 1740, an index of the plants demonstrated to them in the Edinburgh medical garden. Of Linnæus's system, which was first

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promulgated in 1736, Dr Alston, like many other philosophers of his day, was a steady opponent. He published a paper against it in the first volume of Physical and Literary Essays, a miscellany which was commenced at Edinburgh, in 1751. The truth is, though something like the sexual system of Linnæus had occurred to the minds of former botanists, it came upon the world at last in too startling a state of completeness, to be readily received by men who had taught in the former way. The *amour propre* of teachers, leading them to shut their ears against new ideas, rather than confess their former ones inferior or erroneous, is one of the most grievous obstacles that new systems have to encounter. Dr Alston also contributed some articles to an Edinburgh miscellany entitled, "Medical Essays;" the most important is one on opium. In 1753, he published an introduction to Dr Patrick Blair's *Index Materiæ Medicæ*, a work which resembled his own index in a considerable degree. This introduction was a separate work, and was entitled, *Tyrocinium Botanicum Edinburgense.* Dr Alston, as the contemporary of the first Monro, and professor of a kindred branch of science, was by no means unworthy of either his time or his place. He must be considered as one of those who have contributed to the exaltation of the college of Edinburgh, as a school of medical science. He died on the 22nd of November, 1760, in the sixty-seventh year of his age.

ALVES, Robert, born at Elgin, in 1745, took his degrees in philosophy at Aberdeen, where he enjoyed the friendship of Dr Beattie, and afterwards, though designed for the church, settled parish-schoolmaster of Deskford. From this place he removed in 1773 to Banff, whence he migrated, in 1779, to Edinburgh, on account of a disappointment in love. In Edinburgh, he subsisted by teaching such private persons as chose to employ him, in the Greek, Roman, French, and Italian classics; like a true poet, he was not greatly solicitous about the means of subsistence. Mr Creech, in 1782, published a volume of miscellaneous poems by Alves; in 1789, appeared another, under the title of "Edinburgh, a Poem, in two parts, and the Weeping Bard, in sixteen cantos." They are said to contain striking traits of genius, though certainly the world has but slightly appreciated their merit. In 1784, Alves commenced a laborious work entitled, "Sketches of a History of Literature," which was in the press when he died, January 1st, 1794, and was afterwards published by Dr Alexander Chapman, at whose press it was printed for the intended benefit of the author. This work is miserably inaccurate in every particular, but nevertheless discovers an extensive acquaintance with ancient and modern learning.

ANDERSON, Adam, author of the largest British compilation upon commercial history, was a native of Scotland, born about the year 1692. Having removed to London, he was for forty years a clerk in the South Sea house, and at length was appointed chief clerk of the Stock and New Annuities in that establishment, in which situation he continued till his death. He was appointed one of the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia, by charter dated June 9th, 5 Geo. II. He was also one of the court of assistants of the Scots Corporation in London. In 1764, he published his work, entitled, "A Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce, from the earliest accounts to the present time; containing a history of the large commercial interests of the British Empire, &c.," Lond. 2 vols. folio. The elaborate character of this work, says much for the industry of the author. It was subsequently improved in a new edition by Mr David Macpherson, 4 vols. quarto; and a manual abridgment of the work may still be considered a desideratum in our literature. Mr Anderson died soon after he had given it to the world, January 10th, 1765, at the age of seventy-three. He was twice married, and by his first wife had one daughter, who died without children. His second wife, whose third husband he had

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been, survived him sixteen years, and died in 1781. He had collected an excellent library, which was sold by his widow.

ANDERSON, ALEXANDER, a very eminent mathematician, born at Aberdeen, near the close of the sixteenth century. How or where he acquired his mathematical education is not known; he probably studied belles lettres and philosophy in his native university. He comes into notice at Paris, early in the seventeenth century, as a private teacher or professor of mathematics. In that city, between the years 1612 and 1619, he published or edited various geometrical and algebraical tracts, which are conspicuous for their ingenuity and elegance. It is doubtful whether he was ever acquainted with the famous Vieta, Master of Requests at Paris, who died in 1603; but his pure taste and skill in mathematical investigation pointed him out to the executors of that illustrious man, who had found leisure, in the intervals of a laborious profession, to cultivate and extend the ancient geometry, and by adopting a system of general symbols, to lay the foundation, and begin the superstructure, of algebraical science, as the person most proper for revising and publishing his valuable manuscripts. Anderson, however, did not confine himself to the duty of a mere editor; he enriched the text with learned comments, and gave neat demonstrations of those propositions which had been left imperfect. He afterwards produced a specimen of the application of geometrical analysis, which is distinguished by its clearness and classic elegance.

The works of this eminent person amount to six thin quarto volumes, now very scarce. These are,—1. Supplementum Apollonii Redivivi: sive analysis problematis hactenus desiderati ad Apollonii Pergæi doctrinam περὶ νύσεων a Marino Ghetaldo Patritio Regusino hujusque non ita pridem institutam, &c. Paris, 1612, 4to. This tract refers to the problem of inclinations, by which, in certain cases, the application of the curve called the *conchoid* is superseded.—2. Ἀπιτελογία: Pro Zetetico Apolloniani problematis a se jam pridem edito in supplemento Apollonii Redivivi. Being an addition to the former work. Paris, 1615, 4to.—3. The edition of the works of Vieta. Paris, 1615, 4to.—4. Ad Angularum Sectionem Analytica Theoremata καθολικώτερα, &c. Paris, 1615, 4to.—5. Vindiciæ Archimedis, &c. Paris, 1616, 4to.—6. Alexandri Andersoni Scoti Exercitationum Mathematicarum Decas Prima, &c. Paris, 1619, 4to. All these pieces, of this excellent geometrician, are replete with the finest specimens of pure geometrical exercises that have ever perhaps been produced by any authors, ancient or modern. Besides these, literary history is not aware of any other publications by Anderson, though probably there may have been others. Indeed, from the last piece it fully appears that he had at least written, if not published, another, viz. A Treatise on the Mensuration of Solids, perhaps with a reference to gauging; as in several problems, where he critically examines the treatise of Kepler on cask-gauging, he often refers to his own work on stereometry.

This eminent person was cousin-german to Mr David Anderson of Finshaugh, a gentleman who also possessed a singular turn for mathematical knowledge, and who could apply his acquirements to so many useful purposes that he was popularly known at Aberdeen by the name of Davie Do-a'-things. He acquired prodigious local fame by removing a large rock, which had formerly obstructed the entrance to the harbour of Aberdeen. Mathematical genius seems to have been in some degree inherent in the whole family; for, through a daughter of Mr David Anderson, it reached the celebrated James Gregory, inventor of the reflecting telescope, who was the son of that lady, and is said to have received, from her, the elements of mathematical knowledge. From the same lady was descended the late Dr Reid of Glasgow, who was not less eminent for his acquaintance with the mathematics, than for his metaphysical writings.

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ANDERSON, James, an eminent antiquary, was the son of the Rev. Patrick Anderson, who had been ejected for non-conformity at the Restoration, and afterwards suffered imprisonment in the Bass, for preaching in a conventicle at Edinburgh. The subject of this memoir, whose brother, Adam, has already been commemorated, was born, August 5th, 1662, and in 1677, is found studying philosophy in the university of Edinburgh, where, after finishing a scholastic education, he obtained the degree of Master of Arts, on the 27th of May, 1680. He chose the law for his profession, and, after serving an apprenticeship under Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn, was admitted a member of the society of writers to the signet in 1691. In this branch of the legal profession, the study of written antiquities in some measure forces itself upon the practitioner; and it appears that Anderson, though a diligent and able man of business, became in time too fond of the accessory employment to care much for the principal. A circumstance which occurred in 1704, decided his fate by tempting him into the field of antiquarian controversy. The question of the union of the two countries was then very keenly agitated—on the one side with much jealous assertion of the national independency—and on the other, with not only a contempt for the boasts of the Scots, but a revival of the old claims of England for a superiority or paramouncy over their country. A lawyer named Attwood, in 1704, published a pamphlet in which all the exploded pretensions of Edward I. were brought prominently into view, and a direct dominion in the crown of England asserted over that of Scotland. For this work, Mr Anderson, though altogether unknown to Mr Attwood, was cited as an evidence and eye-witness, to vouch some of the most important original charters and grants by the kings of Scotland, which Attwood maintained were in favour of the point he laboured to establish. Mr Anderson, in consequence of such an appeal, thought himself bound in duty to his country, to publish what he knew of the matter, and to vindicate some of the best of the Scottish kings, who were accused by Attwood of a base and voluntary surrender of their sovereignty. Accordingly, in 1705, he published "An Essay, showing that the crown of Scotland is imperial and independent," Edinburgh, 8vo. which was so acceptable to his country, that, besides a reward, thanks were voted to him by parliament, to be delivered by the lord Chancellor, in presence of her Majesty's high Commissioner and the Estates; at the same time that Attwood's book, like others of the same nature, was ordered to be burnt at the cross of Edinburgh by the hands of the common hangman. Mr Anderson's publication is now of little value, except for the charters attached to it in the shape of an appendix.

This affair was the crisis of Anderson's fate in life. He had, in the course of his researches for the essay, collected a large mass of national papers; the study of charters was just then beginning to be appreciated by antiquaries; the enthusiam of the nation was favourable, for the moment, to any undertaking which would show the ancient respectability of its separate system of government. Under all these circumstances, Anderson found it easy to secure the patronage of the Scottish estates towards a design for engraving and publishing a series of facsimiles of the royal charters, previous to the reign of James I., and of seals, medals, and coins, from the earliest to the present time. In November, 1706, he had a parliamentary grant of three hundred pounds towards this object. He then proceeded vigorously with the work, and in March, 1707, had not only expended the three hundred pounds granted by parliament, but five hundred and ninety pounds besides, which he had drawn from his own funds. A committee reported the facts; and the estates, while they approved of his conduct, recommended to the Queen to bestow upon him an additional contribution of one thousand and fifty pounds sterling. Another parliamentary act of grace—and one of the very

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last proceedings of the Scottish estates—was to recommend him to the Queen "as a person meriting her gracious favour, in conferring any office or trust upon him, as her Majesty in her royal wisdom, shall think fit."

Quite intoxicated with this success, Anderson now gave up his profession, and, resolving to devote himself entirely to the national service as an antiquary, removed to London, in order to superintend the progress of his work. The event only added another proof to what is already abundantly clear—that scarcely any prospects in the precarious fields of literature, ought to tempt a man altogether to resign a professional means of subsistence. The money voted by the expiring parliament is said to have never been paid;—the British senate perhaps considering itself not the proper heir of the Scottish estates. Apparently in lieu of money, he was favoured, in 1715, with the appointment of post-master general for Scotland; but of this he was deprived in little more than two years. What progress he now made with his great work is not very clearly known. He is found, in 1718, advertising that those who might wish to encourage it "could see specimens at his house, above the post-office in Edinburgh." As the expense of engraving must have borne hard upon his diminished resources, he would appear to have digressed for some years into an employment of a kindred nature, attended with greater facilities of publication. In 1727, he published the two first volumes of his well known "Collections relating to the History of Mary, Queen *of Scotland*," Edinburgh, 4to, which was speedily completed by the addition of two other volumes. This work contains a large mass of valuable original documents connected with the Marian controversy; but George Chalmers, who went over the same ground, insinuates that there is too much reason to suspect his honesty as a transcriber. If the prejudices of the two men are fairly balanced against the reputations which they respectively bear as antiquaries, we must acknowledge that the charge may not be altogether groundless.

Anderson died in 1728 of a stroke of apoplexy, leaving his great work unfinished. The plates were sold, in 1729, by auction, at £530, and it was not till 1737 that the work appeared, under the title of "Selectus Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiæ Thesaurus," the whole being under the care of the celebrated Thomas Ruddiman, who added a most elaborate preface.

ANDERSON, James, D.D. author of a large and useful work, entitled, "Royal Genealogies," was the brother of Adam Anderson, author of the Commercial History. He was for many years minister of the Scots presbyterian church in Swallow-street, Piccadilly, and was well known among the people of that persuasion in London, by the nick-name of Bishop Anderson. He was a learned but imprudent man, and lost a considerable part of his property from too deep dabbling in the South-Sea scheme. His *magnum opus* as an author was, "Royal Genealogies, or the Genealogical Tables of Emperors, Kings, and Princes, from Adam (!) to these Times," London, folio, 1732. The compilation of this huge work, in which he was aided by many eminent personages, whose families entered into its plan, cost him, according to his own account, the labour of seven years. It is certainly the completest work of the kind in existence, though with no pretensions to discrimination. The author says very frankly in his preface, that, "He has avoided all terms and expressions that may give offence to any nation or family, to any person or party; having nothing to do with the national controversies of historians, nor with the ecclesiastical and religious debates of theologians, nor with the politics of statesmen, nor with the private jangles of the critics in a work of this kind, but only with facts and *plain truth*: so that he has let every nation enjoy its own faith; and if any find fault, he hopes they will readily excuse him, not having designed to offend them, and is willing to make satisfaction, if he lives to publish a second edition." Dr Anderson also wrote

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"The Constitutions of the Free Masons," being the chaplain of that body in London. The dates of this worthy man's birth and death are not ascertained. He lived in a house opposite to St James's church, Piccadilly.

ANDERSON, James, an agriculturist and miscellaneous writer of great merit, was the son of a farmer at Hermiston, in the county of Midlothian, where he was born in the year 1732. His father dying when he was very young, he was educated by his guardians to occupy the farm, which accordingly he began to manage at the early age of fifteen. It may be supposed that he could not have been intrusted with so important a charge, if he had not already manifested symptoms of superior character and intellect: much less, without such qualifications, could he have discharged it, as he is said to have done, with the approbation of all who had occasion to observe his operations. In reading some agricultural works, to qualify himself for his duties, he had observed that it would be of advantage to study chemistry: he accordingly attended the lectures given in the university of Edinburgh by Dr Cullen, who, although surprised that one so young should have formed this resolution, had much reason to admire his pupil's laudable curiosity and good sense, and liberally afforded him every encouragement in his power. To chemistry he added the study of certain collateral branches of science: so that, when he entered upon his farm, he was not only able to keep up with his more aged and experienced neighbours, but adopted a number of improvements, suggested by scientific knowledge and native good sense, which were speedily found to be of a most profitable nature. Among his improvements was the introduction of the small two-horse plough, which, since then, has so completely banished the lumbering engine formerly drawn by a string of cattle. Nor did the necessary business of his farm preclude all advancement in knowledge. He still prosecuted his studies with great eagerness, and soon contrived to amass an immense stock of information upon almost all subjects.

His first attempts in literature appeared in the shape of Essays on Planting, in Ruddiman's Weekly Magazine for 1771. In 1777, having previously removed to a large farm in Aberdeenshire, he published these essays in a separate volume. In 1776, appeared his Essay on Chimneys, in which the principle afterwards acted on in the patent Bath stove was first explained. In the same year with his volume on Planting, appeared various pamphlets connected with rural economy, all of which were more or less calculated to gratify the increasing desire of his countrymen for scientific knowledge upon such familiar subjects. The fame of these works procured him a very extensive acquaintance with persons of eminence, who wished to profit by the remarks of so able a practical farmer; and in 1780, the University of Aberdeen acknowledged his merit by conferring upon him the degree of LL.D.

Anderson had been married in 1763; and a desire of educating a very numerous family, together with certain considerations as to the enjoyment of literary society, induced him, in 1783, to remove to Edinburgh, leaving the management of his farm to persons properly qualified. A tract which he had written on the subject of the Fisheries, though not printed, attracted the attention of the government, and he was requested in 1784 to undertake a tour of the western coast of Scotland, for the purpose of obtaining information on this important subject. He readily acquiesced, and performed the task to the high satisfaction of his employers, who, however, never offered him any remuneration. The result of his labours appeared in 1785, as "An Account of the present state of the Hebrides and Western Coasts of Scotland; being the substance of a report to the Lords of the Treasury."

Passing over some minor works of Dr Anderson, we must make honourable

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mention of a literary and scientific miscellany which he commenced in 1791, under the title of the Bee. This work was published in weekly numbers at sixpence, and, by its delightful intermixture of useful information with lighter matters of the *belles lettres*, was eminently calculated for the improvement of the young. It was occasionally embellished with portraits, views, and draughts of scientific objects—in, it is true, a very homely style, but still not much inferior to the taste of the age, and certainly fitted to give the work an increased merit in the eyes of its juvenile purchasers. The work ran from the 22nd of December, 1790, to the 21st of January, 1794, when it was at length reluctantly abandoned, as the ingenious editor informs us, not on account of any failure in its circulation, for that was considerable enough to yield a large apparent profit, but because such a large proportion of the subscribers were remiss in their payments as to induce an absolute loss to the conductor. The cessation of such a meritorious little publication was the more to be regretted, as Anderson had only been able, towards its close, to bring the assistance of his numerous and distant correspondents into full play. The numbers published form eighteen volumes duodecimo, and throughout the whole of that space, we believe there does not occur one line which can be considered reprehensible for its moral effect.

Among other papers in the Bee was a series of Essays on the Political Progress of Britain. Though only written in what would now be considered a liberal strain, they appeared in the eyes of the sheriff as calculated to have an injurious tendency at that inflamed period; and the learned Doctor was accordingly summoned to give up the name of the author. This Anderson refused, from peculiar notions as to literary secrecy; he desired to be himself considered as the author. After a second and a third application, he still refused; and when the printers were sent for, and similarly interrogated, he charged them in the face of the magistrates, to preserve his secret. All this was the more singular, as his own principles were known to be eminently loyal. Respect for his talents and character induced the magistrates to let the matter drop. The real author, a worthless person named Callender, being afterwards about to quit his country for America, waited upon the authorities, and insinuated that the papers were written by lord Gardenstone, a man to whom he owed many obligations. Immediately on hearing of this infamous conduct, Anderson came forward, and refuted the charge by avowing Callander himself to be the real author. The whole of this affair reflects great credit upon the character of Dr Anderson.

About the year 1797, this ingenious person removed with his family to London, where he undertook various works connected with his favourite study of agriculture. For several years he wrote the articles of this nature in the Monthly Review; and from 1799 to 1802, he conducted a separate miscellany under the title of "Recreations in Agriculture," which was only discontinued on account of some obstructions incident to such a mode of publication. From the last mentioned date, he devoted himself almost entirely to the relaxation which advanced years and severe studies had rendered necessary, and particularly to the cultivation of his garden, which became a miniature of all his past labours. In 1801, he married a second wife, who survived him. He died on the 15th of October, 1808, at the age of sixty-nine.

In his younger days, Dr Anderson was remarkably handsome in his person, of middle stature, and robust make. Extremely moderate in his living, the country exercise animated his cheek with the glow of health; but the overstrained exertion of his mental powers afterwards shook his constitution, and hurried him into old age. He was a man of independent mind; and in the relative duties of husband and father, exhibited a prudential care, mixed with affection, which commanded the admiration of his friends. Of Dr Anderson's abilities, his works

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exhibit so many proofs that they may be appealed to with perfect confidence. Although a voluminous writer, there is no subject connected with his favourite pursuit, on which he has not thrown new light. But his knowledge was not confined to one science. He exhibited, to give only one instance, very considerable powers of research, when in 1773, he published, in the first edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, an article under the head Monsoon. In this he clearly predicted the result of captain Cook's first voyage; namely, that there did not exist, nor ever would be found, any continent or large island in the southern hemisphere except New Holland alone; and this was completely verified on captain Cook's return seven months afterwards. Upon the whole, though the name of Dr Anderson is associated with no scientific or literary triumphs of great splendour, his exertions, by their eminent and uniform usefulness, have given him very considerable claims to respect. A minute specification of his works is to be found in the *Scots Magazine* for 1809.

ANDERSON, JOHN, M.A. an eminent Presbyterian clergyman of last century, grandfather of Professor Anderson, the subject of the next article. Of his early history very little is known, except that he received a university education, and took his degree in arts. He was afterwards preceptor to the great John Duke of Argyle, and he mentions in his letters upon the Overtures concerning Kirk Sessions and Presbyteries, that he had resided in Edinburgh for twenty-five years in early life. He seems also to have taught a school, and he is upbraided by "Curat Calder," with having been "an old pedantic dominie, teaching *hæc dat a*." It was not, however, till after his settlement as minister of Dumbarton, that he became known as author. The earliest of his productions that has been discovered is entitled, "A Dialogue between a Curat and a Countreyman concerning the English Service, or Common-Prayer Book of England," which was printed in quarto at Glasgow, about 1710. The question relative to the form of prayer used in Scotland, immediately after the Reformation, was at this time keenly canvassed by the Scottish Episcopalians and Presbyterians, and the clergy of the former persuasion had very shortly before introduced the liturgy into their church service. (Carstares' State Papers.) Mr, afterwards Bishop, Sage endeavoured in his "Fundamental Charter of Presbytery Examined," to show that the English liturgy had been used in Scotland for at least seven years after the establishment of the Protestant religion. In this he was opposed by Mr Anderson, who adduced many arguments to prove that it was not the English liturgy that is spoken of by the Scottish historians, but that used by the English church at Geneva. Soon afterwards Anderson published a "Second Dialogue," (dated 1711) in which, says he, "there is hardly any thing of importance which is not said in the very words of the writers of the other side," and in which South, Beveridge, Hammond, and Burnet are the Curates whose sentiments are opposed. "A Letter from a Countreyman to a Curat," followed the dialogues, and received several answers, of which we shall only mention one, written by Robert Calder, an Episcopalian clergyman, the friend of Dr Archibald Pitcairn, and printed in his "Miscellany Numbers relating to the controversies about the Book of Common Prayer," &c. folio, 1713. To this attack Anderson replied in a pamphlet entitled "Curat Calder Whipt." He soon after published "A Sermon preached in the church of Ayr at the opening of the Synod, on Tuesday the first of April, 1712," printed at the desire of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, (quarto, price sixpence,) and in 1714, the work by which he is best known appeared. It has for its title, "A Defence of the Church Government, Faith, Worship, and Spirit of the Presbyterians, in answer to a book entitled an Apology for Mr Thomas Rhind," &c. 4to, and is dedicated to Archibald Earl of Islay. About the beginning of the year 1717, Anderson informs us, "the people of Glasgow were pleased to move that I should be called to be one of the ministers of that place," (Letter to Stewart of Pardovan, p. 1.)

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but the proceedings relative to this transaction strikingly illustrate the truth of Wodrow's remark in a letter to Dr Cotton Mather.[1] "We are biting and devouring one another," says the venerable historian, "and like to be consumed one of another. In our neighbouring city of Glasgow, where since the Revolution, unity and harmony, and consequently vital religion flourished, now heat, and strife, and every evil work abound. The university is split and broken. The magistrates and ministers are at present in no good terms." The same author gives us some additional information relative to Mr Anderson's case in a letter to the Rev. James Hart, one of the ministers of Edinburgh in 1718.[2] "Our Synod last week," says he, "had the Presbytery of Glasgow's reference of Mr Anderson's call before them; the ministers' reasons of dissent and the town's answers were read, and the ministers' answers to them read, *viva voce*. The advice given at the close of the last Synod when the house was thin (to fall from Mr Anderson) was disliked by the Synod now when full, and it was agreed not to be recorded. The vote came to be stated,—concur with the call, and transmit it to the Presbytery of Dumbarton, or refer to the Assembly; and it carried,—concur 63, refer 41; whereon the ministers and four or five of the Presbytery appealed to the Assembly, and gave in a complaint verbally against Mr Anderson, which the Synod obliged them to bring in in write, signed, to-morrow." Mr Anderson was, however, at length settled in Glasgow in 1720, although it appears from M'Ure's History that the North-West Church to which he was appointed was not founded till 1721, nor finished for "a year or two thereafter." It would be difficult to explain Anderson's motives in coming to Glasgow,—his colleagues were disgusted at a letter addressed by him to Walter Stewart of Pardovan, which was published in 1717, and contained some severe remarks upon them, and he says, in a strain of bitter irony, "I confess I was under a great temptation of being eager for a settlement in Glasgow, for what minister would not be fond of a lesser stipend and a double charge!"[3] Nor was he more fortunate in his first appearance in his new parish, for he had, according to M'Ure, a kind of consecration sermon, which disgusted "the stricter, or more bigotted sort of the people." In the same year in which he was appointed one of the ministers of Glasgow, "Mr Anderson's Letters upon the Overtures concerning Kirk Sessions and Presbyteries" appeared in 12mo. Of this topic he says, "I must needs confess that it is the most melancholy subject I ever wrote upon. There was pleasure as well as duty in contending with our prelatic adversaries; but alas!

> In civil war, to lose or gain 's the same,
> To gain 's no glory, and to lose a shame."

These letters extend to six, and although now little known, as they refer merely to an ephemeral subject, contain some curious historical information, and not a little satire. Mr Anderson did not long survive his call to Glasgow,—the date of his death has not been ascertained, but his successor was appointed in 1723. His controversial writings are full of valuable historical information, and show him to have been thoroughly versed in theological literature, but it cannot be too much regretted that he so far indulged in intemperate language. We have not alluded to some of his smaller pamphlets, which refer merely to subjects of a temporary or local nature.

Upon the family tomb-stone, erected by the will of Professor Anderson, over the grave of his grandfather, upon the front of the North-West Church, Glasgow, was inscribed the following memorial of Mr Anderson:—"Near this place ly the remains of the Rev. John Anderson, who was preceptor to the famous John Duke of Argyle and Greenwich, and minister of the gospel in Dumbarton in the

[1] Wodrow's History, new edition, vol. 1. p. xxv.
[2] History, vol. 1. p. xxii. [3] Letters on the Overtures, p. 67.

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beginning of the eighteenth century, and in this church in the year 1720. He was the author of 'The Defence of the Church-government, Faith, Worship, and Spirit of the Presbyterians,' and of several other ecclesiastical and political tracts. As a pious minister and an eloquent preacher, a defender of civil and religious liberty, and a man of wit and learning, he was much esteemed; he lived in the reign of Charles II., James II., William III., Anne, and George I. Such times, and such a man, forget not, reader, while thy country, liberty, and religion are dear to thee."

ANDERSON, JOHN, F. R. S. professor of natural philosophy in the university of Glasgow, and founder of the eminently useful institution, bearing his name, in that city, was born in the parish of Roseneath in Dumbartonshire, in the year 1726. He was the eldest son of the reverend James Anderson, minister of Roseneath, who was, in his turn, the eldest son of the reverend John Anderson, preceptor to John Duke of Argyle, afterwards minister of the gospel, at Dumbarton, and whose memoir is given in the preceding article. The subject of this memoir, having the misfortune to lose his father in early life, was educated by his aunt Mrs Turner, widow of one of the ministers of the High church of Stirling. While residing at this town, where he received the rudiments of learning, he appeared as an officer in the burgher corps raised in February, 1746, to defend it against the forces of the young Chevalier. His conduct on this occasion was worthy of his distinguished ancestor, from whose example he appears to have derived that attachment to the principles of civil and religious liberty, which marked his character through life. The carabine which he carried on the walls of Stirling is preserved in the museum connected with his institution at Glasgow. He received the more advanced part of his education at the college of Glasgow, where, in 1756, he was appointed to be professor of oriental languages, being then in the thirtieth year of his age.

It was not in this sphere that Mr Anderson was destined to shine with greatest lustre. His mind had a decided bent towards the exact sciences, and to the illustration of the arts with which they are connected. His translation, therefore, to the chair of natural philosophy, which took place in 1760, was an event highly agreeable to him, and also most fortunate for the world. While he took an early opportunity after this event, to fulfil an important private duty, by repaying his aunt for the expenses of his education, he entered upon the business of his class with an enthusiastic ardour of application, which we may safely pronounce to have been without example in any Scottish university. Not contented with the ordinary duty of delivering a course of lectures—though he performed that duty in a manner alone sufficient to obtain distinction—he was indefatigable in studying and exemplifying the application of science to mechanical practice; visiting, for this purpose, the workshops of artizans in the town, and receiving, in return for the scientific doctrine which he had to communicate, a full equivalent of experimental knowledge. The most estimable characteristic of professor Anderson, was a liberal and diffusive benevolence in regard to the instruction his race. Under the inspiration of this feeling, which was in that age more rare, and therefore more meritorious than it is at present, he instituted, in addition to his usual class, which was strictly mathematical, one for the working classes, and others whose pursuits did not enable them to conform to the prescribed routine of academical study, illustrating his precepts by experiments, so as to render it in the highest degree attractive. He continued to teach this *anti-toga class*, as he called it, twice every week, during the session, to the end of his life; and it would not be easy to estimate the aggregate of good which he thus rendered to his fellow-creatures. As an instance of the liberal good sense by which he was governed in his eminently useful scheme, it is related that, a mechanic having complained to his assistant, he had scarcely time, after leaving

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his work, to change his dress before coming to the class, and having suggested the propriety of the operatives being allowed to attend without such change, Mr Anderson, being apprised of the wish so expressed, at once acceded to it. His was a mind too strongly bent on mere usefulness, to regard empty form. Yet, as a lecturer, he is allowed to have himself exhibited a surpassing elegance of manner. His style was easy and graceful, his command of language unlimited, and the skill and success with which his manifold experiments were performed, could not be surpassed. He excited the interest, and attracted the attention of his pupils, by the numerous and appropriate anecdotes with which he illustrated and enlivened his lectures. Enthusiastic in his profession, his whole ambition and happiness consisted in making himself useful to mankind, by the dissemination of useful knowledge; and nothing afforded him purer pleasure than hearing that any of his pupils had distinguished themselves in the world. The only distinct work which he published in connection with his favourite science, was a valuable one, entitled, "Institutes of Physics," which appeared in 1786, and went through five editions during the next ten years.

On the commencement of those political changes in France, which ended in such unhappy results, Mr Anderson, as might have been predicated from his ardently liberal and enlightened character, was among those who sympathized most warmly with the proceedings of the emancipated people. Previous to that period, he had prosecuted a taste for the military art, and invented a species of gun, the recoil of which was stopped by the condensation of common air, within the body of the carriage. Having in vain endeavoured to attract the attention of the British government to this invention, he went to Paris, in 1791, carrying with him a model, which he presented to the national Convention. The governing party in France at once perceived the benefit which would be derived from this invention, and ordered Mr Anderson's model to be hung up in their hall, with the following inscription over it—"The gift of Science to Liberty." Whilst he was in France, he got a six-pounder made from his model, with which he made numerous experiments in the neighbourhood of Paris, at which the famous Paul Jones, amongst others, was present; and who gave his decided approbation of the gun, as likely to prove highly useful in landing troops from boats, or firing from the round tops or poops of ships of war. Mr Anderson, at this period, took a keen interest in the transactions which passed before his eyes. He was present when Louis XVI. was brought back from Varennes; and on the 14th of July, on the top of the altar of liberty, and in the presence of half a million of Frenchmen, he sung *Te Deum* with the bishop of Paris, when the king took the oath to the Constitution, amen being said to the ceremony by the discharge of five hundred pieces of artillery. As the Emperor of Germany had drawn a military cordon around the frontiers of France, to prevent the introduction of French newspapers into Germany, he suggested the expedient of making small balloons of paper, varnished with boiled oil, and filled with inflammable air, to which newspapers and manifestoes might be tied. This was accordingly practised, and when the wind was favourable for Germany, they were sent off, and descending in that country, were, with their appendages picked up by the people. They carried a small flag or streamer, of which the following is a translation:—

> O'er hills and dales, and lines of hostile troops, I float majestic,
> Bearing the laws of God and Nature to oppressed men,
> And bidding them with arms their rights maintain."[1]

[1] For this striking anecdote of Mr Anderson's enthusiasm in the cause of liberty, as well as most of the particulars of his conduct as a professor, we are indebted to a memoir

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Mr Anderson died, January 13th, 1796, in the 70th year of his age, and the 41st year of his professorship, directing, by his will, dated May 7th, 1795, that the whole of his effects, of every kind, should be devoted to the establishment of an educational institution in Glasgow, to be denominated, *Anderson's University*, for the use of the unacademical classes; so that, even while he was consigned to the silent dust, he might still, by means of his honourably acquired wealth, prove of service to the fellow-creatures whom he had benefited so much, during his own life, by personal exertion. His will was carried into effect on the 9th of June following, by the magistrates granting a charter of incorporation to the proposed institution. According to the design of the founder, there were to be four colleges,—for arts, medicine, law, and theology,—besides an initiatory school. Each college was to consist of nine professors, the senior professor being the president or dean. As the funds, however, were inadequate to the plan, it was at first commenced with only a single course of lectures on natural philosophy and chemistry, by Dr Thomas Garnett, well known for his numerous scientific and medical works, and also for his "Tour through the Highlands and part of the Western Isles of Scotland." This course was attended for the first year by nearly a thousand persons of both sexes. In 1798, a professor of mathematics and geography was appointed. The splendid apparatus and library of the founder, which were valued at L3000, added greatly to the advantages of the infant institution. In 1799, Dr Garnett, being appointed professor in the Royal Institution at London, was succeeded by the eminent Dr Birbeck, who, in addition to the branches taught by his predecessor, introduced a familiar system of philosophical and mechanical information to five hundred operative mechanics, free of all expense. The institution was placed by the will of the founder under the inspection and control of the Lord Provost, and many other honourable persons, as ordinary visitors, and under the more immediate superintendance of eighty-one trustees, who are elected by ballot, and remain in office for life. Since the first establishment of the *University*, as it may very properly be called, it has gradually been extended, nearer and nearer to the original design of the founder. There are now, [1831,] thirteen professors, who deliver lectures on natural philosophy, chemistry, materia medica, anatomy, surgery, veterinary surgery, midwifery, pharmacy, mathematics, geography, experimental philosophy, natural history, logic, ethics, and modern languages. The institution now possesses handsome and commodious buildings, which belong to the corporation, and, among other additions to its means of cultivating and teaching science, is an extensive museum of natural history. *Anderson's University* must be considered a wonderful example of the quantity of good which one man, of no very great external means, may do for his kind. The private fortune of one professor in the original college of Glasgow has here been found sufficient, after a lapse of about thirty years, to produce a new fount of learning, not unworthy to rank with the old, and of very great practical utility to the public.

A posthumous work of professor Anderson, entitled, "Observations on Roman Antiquities between the Forth and Clyde," appeared in 1804.

ANDERSON, Robert, M.D. the biographer of Smollett and Johnson, was born in 1749, the son of a feuar in the rural village of Carnwath in Lanarkshire. His native genius overcame all the disadvantages of his natal scene, as well as the poverty occasioned by his father's premature decease, and he succeeded in obtain-

in the Glasgow Mechanics' Magazine, vol. iii. 1825, when, strange to say, for the first time, was any notice of the life of this great man presented to the public; a striking instance of the neglect with which mankind sometimes treat their greatest benefactors, while they blazon the fame and glory of those who have treated them as slaves or tools, with the most abject adulation.

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ing the education necessary to qualify himself for the medical profession. In his early years, when pursuing his studies at Carnwath, he could find but one congenial mind in the whole of that rural district; this was an unfortunate youth named James Græme, the son of a neighbour, who, after exhibiting considerable powers as a poet, died in his twenty-second year, and whose reliques were afterwards included by Dr Anderson, more perhaps through the influence of friendship, than deliberate taste, in his edition of the British poets. Dr Anderson first entered into practice, as surgeon to the Dispensary of Bamborough Castle in Northumberland; he afterwards removed to Alnwick, where he married Miss Gray, daughter of Mr John Gray, a relation of the noble family of that name. The declining state of his wife's health, which rendered a change of air necessary, induced him in 1784 to remove to Edinburgh, where he ever afterwards resided. He had here the misfortune to lose his amiable partner, who sunk under a consumption, leaving him with three infant daughters. Dr Anderson having secured a small independence, practised no more after this period, but entered into such literary business as he felt to be agreeable to his taste, and became the centre of an agreeable coterie, in which the talents of many a youth of genius were for the first time brought into notice. About the year 1793 he began to prepare his edition of the British Poets, which appeared in a succession of volumes, in large octavo, between the years 1795 and 1807. To the works of each poet is prefixed a biographical memoir by Dr Anderson; and the work was deemed to be very respectably executed. In 1793, he married for his second wife, Miss Dale, daughter of Mr David Dale, schoolmaster in East Lothian—such a step being in a great measure necessary for the education of his two surviving daughters. A collection of the works of Smollett, by Dr Anderson, with a memoir prefixed, has gone through eight editions. To the last edition is affixed a highly characteristic likeness of the editor. The memoir has been published repeatedly in a distinct shape, and is a very respectable production. Dr Anderson also published a "Life of Dr Samuel Johnson, with critical observations on his works," which has reached a third edition. For several years before the end of the eighteenth century, Dr Anderson was editor of the Edinburgh Magazine, a rival of the Scots Magazine, and more varied and lively in its details, which afforded him an opportunity of bringing forward the productions of his young friends. This work commenced in the year 1784, and at the end of 1803, was incorporated with the Scots Magazine: it was much indebted to its proprietor, James Sibbald, editor of the Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, to Lord Hailes, and other eminent literary characters. The great incident of Dr Anderson's literary life was his connection with the fate of Thomas Campbell, and his exertions in bringing before the public the celebrated "Pleasures of Hope." The time is not yet come when the details of that transaction can with perfect propriety be stated; but the exertions of Dr Anderson have been universally acknowledged by the public, as of the most kind, the most disinterested, and most valuable nature—in short, necessary to the publication of that beautiful poem, which must have otherwise run the risk of never being presented to the world. The grateful poet dedicated his work to Dr Anderson. During the later years of his life, this venerable author, though he indulged as much as ever in literary society, gave no work to the public.

As a literary critic, Dr Anderson was distinguished by a warm and honest sensibility to the beauties of poetry, and by extreme candour. His character as a man was marked by perfect probity in all his dealings, and unshaken constancy in friendship. His manner was lively and bustling; and from his long-continued acquaintance with the literary world, he possessed an unrivalled fund of that species of gossip and anecdote, which gives so much pleasure in Boswell's Life of

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Johnson. To those who have enjoyed this species of conversation in its fullest extent, his loss forms a blank, which no survivor could supply.

ANDERSON, WALTER, D.D. The era of this gentleman's birth is unknown; he died at an advanced age, July, 1800, after having been minister of the parish of Chirnside for fifty years. He is a remarkable specimen of that class of authors, who, without the least power of entertaining or instructing their fellow-creatures, yet persist in writing and publishing books, which nobody ever reads, and still, like the man crazed by the lottery, expect that the next, and the next, and the next will be attended with success. Perhaps Anderson's *cacoethes scribendi* received its first impulse from the following ludicrous circumstance. His parish comprehending the house of Ninewells, he was often entertained there, in company with the brother of the proprietor—the celebrated David Hume. The conversation having turned one day on the successes of Mr Hume as an author, Anderson said, "Mr David, I dare say other people might write books too; but you clever fellows have taken up all the good subjects. When I look about me, I cannot find one unoccupied." Hume, who liked a joke upon an unsuspecting clergyman, said, "what would you think, Mr Anderson, of a history of Crœsus, king of Lydia?—that has never yet been written." Mr Anderson was delighted with the idea, and, in short, "upon that hint he *wrote*." In 1755 was published, "The History of Crœsus, king of Lydia, in four parts; containing observations on the ancient notion of destiny, or dreams, on the origin and credit of the oracles, and the principles upon which their oracles were defended against any attack." What is perhaps the best part of the jest, the work was honoured with the following serio-burlesque notice in the Edinburgh Review, then just started by Hume, Smith, Carlyle, and other wits—the article being written, we have no doubt, by the very man who incited the unhappy author to his task:—

"Crœsus king of Lydia is a prince whom we never expected to have met with, as the hero of a serious history. Mankind seem at last to feel the necessity of contracting rather than enlarging that period of history, which ought to be the object of their study and attention. If this sentiment be just, how unfortunate and ill-timed is our author's attempt to recall from oblivion the name and adventures of a monarch of such distant and dubious fame. He himself seems aware of this objection to his work; and it is but just to hear what he can plead in his own defence. 'The enthusiastic principles of ages long past, and the artificial devices then used to work upon the passions of men, may appear to some, a subject of history not enough interesting in these times. But if the most essential part of knowledge, derived from history, be that of mankind, it surely cannot well be learned, without thoroughly considering the various sentiments and opinions embraced by them in different ages of the world. Our views of human nature must be partial and confined, if they be only directed to some of its late and present appearances. By carrying our thoughts back into ancient times, we may see reason for abating much of the amazement or dislike which is apt to arise in our minds, when we read the religious or political violences marked out in modern history.'

"If the reader shall sustain this apology for the subject, (which we by no means require him to do,) we can assure him that he will find our author neither destitute of skill in composition, nor a stranger to propriety and neatness of language. He has treated his subjects with abundance of erudition, and by his manner of relating it, renders an old tale somewhat tolerable.

"We cannot, however, imagine our readers to be so much interested in the Lydian monarch, as to make it necessary for us to enter into any detail of his actions. We approve of our author's choice of Herodotus rather than Xeno-

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phon; * * but at the same time, our author's history has derived, from Herodotus, an air and character which will appear uncouth to a modern reader; oracles, dreams, prodigies, miraculous interpositions of the gods, and no less miraculous instances of credulity and folly among men, are the objects perpetually before him. The rage of reading novels, which has spread so wonderfully over Britain, may perhaps have accustomed the public ear to such improbabilities. To all true lovers of the marvellous, we therefore recommend our author's hero. His adventures, though related in a better style, are as far removed from truth, and very near as much connected with instruction, as most of those which of late years have been so diligently studied by a great part of the nation.

"We conclude this article with an admonition to the author. In any future performance, we advise him either to venture into the region of pure fiction, or to confine himself within the precincts of real history. In the former, by his talents for composition, he may become an agreeable writer; in the latter his industry may render him an instructive one."

It happens that the work thus noticed in the second number of the Edinburgh Review, was also the subject of a critique in the second number of the Critical Review, which had then been just started in London by Smollett. The article in the latter work bears such evident marks of the pen of the distinguished editor, and refers to such an extraordinary work, that we shall make no apology for the following extracts.

After remarking that the volume has been chiefly compiled from the episodes of Herodotus, that it exhibits a miserable flatness of style, and that all the facts scattered throughout its two hundred and thirty-five pages might have been related in three or four, the critic proceeds to say—"we are apt to believe that this is the first essay of some young historian, who has been more intent upon forming his style and displaying his learning, than careful in digesting his plan, and combining his materials; the subject is too meagre to afford nourishment to the fancy or understanding; and one might as well attempt to build a first-rate man of war from the wreck of a fishing-boat, as to compose a regular history from such a scanty parcel of detached observations. The compiler has been aware of this deficiency, and has filled up his blank paper with unnecessary argument, and a legion of eternal truths, by way of illustration. What could be more unnecessary, for example, than a detail of reasons for doubting the divinity or dæmoniacism of the ancient oracles? who believes, at this time of day, that they were either inspired by the deity, or influenced by the devil? What can be more superfluous than a minute commentary and investigation of the absurdities in the plea of the priestess, when she was taxed with falsehood and equivocation? But we beg the author's pardon; he wrote for readers that dwell beyond the Tweed, who have not yet renounced all commerce with those familiar spirits, which are so totally discarded from this part of the island. There is still a race of soothsayers in the Highlands, derived, if we may believe some curious antiquaries, from the Druids and Bards, that were set apart for the worship of Apollo. The author of the history now before us, may, for ought we know, be one of these venerable seers; though we rather take him to be a Presbyterian teacher, who has been used to expound apothegms that need no explanation."

The history of Crœsus king of Lydia, one of the most curious productions recognised in the history of *literary mania*, is now extremely rare—not by any means from the absorbing appreciation of the public, but rather, apparently, from the very limited extent of its first circulation.

The worthy author, though perhaps daunted a little by the reception of his first attempt, in time recovered the full tone of his literary ambition; and he

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next attempted a work of much larger compass, which appeared in 1769, in two quarto volumes, under the title of "The History of France during the reigns of Francis II. and Charles IX., to which is prefixed a Review of the General History of the Monarchy from its origin to that period." The success of this work was much like that of its predecessor; yet in 1775, the author published a continuation in one volume, under the title, "The History of France, from the commencement of the reign of Henry III., and the rise of the Catholic League, to the peace of Worms and the establishment of the famous edict of Nantes in the reign of Henry IV." In 1783, appeared two further volumes, embracing the history from the commencement of the reign of Louis XIII. to the general peace of Munster. But these continuous efforts were not drawn forth by the encouragement of the public; they were solely owing to the desperate *cacoethes* of the worthy writer, which would take no hint from the world—no refusal from fame. It is said that he was solely enabled to support the expense of his unrequited labour by a set of houses belonging to himself in Dunse, (too appropriate locality!) one of which was sold for every successive quarto, till at last something like a street of good habitable tenements in that thriving town was converted into a row of unreadable volumes in his library. "Dr Anderson," says the Gentleman's Magazine, "displays none of the essential qualities of historic writing, no research into the secret springs of action, no discrimination of character, and no industry in accumulating and examining authorities. Even as a compiler he is guided only by one set of materials which he found in the French writers, and may therefore be consulted by the English reader, as a collection of their opinions, while he is highly censurable in not having recourse to original papers and documents respecting the affairs of his own country. His style is uniformly tame, and defaced by colloquial barbarisms."

In a literary history of this deplorable character, it is gratifying to find that one effort was at length judged worthy of some praise. This was a work subsequent to the above, entitled, "The Philosophy of Ancient Greece investigated, in its origin and progress, to the eras of its greatest celebrity, in the Ionian, Italic, and Athenian schools, with remarks on the delineated system of their founders." His principle in this work, according to the authority just quoted, appears to have been to supply the deficiencies in Mr Stanley's work, and to give place to remarks upon the meaning employed by the most eminent Grecian philosophers, in support of their physical, theological, and moral systems; and to give a fuller and more connected display of their theories and arguments, and to relieve the frigidity of their bare details by interspersing observations." In this work he displays much learning, and is in general both accurate and perspicuous, although, he is still deficient in the graces of style. Perhaps it would have been more successful had it not appeared at the same time with Dr Enfield's excellent abridgment of Brucker's History of Philosophy.

One of the last attempts of Dr Anderson was a pamphlet against the principles of the French Revolution. This being not only written in his usual heavy style, but adverse to the popular sentiments, met with so little sale, that it could scarcely be said to have been ever *published*. However, the doctor was not discouraged; adopting rather the maxim, "*contra audentior ito*," he wrote a ponderous addition or appendix to the work, which he brought with him to Edinburgh, in order to put it to the press. Calling first upon his friend Principal Robertson, he related the whole design, which, as might be expected, elicited the mirthful surprise of the venerable historian. "Really," said Dr Robertson, "this is the maddest of all your schemes—what! a small pamphlet is found heavy, and you propose to lighten it by making it ten times heavier! Never was such madness heard

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of!" "Why, why," answered Dr Anderson, "did you never see a kite raised by boys?" "I have," answered the principal. "Then, you must have remarked that, when you try to raise the kite by itself, there is no getting it up: but only add a long string of papers to its tail, and up it goes like a laverock!" The reverend principal was completely overcome by this argument, which scarcely left him breath to reply, so heartily did he laugh at the ingenuity of the resolute author. However, we believe, he eventually dissuaded Dr Anderson from his design.

ANNAND, WILLIAM, an episcopal divine of the reign of Charles II., was the son of William Annand, minister of Ayr, where he was born in 1633. His father, having read the service-book at Glasgow in 1637, was attacked by the women of that place on the streets, and with some difficulty escaped a tragical fate. He was obliged soon after to fly from Scotland, on account of his adherence to the royal cause. Young Annand became, in 1651, a student at University College, Oxford, and soon gave token of his being inspired with the same predilections as his father. Though placed under a presbyterian tutor, he took every opportunity of hearing the episcopal divines, who preached clandestinely in and around Oxford. In 1656, being then bachelor of arts, he received holy orders from the hands of Dr Thomas Fulwar, bishop of Ardfort or Kerry in Ireland, and was appointed preacher at Weston on the Green, near Bicester in Oxfordshire. In this situation, and another to which he was preferred in Bedfordshire, he distinguished himself by his preaching. Immediately after the Restoration, he published two treatises in favour of the episcopal style of worship, which seem to have procured him high patronage, as he was now appointed chaplain to the earl of Middleton, the king's commissioner to the Scottish Estates. Returning to Scotland with this nobleman, he became minister successively of the Tolbooth and of the Tron Churches. As an episcopal clergyman, he must have no doubt been exceedingly unpopular in his own country; but there can be no doubt that both his ministrations and his writings were highly creditable to him, the latter displaying much learning. In 1676, the king appointed him to be dean of Edinburgh, and in 1685 he began to act as professor of divinity at St Andrews. On the 30th of June, 1685, he attended the Earl of Argyle, by order of the government, at his execution, and in his prayer on the scaffold, had the liberality to lament the fall of that nobleman "as one of the pillars of the church," an expression which is said to have given great offence to his superiors. After a life of piety and goodness, he died in 1689, lamenting with his latest breath, and with tears in his eyes, the overthrow of that church which he had exerted himself so much to defend and establish. He said, he never had thought to outlive the church of Scotland, but he hoped that others would live to see it restored.

ARBUTHNOT, ALEXANDER, an eminent divine of the reign of James VI., son of the laird of Arbuthnot, was born in the year 1538. Having studied languages and philosophy in the University of Aberdeen, and civil law under the famous Cujacius at Bourges in France, he took ecclesiastical orders, and became in his own country a zealous supporter of the Reformation. The period of his entrance into life was 1563, when queen Mary was in possession of the kingdom. His eminent abilities and acquirements pointed him out, young as he was, as a leading man in the church, and accordingly he took a prominent part in several general assemblies. In that of 1568, he was appointed by his brethren to examine a work entitled "The Fall of the Roman Church," which was objected to because it styled the king the head of the church. The result of his deliberations was an order to Bassandyne, the printer, not to print any more books till he had expunged this passage, and also taken away a lewd song which he had

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published at the end of an edition of the Psalms. The assembly also ordered that henceforth no book should be published till licensed by their commission. "Thus," it has been remarked, "the reformed clergy, who owed their emancipation to the right of private judgment, with strange inconsistency obstructed the progress of free inquiry by taking upon themselves the regulation of the press."

Arbuthnot was soon after appointed minister of the parishes of Arbuthnot and Logie-Buchan, and in 1569 he became Principal of the University of Aberdeen. He was a member of the General Assembly held at St Andrews in 1572, in which strenuous opposition was made to a scheme of church-government, called the "Book of Policy," which was invented by certain statesmen, at the head of whom was the Regent Morton, to restore the old titles of the church, and by means of titular incumbents, retain all the temporalities among themselves. In the General Assemblies held at Edinburgh in 1573 and 1577, Arbuthnot was chosen Moderator; and he appears to have been constantly employed, on the part of the church, in the commission for conducting the troublesome and tedious contest with the Regency concerning the plan of ecclesiastical government to be adopted in Scotland. This commission, under the name of the Congregation, at length absorbed so much power, that the Assembly was left little to do but to approve its resolutions. The part which Arbuthnot took in these affairs gave offence to James VI., and the offence was increased by the publication of Buchanan's History, of which Arbuthnot was the editor. It was therefore resolved to restrain him by an oppressive act of arbitrary power; and a royal order was issued, forbidding him to absent himself from his college at Aberdeen. The clergy, who saw that the design of this order was to deprive them of the benefit of Arbuthnot's services, remonstrated: the king, however, remained inflexible; and the clergy submitted. This persecution probably affected Arbuthnot's health and spirits; for, the next year, 1583, he fell into a gradual decline and died. Arbuthnot appears to have possessed much good sense and moderation, and to have been well qualified for public business. His knowledge was various and extensive; he was a patron of learning; and at the same time that he was active in promoting the interests of the Reformed church, he contributed to the revival of a taste for literature in Scotland. The only prose production which he has left, is a learned and elegant Latin work, entitled "Orationes de Origine et Dignitate Juris,"—[Orations on the Origin and Dignity of the Law,] which was printed in 4to at Edinburgh in 1572. For some specimens of vernacular poetry, supposed to be his composition, we may refer to Irving's Lives of the Scottish Poets, and M'Crie's Life of Andrew Melville. His character has received a lasting eulogy, in the shape of an epitaph, from the pen of his friend Melville. See *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*, ii. *p.* 120.

ARBUTHNOT, JOHN, M.D. one of the constellation of wits in the reign of queen Anne, and the most learned man of the whole body, was the son of a Scottish clergyman, who bore a near relationship to the noble family of this name and title. He was born at Arbuthnot in Kincardineshire, soon after the Restoration, and received his education at the University of Aberdeen, where he took the degree of M.D. The father of Arbuthnot was one of those members of the church of Scotland, who, not being able to comply with the presbyterian system introduced at the Revolution, were obliged to resign their charges. He retired to a small estate, which he possessed by inheritance; while his sons, finding their prospects blighted in their own country, were under the necessity of going abroad to seek their fortune. John carried his jacobitism, his talents, and his knowledge of physic, to London, where he at first subsisted as a teacher of mathematics. His first literary effort bore a reference to this science: it was an Examination of Dr Woodward's Account of the Deluge," a work which had

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been published in 1695, and which, in Dr Arbuthnot's estimation, was irreconcilable with just philosophical reasoning upon mathematical principles. This publication, which appeared in 1697, laid the foundation of the author's literary reputation, which not long after received a large and deserved increase by his "Essay on the usefulness of Mathematical Learning." The favour which he acquired by these publications, as well as by his agreeable manners and learned conversation, by degrees introduced him into practice as a physician. Being at Epsom, when Prince George of Denmark was suddenly taken ill, he was called in, and had the good fortune to effect a cure. The Prince immediately became his patron, and, in 1709, he was appointed fourth physician in ordinary to the queen, (prince George's royal consort,) in which situation he continued till her majesty's death in 1714. In 1704, Dr Arbuthnot had been elected a member of the Royal Society, in consequence of his communicating to that body a most ingenious paper on the equality of the numbers of the sexes; a fact which he proved by tables of births from 1629, and from which he deduced the reasonable inference that polygamy is a violation of the laws of nature. In 1710, he was elected a member of the Royal College of Physicians.

This was the happy period of Dr Arbuthnot's life. Tory principles and tory ministers were now triumphant; he was in enjoyment of a high reputation, of a lucrative practice, and a most honourable preferment. He also lived in constant intercourse with a set of literary men, almost the greatest who had ever flourished in England, and all of whom were of his own way of thinking in regard to politics. This circle included Pope, Swift, Gray, and Prior. In 1714, he engaged with Pope and Swift, in a design to write a satire on the abuse of human learning in every branch, which was to have been executed in the humorous manner of Cervantes, the original inventor of this species of satire, under the history of feigned adventures. But the prosecution of this design was prevented by the queen's death, which lost Arbuthnot his situation, and proved a death-blow to all the political friends of the associated wits. In the dejection which befell them, they never went farther than an essay, chiefly written by Arbuthnot, under the title of the First Book of the Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus. "Polite letters," says Warburton in his edition of Pope's works, "never lost more than in the defeat of this scheme; in the execution of which, each of this illustrious triumvirate would have found exercise for his own particular talents; besides constant employment for those which they all had in common. Dr Arbuthnot was skilled in every thing which related to science; Mr Pope was a master in the fine arts; and Dr Swift excelled in a knowledge of the world. Wit they had in equal measure; and this so large, that no age perhaps ever produced three men to whom Nature had more bountifully bestowed it, or Art had brought it to higher perfection." We are told by the same writer that the Travels of Gulliver and the Memoirs of a Parish Clerk were at first intended as a branch of the Memoirs of Scriblerus. In opposition to what Warburton says of the design, we may present what Johnson says of the execution. "These memoirs," says the doctor, in his life of Pope, "extend only to the first part of a work projected in concert by Pope, Swift, and Arbuthnot. Their purpose was to censure the abuses of learning by a fictitious life of an infatuated scholar. They were dispersed; the design never was completed; and Warburton laments its miscarriage, as an event very disastrous to polite letters. If the whole may be estimated by this specimen, which seems to be the production of Arbuthnot, with a few touches by Pope, the want of more will not be much lamented; for the follies which the writer ridicules are so little practised, that they are not known; nor can the satire be understood but by the learned. He raises phantoms of absurdity, and then drives them away. He cures diseases that were never felt. For this reason, this joint

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production of three great writers has never attained any notice from mankind." With the opinion of Dr Johnson we entirely coincide, so far as the Scriblerus is concerned; but we think that Arbuthnot was unfortunate in the part of the design which he selected, and that, in satirising more palpable follies, he might have been more successful. The success of Swift, in ridiculing mankind in general in his Gulliver is surely a sufficient reason, if no other existed, for the lamentation of Warburton.

At the death of the Queen, when it pleased the new government to change all the attendants of the court, the immortal suffered with the mortal; Arbuthnot, displaced from his apartments at St James's, took a house in Dover-street, remarking philosophically to Swift, that he "hoped still to be able to keep a little habitation warm in town." His circumstances were never so prosperous or agreeable after this period. With the world at large, success makes merit—and the want of it the reverse—and it is perhaps impossible for human nature to think so highly of a man who has been improperly deprived of some external mark of distinction and honour, as of him who wears it without so much desert. The wit, left to his own resources, and with a rising family to support, seems to have now lived in some little embarrassment.

In 1717, Arbuthnot, along with Pope, gave assistance to Gay, in a farce entitled, "Three Hours after Marriage," which, strange to say, was damned the first night. A rival wit wrote upon this subject:—

> "Such were the wags who boldly did adventure
> To club a farce by tripartite adventure;
> But let them share their dividend of praise,
> And wear their own fool's cap instead of bays."

The failure is easily explained, and the explanation partly involves Arbuthnot's character as a literary wit. The satire of the principal character was too confined, too extravagant, and too unintelligible to a general auditory, to meet with success on the stage. It would thus appear that Arbuthnot, like many other similar men, had too refined a style of wit in his writings—not that broad, open, palpable humour which flashes at once upon the conceptions of all men, but something too rich and rare to be generally appreciated. His learning led his mind to objects not generally understood or known; and, therefore, when he wrote, he was apt to excite the sympathies of only a very limited class.

In 1722, Dr Arbuthnot found it necessary for his health to indulge in a visit to Bath. He was accompanied on this occasion by a brother, who was a banker at Paris, and whose extraordinary character called forth the following striking description from Pope: "The spirit of philanthropy, so long dead to our world, seems revived in him: he is a philosopher all fire; so warmly, nay so wildly, in the right, that he forces all others about him to be so too, and draws them into his own vortex. He is a star that looks as if it were all on fire, but is all benignity, all gentle and beneficial influence. If there be other men in the world that would serve a friend, yet he is the only one, I believe, that could make even an enemy serve a friend." About this time, the Doctor thus described himself in a letter to Swift: "As for your humble servant, with a great stone in his right kidney, and a family of men and women to provide for, he is as cheerful in public affairs as ever."

Arbuthnot, in 1723, was chosen second censor of the Royal College of Physicians; in 1727, he was made an Elect, and had the honour to pronounce the Harveian oration for the year. In 1727, also appeared his great and learned work entitled, "Tables of Ancient Coins, Weights, and Measures, explained and exemplified in several Dissertations." He continued to practice physic with good reputation, and diverted his leisure hours by writing papers of wit and humour.

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Among these may be mentioned one, which appeared in 1731, in the shape of an epitaph upon the infamous colonel Charteris, and which we shall present in this place as perhaps the most favourable specimen of Dr Arbuthnot's peculiar vein of talent:—

"Here continueth to rot the body of Francis Charteris, who, with an inflexible constancy, and inimitable uniformity of life, persisted, in spite of age and infirmities, in the practice of every human vice; excepting prodigality and hypocrisy; his insatiable avarice exempted him from the first, his matchless impudence from the second. Nor was he more singular in the undeviating pravity of his manners, than successful in accumulating wealth; for, without trade or profession, without trust of public money, and without bribe-worthy service, he acquired, or more properly created, a ministerial estate. He was the only person of his time, who could cheat with the mask of honesty, retain his primeval meanness when possessed of ten thousand a year, and, having daily deserved the gibbet for what he did, was at last condemned to it for what he could not do.—Oh! indignant reader! Think not his life useless to mankind! Providence connived at his execrable designs, to give to after ages a conspicuous proof and example of how small estimation is exorbitant wealth in the sight of God, by his bestowing it on the most unworthy of all mortals."[1]

Arbuthnot, about this time, wrote a very entertaining paper on the "Altercations or Scolding of the Ancients." In 1732, he contributed towards detecting and punishing the scandalous frauds and abuses that had been carried on under the specious name of "The Charitable Corporation." In the same year, he published his "Treatise on the Nature and Choice of Aliments," which was followed, in 1733, by his "Essay on the Effects of Air on Human Bodies." He is thought to have been led to these subjects by the consideration of his own case; an asthma, which, gradually increasing with his years, became at length desperate and incurable. A little before his last publication, he had met with a severe domestic affliction in the loss of his son, Charles, "whose life," he says in a letter to Swift, "if it had so pleased God, he would willingly have redeemed with his own." He now retired, in a state of great debility to Hampstead; from whence, in a letter to Pope, July 17th, 1734, he gives the following philosophic, and we may add, touching, account of his condition:

"I have little doubt of your concern for me, nor of that of the lady you mention. I have nothing to repay my friends with at present, but prayers and good wishes. I have the satisfaction to find that I am as officiously served by my friends, as he that has thousands to leave in legacies; besides the assurance of their sincerity. God Almighty had made my distress as easy as a thing of that nature can be. I have found some relief, at least sometimes, from the air of this place. My nights are bad, but many poor creatures have worse.

1 This paragon of wickedness, who was a native of Scotland, is thus described by Pope, but, we believe, as in the epitaph itself, with much exaggeration. "Francis Charteris, a man infamous for all vices. When he was an ensign in the army, he was drummed out of the regiment for a cheat: he was banished Brussels, and turned out of Ghent on the same account. After a hundred tricks at the gaming-tables, he took to lending of money, at exorbitant interest, and on great penalties, accumulating premium, interest, and capital into a new capital, and seizing to a minute when the payment became due; in a word, by a constant attention to the vices, wants, and follies of mankind, he acquired an immense fortune. * * * * * He was twice condemned for rapes and pardoned, but the last time not without imprisonment in Newgate, and large confiscations. He died in Scotland, in 1731, aged 62. The populace, at his funeral, raised a great riot, almost tore the body out of the coffin, and cast dead dogs, &c. into the grave along with it." We may add, that the mourners had to defend themselves from the mob with their swords. *See Traditions of Edinburgh.* One remarkable feature of Charteris' character is not generally known: though a bully and a coward, he had his fighting days; he would suffer himself to be kicked for refusing a challenge one day, and the next would accept another and kill his man.

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"As for you, my good friend, I think, since our first acquaintance, there have not been any of those little suspicions or jealousies that often affect the sincerest friendships; I am sure not on my side. I must be so sincere as to own, that, though I could not help valuing you for those talents which the world prizes, yet they were not the foundation of my friendship; they were quite of another sort; nor shall I at present offend you by enumerating them; and I make it my last request, that you will continue that noble disdain and abhorrence of vice, which you seem naturally endowed with, but still with a due regard to your own safety; and study more to reform than to chastise, though the one cannot be effected without the other.

"Lord Bathurst I have always honoured, for every good quality that a person of his rank ought to have: pray, give my respects and kindest wishes to the family. My venison stomach is gone, but I have those about me, and often with me, who will be very glad of his present. If it is left at any house, it will be transmitted safe to me.

"A recovery in my case, and at my age, is impossible; the kindest wish of my friends is *euthanasia*. Living or dying, I shall always be,—Yours, &c."

In a letter about the same time to Swift, he says he came to Hampstead, not for life, but for ease. That he had gained in a slight degree from riding; but he was "not in circumstances to live an idle country life;" and he expected a return of the disorder in full force on his return in winter to London. He adds, "I am at present in the case of a man that was almost in harbour, but was again blown back to sea; who has a reasonable hope of going to a good place, and an absolute certainty of leaving a very bad one. Not that I have any particular disgust at the world, for I have as great comfort in my own family, and from the kindness of my friends, as any man; but the world in the main displeaseth me; and I have too true a presentiment of calamities that are like to befall my country. However, if I should have the happiness to see you before I die, you will find that I enjoy the comforts of life with my usual cheerfulness. * * * My family give you their love and service. The great loss I sustained in one of them gave me my first shock; and the trouble I have with the rest, to bring them to a good temper, to bear the loss of a father who loves them, and whom they love, is really a most sensible affliction to me. I am afraid, my dear friend, we shall never see one another more in this world. I shall, to the last moment, preserve my love and esteem for you, being well assured that you will never leave the paths of virtue and honour for all that is in the world. This world is not worth the least deviation from that way," &c. In such a strain did this truly good man discourse of his own certain and immediate death, which accordingly took place, February, 1735, in his house, Cork-street, Burlington Gardens, to which he had returned from Hampstead at the approach of winter.

Arbuthnot's character was given by his friend Swift in one dash: "He has more wit than we all have, and more humanity than wit." "Arbuthnot," says Dr Johnson in his life of Pope, "was a man of great comprehension, skilful in his profession, versed in the sciences, acquainted with ancient literature, and able to animate his mass of knowledge by a bright and active imagination; a scholar with great brilliancy of wit; a wit, who, in the crowd of life, retained and discovered a noble ardour of religious zeal." Lord Orrery has thus entered more minutely into his character. "Although he was justly celebrated for wit and learning, there was an excellence in his character more amiable than all his other qualifications, I mean the excellence of his heart. He has shown himself equal to any of his contemporaries in wit and vivacity, and he was superior to most men in acts of humanity and benevolence. His very sarcasms are the satirical strokes of good nature: they are like slaps in the face, given in jest, the

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effects of which may raise blushes, but no blackness will appear after the blow. He laughs as jovially as an attendant upon Bacchus, but continues as sober and considerate as a disciple of Socrates. He is seldom serious except in his attacks upon vice; and then his spirit rises with a manly strength, and a noble indignation. His epitaph upon Charteris (allowing one small alteration, the word *permitted*, instead of *connived at*,) is a complete and a masterly composition in its kind. No man exceeded him in the moral duties of life; a merit still more to his honour, as the ambitious powers of wit and genius are seldom submissive enough to confine themselves within the limitations of morality. In his letter to Mr Pope, written as it were upon his death-bed, he discovers such a noble fortitude of mind at the approach of his dissolution, as could be inspired only by a clear conscience, and the calm retrospect of an uninterrupted series of virtue. The Dean [Swift] laments the loss of him with a pathetic sincerity. 'The deaths of Mr Gay and Doctor,' says he to Mr Pope, 'have been terrible wounds near my heart. Their living would have been a great comfort to me, although I should never have seen them: like a sum of money in a bank, from which I should receive at least annual interest, as I do from you, and have done from Lord Bolingbroke.'"

The wit, to which Swift's was only allowed the second place, was accompanied by a guileless heart, and the most perfect simplicity of character. It is related of its possessor, that he used to write a humorous account of almost every remarkable event which fell under his observation, in a folio book, which lay in his parlour; but so careless was he about his writings after he was done with them, that, while he was writing towards one end of this work, he would permit his children to tear out the leaves from the other, for their paper kites. This carelessness has prevented many of the works of Dr Arbuthnot from being preserved, and no correct list has ever been given. A publication in two volumes, 8vo, at Glasgow, in 1751, professing to be his "Miscellaneous Works," was said by his son to consist chiefly of the compositions of other people. He was so much in the habit of writing occasional pieces anonymously, that many fugitive articles were erroneously attributed to him: he was at first supposed to be the author of Robinson Crusoe. He scarcely ever spoke of his writings, or seemed to take the least interest in them. He was also somewhat indolent. Swift said of him, that he seemed at first sight to have no fault, but that he could not walk. In addition to this, he had too much simplicity and worth to profit by the expedients of life: in Swift's words,

> "He knew his art, but not his trade."

Swift also must be considered as insinuating a certain levity of feeling, with all his goodness, when he says, in anticipation of his own death,

> "Poor Pope will grieve a month, and Gay
> A week, and Arbuthnot a day!"

though the habitual cheerfulness of his disposition may have been all that the poet had in his eye. The only other work ascertained as Arbuthnot's, besides those mentioned, is the celebrated History of John Bull, a political allegory, which has had many imitations, but no equal. He also attempted poetry, though without any particular effort. A philosophical poem of his composition, entitled, "ΓΝΩΘΙ ΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ," [Know Yourself] is printed in Dodsley's Miscellanies. He left a son, George, who was an executor in Pope's will, and who died in the enjoyment of a lucrative situation in the Exchequer office towards the end of the last century; and a daughter, Anne, who was honoured with a legacy by Pope. His second son, Charles, who died before himself, had been educated in Christ church college, Oxford, and entered into holy orders.

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ARMSTRONG, JOHN, M.D. author of the well-known poem, entitled, "The Art of Preserving Health," was born, about 1709, in the parish of Castleton, Roxburghshire, where his father and brother were successively ministers. He might almost be styled a poet by right of birth-place, for the parish of Castleton is simply the region of Liddesdale, so renowned for its heroic lays, the records of deeds performed by the border rievers, among whom the family of the poet bore a distinguished rank. The rude and predatory character of this district had, however, passed away before the commencement of the eighteenth century; and young Armstrong, though his lullabies were no doubt those fine old ballads which have since been published by Sir Walter Scott, seems to have drawn from them but little of his inspiration. It was as yet the fashion to look upon legendary verses as only fit for nurses and children; and nothing was thought worthy of the term poetry, unless it were presented in trim artificial language, after the manner of some distinguished classic writer. It is therefore by no means surprising, that Armstrong, though born and cradled in a land full of beautiful traditionary poetry, looked upon it all, after he had become an educated man, as only Doric trash, and found his Tempe in the bowers of Twickenham instead of the lonely heaths of Liddesdale.

The only allusion to his native scene is to be found in the following passage of "The Art of Preserving Health;" a warm and elegant apostrophe, and no doubt testifying his affectionate recollection of

——————— the school-boy spot,
We ne'er forget, though there we are forgot,—

but still deficient in characteristic painting, and unpardonably so in its total silence as to the romantic history of the country, and its spirit-stirring ballads.

But if the breathless chase o'er hill and dale
Exceed your strength, a sport of less fatigue,
Not less delightful, the prolific stream
Affords. The chrystal rivulet that o'er
A stony channel rolls its rapid surge,
Swarms with the silver fry. Such, through the bounds
Of pastoral Stafford, runs the brawling Trent;
Such Eden, sprung from Cumbrian mountains, such
The Esk o'erhung with woods: and such the stream,
On whose Arcadian banks I first drew air,
Liddal, till now, except in Doric lays
Tuned to her murmurs by her love-sick swains,
Unknown in song: though not a purer stream,
Through woods more flowery, more romantic groves,
Rolls toward the western main. Hail, sacred flood!
May still thy hospitable swains be blest
In rural innocence; thy mountains still
Teem with the fleecy race; thy tuneful woods
For ever flourish; and thy vales look gay
With painted meadows, and the golden grain!
Oft with thy blooming sons, when life was new,
Sportive and petulant, and charmed with toys,
In thy transparent eddies have I laved:
Oft traced with patient steps thy fairy banks,
With the well-imitated fly to hook
The eager trout, and with the slender line
And yielding rod solicit to the shore
The struggling panting prey; while vernal clouds—
And tepid gales obscured the ruffled pool,
And from the deeps called forth the wanton swarms.

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How different would have been the allusions of a Leyden or a Scott to the land of Jock o' the Side and Hobbie Noble!

Armstrong was educated for the medical profession at the university of Edinburgh, under the elder Monro. In 1732, he took his degrees as M. D, with much reputation, the subject of his treatise being *Tabes Purulenta*. He had ere this period addicted himself to the composition of verses. We are informed, that, to relieve the tedium of a winter spent in "a wild romantic country" —probably Liddesdale—he wrote what he intended for an imitation of Shakspeare, but which turned out to resemble rather the poem of "Winter," then just published by Thomson. The bard of the Seasons, hearing of this composition, which so strangely and so accidentally resembled his own, procured a sight of it by means of a mutual friend, and, being much pleased with it, brought it under the notice of Mr David Mallet, Mr Aaron Hill, and Dr Young, all of whom joined with him in thinking it a work of genius. Mallet even requested the consent of the author to its publication, and undertook that duty, though he afterwards gave up the design.

Armstrong was probably led by this flattering circumstance to try his fortune in London, where his countrymen Thomson and Mallet had already gained literary distinction. In 1735, he is found publishing, in that capital, a humorous attack upon empirics, in the manner of Lucian, entitled, "An Essay for abridging the study of physic, to which is added, A Dialogue betwixt Hygeia, Mercury, and Pluto, relating to the Practice of Physic, as it is managed by a certain illustrious Society; and an Epistle from Usbeck the Persian to Joshua Ward, Esq." The essay, besides its sarcastic remarks on quacks and quackery, contains many allusions to the neglect of medical education among the practising apothecaries; but the author had exhausted his wit in it, and the dialogue and epistle are consequently flat and insipid. In 1737, he published a serious professional piece, styled, "A Synopsis of the History and Cure of the Venereal Disease," 8vo., inscribed in an ingenious dedication to Dr Alexander Stuart, as to "a person who had an indisputable right to judge severely of the performance presented to him." He probably designed the work as an introduction to practice in this branch of the medical profession; but it was unfortunately followed by his poem, entitled, "The Œconomy of Love," which, though said to have been designed as merely a burlesque upon certain didactic writers, was justly condemned for its warm and alluring pictures, and its tendency to inflame the passions of youth. It appears by one of the "Cases of Literary Property," that Andrew Millar, the bookseller, paid fifty pounds for the copy-right of this poem; a sum ill-gained, for the work greatly diminished the reputation of the author. After it had passed through many editions, he published one, in 1768, in which the youthful luxuriances that had given offence to better minds were carefully pruned.

In 1744, Dr Armstrong made some amends for this indiscretion, by publishing his "The Art of Preserving Health," a didactic poem in blank verse, extending through four books, each of which contains a particular branch of the subject. This very meritorious work raised his reputation to a height which his subsequent efforts scarcely sustained. It is written in a taste which would not now be considered very pure, or elegant; but yet, when the subject and the age are considered, there is amazingly little to be condemned. Dr Warton has justly remarked the refined terms in which the poet, at the end of his third book, has described an English plague of the fifteenth century, entitled, "The Sweating Sickness." "There is a classical correctness and closeness of style in this poem," says Dr Warton, "that are truly admirable, and the subject is raised and adorned by numberless poetical images." Dr Mackenzie, in his History of Health, be-

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stowed similar praises on this poem, which was indeed every where read and admired.

In 1741, Armstrong solicited the patronage of Dr Birch, to be appointed physician to the fleet, then about to sail for the West Indies; but he does not seem to have obtained the object of his desire. In 1746, when established in reputation by his Art of Preserving Health, he was appointed one of the physicians to the hospital for lame and sick soldiers behind Buckingham house. In 1751, he published his poem on "Benevolence," in folio, a production which seems to have come from the heart, and contains sentiments which could have been expressed with equal ardour only by one who felt them. His "Taste, an epistle to a young critic," 1753, 4to, is a lively and spirited imitation of Pope, and the first production in which Armstrong began to view men and manners with a splenetic eye.

His next work was less meritorious. It was entitled "Sketches or Essays on various subjects," and appeared under the fictitious name of Lancelot Temple, Esq. The critical examinators of Dr Armstrong's merits allow to this work the credit of exhibiting much humour and knowledge of the world, but find it deformed by a perpetual flow of affectation, a struggle to say smart things, and, above all, a disgusting repetition of vulgar oaths and exclamations—forms of expression to which the poet, it seems, was also much addicted in conversation. In some of these sketches, Armstrong is said to have had assistance from the notorious John Wilkes, with whom he lived in habits of intimacy; but it is certain that the contributions of this gentleman cannot have been great, as the work is much inferior to the literary style of the demagogue of Aylesbury, who, whatever might be his moral failings, is allowed to have had a chaste classical taste, and a pure vein of humour.

Armstrong had sufficient professional interest in 1760, to obtain the appointment of physician to the army in Germany. From that country he wrote "Day, a poem," addressed as an Epistle to John Wilkes, Esq. This lively piece, which professes to embody an account of all the proper indulgences, moral and physical, of twenty-four hours, was, it is said, published in an imperfect shape, by some clandestine editor. It was never added to the collected works of Dr Armstrong, till Dr Anderson admitted it into his edition of the British Poets. After the peace of 1763, Dr Armstrong returned to London, and resumed his practice, but with no eager desire of increasing the moderate competency he now enjoyed. He continued after this period rather to amuse than to exert himself in literary productions, chiefly spending his time in the society of men of wit and taste like himself. In 1771, he made a tour into France and Italy, in company with the celebrated Fuseli, who survived him for nearly fifty years, and always spoke highly of Dr Armstrong's amiable character. I Italy he took a tender farewell of his friend Smollett, to whom he was much attached, and who died soon after. On returning home, he published an account of his travels, under the name of Lancelot Temple.

The latter years of Dr Armstrong's life were embittered by one of those quarrels which, arising between persons formerly much attached, are at once the most envenomed, and the most productive of uneasiness to the parties. In his poem of *Day*, he had asked, among other things,

> "What crazy scribbler reigns the present wit?"

which the poet Churchill very properly took to himself, and resented in the following passage in his poem of "*The Journey*:"

> Let them with Armstrong, taking leave of sense,
> Read musty lectures on Benevolence;

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Or con the pages of his gaping Day,[1]
Where all his former fame was thrown away,
Where all but barren labour was forgot,
And the vain stiffness of a lettered Scot;
Let them with Armstrong pass the term of light,
But not one hour of darkness; when the night
Suspends this mortal coil, when memory wakes,
When for our past misdoings conscience takes
A deep revenge, when by reflection led
She draws his curtains, and looks comfort dead,
Let every muse be gone; in vain he turns,
And tries to pray for sleep; an Ætna burns,
A more than Ætna in his coward breast,
And guilt, with vengeance armed, forbids to rest;
Though soft as plumage from young Zephyr's wing,
His couch seems hard, and no relief can bring;
Ingratitude hath planted daggers there,
No good man can deserve, no brave man bear.

We have no hesitation in saying that this severe satire was not justified either by the offence which called it forth, or by the circumstances on which it was founded. Wilkes, the associate of Churchill, had lent money to Armstrong on some occasion of peculiar distress. When the attacks of Wilkes upon Scotland led to animosities between the two friends, it was not to be expected that the recollection of a former obligation was necessarily to tie up the natural feelings of Dr Armstrong, and induce him to submit rather to the certain charge of meanness of spirit, than the possible imputation of ingratitude. Neither could Wilkes have fairly expected that the natural course of the quarrel was to be stayed by such a submission on the part of his former friend. It would have been equally mean for the obliged party to have tendered, and for the obliging party to have accepted such a submission. There can be no doubt, therefore, that Dr Armstrong, in giving way to resentment against Wilkes, was chargeable, properly, with no blame except that of giving way to resentment; and if it is to be supposed, from the character of the poet in respect of irritability, that the resentment would have taken place whether there had been a debt of kindness standing undischarged between the parties or not, we cannot really see how this contingent circumstance can enhance his offence.

There is unfortunately too great reason to suppose, that, if the obligation tended to increase the blame of either party, it was that of Wilkes, who, from almost incontestable evidence, appears to have made a most ungenerous use of the advantage he had acquired over his former friend. Not only must he bear a portion of the guilt of Churchill's satire, which could have only been written as a transcript of his feelings, and with his sanction, but he stands almost certainly guilty of a still more direct and scurrilous attack upon Dr Armstrong, which appeared in a much more insidious form. This was a series of articles in the well known Public Advertiser, commencing with a letter signed *Dies*, which appeared to proceed from an enemy of the patriot, but, in the opinion of Dr Armstrong, was written by the patriot himself:

"He [Wilkes]," says this writer, "always took more delight in exposing his friends than in hurting his enemies. I am assured that a very worthy and ingenious friend of this impostor trusted him with a jeu d'esprit of a poem, incorrect indeed, but which bore every mark of a true, though ungoverned genius. This poem, rough as it was, he carried to A. Millar, late bookseller in the Strand,

[1] This poem was full of large hiatus supplied by asterisks.

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and published it in his friend's name, without his knowledge. This is a fact, Mr Printer; therefore, I think, Mr W. should let alone Scotch writers."

Occasion was taken in the next day's publication to give a refutation of this pretended attack, in the following terms:

"Your correspondent, Sir, is pleased to appeal to a dead bookseller, I appeal to the living author, now in London. He desired the poem might be published: it was written for the public eye: he directed the bookseller to call on Mr W. for the copy. The bookseller produced his credentials, under the author's own hand, upon which Mr W. gave him the manuscript of the poem. It was afterwards published in the kindest way for the author's reputation, as a *Fragment*. I believe he will not choose to restore the passages, which were omitted in the first edition of 1760. When he does, the kindness, and perhaps the judgment of the editor will appear, I am told, in a very strong and favourable light. The poem was not published till the bookseller had received a second positive order for that purpose, from the author, after several objections to the publication had been transmitted to him in Germany, and amendments made by himself. It was a favourite child not without merit, although scarcely so much as the fond father imagined. Mr Churchill wrote the four following lines on that poem, which were never forgiven. They are in the *Journey*.

> 'Or con the pages of his gaping *Day*,
> Where all his former fame was thrown away,
> Where all but barren labour was forgot,
> And the vain stiffness of a *letter'd Scot*.' TRUTH."

A week after, a letter signed "NOX," in the same tone with that signed "TRUTH," appeared in the Public Advertiser. It is impossible to doubt that Mr Wilkes was at the bottom of the whole plot, and either wrote the letters himself or employed his friend Churchill to do so.[2]

[2] This more particularly appears from the report of a conversation which took place on the 7th of April, between Dr Armstrong and Mr Wilkes, which appears to have been noted down on the same day by the latter, and was published in the Gentleman's Magazine, for 1792, thirteen years after the death of Dr Armstrong.

The incensed poet entered his former friend's lodgings, in Prince's Court, and, without the least ceremonial or compliment, commenced the following dialogue—which, as a curious piece of literary history, we have given entire:—

Dr Armstrong. Did you, Sir, write the letters in the Public Advertiser?

Mr Wilkes. What letters do you mean, Doctor? There are many letters almost every day in the Public Advertiser.

Dr A. Sir, I mean the three letters about me, and *Day*, Day, Sir.

Mr W. You may ask the printer, Mr Woodfall. He has my orders to name me whenever he thinks it proper, as the author of every thing I write in his paper.

Dr. A. I believe you wrote all those letters.

Mr. W. What all three, Doctor? I am very roughly treated in one of them, in the first signed *Dies*.

Dr. A. I believe you wrote that to bring on the controversy. I am almost sure of it.

Mr. W. I hope you are truly informed in other things. I know better than to abuse myself in that manner, and I pity the author of such wretched stuff.

Dr A. Did you write the other letters, Sir?

Mr W. The proper person to inquire of, is Mr Woodfall. I will not *answer interrogatories*. My time would pass in a strange manner, if I was to answer every question which any gentleman chose to put to me about anonymous letters.

Dr A. Whoever has abused me, Sir, is a villain; and your endeavours, Sir, to set Scotland and England together are very bad.

Mr W. The Scots have done that thoroughly, Doctor, by their conduct here, particularly by their own nationality and the outrages of Lord Bute to so many English families. Whenever you think proper to call upon me in particular as a gentleman, you will find me most ready to answer the call.

Dr A. D——n Lord Bute! It had been better for Scotland he had never been born. He has done *us* infinite mischief.

Mr W. *And us too;* but I suppose we are not met for a dish of politics?

Dr A. No; but I wish there had been no *union*. I am sure England is the gainer by it.

Mr W. I will not make an essay on the advantages and disadvantages of the union.

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Armstrong died at his house in Russel Street, Covent Garden, September 7, 1779, in consequence of an accidental contusion in his thigh, received while getting into a carriage. He was found, to the surprise of the world, to have saved the sum of £,2000 out of his moderate income, which for many years had consisted of nothing more than his half-pay.

Dr Armstrong was much beloved and respected by his friends for his gentle and amiable dispositions, as well as his extensive knowledge and abilities; but a kind of morbid sensibility preyed upon his temper, and a languid listlessness too frequently interrupted his intellectual efforts. With Thomson's Castle of

Dr A. I hate politics; but I have been ill used by you, Dr Wilkes, on the occasion.

Mr W. On the contrary, Doctor, I was the injured friend.

Dr A. I thought you for many years the most amiable friend in the world, and loved your company the most; but you distinguished yourself by grossly abusing *my* countrymen in the North Briton—although I never read much of that paper.

Mr W. You passed your time, I am satisfied, much better. Who told you, Doctor, what particular numbers I wrote? It is droll, but the bitterest of these papers, which was attributed to me, was a description of Scotland, first printed in the last century, on Charles I.'s return from thence in 1633. Were you ever, Doctor, personally attacked by me? Were you not, although a Scotsman, at the very time of the North Briton, complimented by me, in conjunction with Churchill, in the best thing I wrote, the mock 'Dedication to Mortimer?

Dr A. To be praised along with such a writer, I think an abuse.

Mr W. The world thinks far otherwise of that wonderful genius Churchill; but you, Doctor, have sacrificed private friendship at the altar of politics. After many years of mutual intercourse of good offices, you broke every tie of friendship with me on no pretence but a suspicion, for you did not ask for proof, of my having abused your country, *that* country I have for years together heard you inveigh against, in the bitterest terms, for *nastiness and nationality*.

Dr A. I only did it in joke, Sir; you did it with bitterness; but it was *my* country.

Mr W. No man has abused England so much as Shakspeare, or France so much as Voltaire; yet they remain the favourites of two great nations, conscious of their own superiority. Were you, Doctor, attacked by me in any one instance? Was not the most friendly correspondence carried on with you the whole time, till you broke it off by a letter, in 1763, in which you declared to me, that you could not with honour associate with one who had distinguished himself by abusing your country, and that you remained *with all due sincerity?* I remember *that* was the strange phrase.

Dr A. You never answered that letter, Sir.

Mr W. What answer could I give you, Doctor? You had put a period to the intercourse between us. I still continued to our common friends to speak of you in terms of respect, while you were grossly abusing me. You said to Boswell, Millar, and others, "I hope there is a hell, that Wilkes may lie in it."

Dr A. In a passion I might say so. People do not often speak their minds in a passion.

Mr W. I thought they generally did, Doctor!

Dr A. I was thoroughly provoked, although I still acknowledge my great pecuniary obligations to you—although, I dare say, I would have got the money elsewhere.

Mr W. I was always happy to render you every service in my power; and I little imagined a liberal mind, like yours, could have been worked up by designing men to write me such a letter in answer to an affectionate one I sent you, in the prospect of your return.

Dr A. I was happier with you than any man in the world for a great many years, and complimented you not a little in the *Day*, and you did not write to me for a year and a half after that.

Mr W. Your memory does not serve you faithfully, Doctor. In three or four months at farthest, you had two or three letters from me together, on your return to the head-quarters of the army. I am abused in *Dies* for that publication, and the manner, both of which you approved.

Dr A. I did so.

Mr W. I was abused at first, I am told, in the manuscript of *Dies*, for having sold the copy, and put the money in my pocket; but that charge was suppressed in the printed letter.

Dr A. I know nothing of that, and will do you justice.

Mr W. Will you call upon Mr D——, our common friend, your countryman, and ask him what he thinks of your conduct to me, if it has not been wholly unjustifiable?

Dr A. Have I your leave to ask Mr Woodfall in your name about the letters?

Mr W. I have already told you, Doctor, what directions he has from me. Take four-and-twenty hours to consider what you have to do, and let me know the result.

Dr A. I am sorry to have taken up so much of your time, Sir.

Mr W. It stands in no need of an apology, Doctor. I am glad to see you. Good morrow.

N. B.—These minutes were taken down the same afternoon, and sent to a friend.

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Indolence he is appropriately connected, both as a figure in the piece and as a contributor to the verse. The following is his portraiture:—

With him was sometimes joined in silent walk,
(Profoundly silent—for they never spoke)
One shyer still, who quite detested talk;
Oft stung by spleen, at once away he broke,
To groves of pine, and broad o'ershadowing oak,
There, inly thrilled, he wandered all alone,
And on himself his pensive fury wroke:
He never uttered word, save, when first shone
The glittering star of eve—"Thank heaven! the day is done!"

His contributions consist of four stanzas descriptive of the diseases to which the votaries of indolence finally become martyrs.

The rank of Dr Armstrong as a poet is fixed by his Art of Preserving Health, which is allowed to be among the best didactic poems in the language. It is true, this species of poetry was never considered among the highest, nor has it been able to retain its place among the tastes of a modern and more refined age. Armstrong, however, in having improved upon a mode of composition fashionable in his own time, must still be allowed considerable praise. "His style," according to the judgment of Dr Aikin, "is distinguished by its simplicity—by a free use of words which owe their strength to their plainness—by the rejection of ambitious ornaments, and a near approach to common phraseology. His sentences are generally short and easy; his sense clear and obvious. The full extent of his conceptions is taken in at the first glance; and there are no lofty mysteries to be unravelled by a repeated perusal. What keeps his language from being prosaic, is the vigour of his sentiments. He thinks boldly, feels strongly, and therefore expresses himself poetically. When the subject sinks, his style sinks with it; but he has for the most part excluded topics incapable either of vivid description, or of the oratory of sentiment. He had from nature a musical ear, whence his lines are scarcely ever harsh, though apparently without much study to render them smooth. On the whole, it may not be too much to assert, that no writer in blank verse can be found more free from stiffness and affectation, more energetic without harshness, and more dignified without formality."

ARNOT, Hugo, a historical and antiquarian writer of the eighteenth century, was the son of a merchant and ship-proprietor at Leith, where he was born, December 8th, 1749. His name originally was Pollock, which he changed in early life for Arnot, on falling heir, through his mother, to the estate of Balcormo in Fife. As "Hugo Arnot of Balcormo, Esq.," he is entered as a member of the Faculty of Advocates, December 5, 1772, when just about to complete his twenty-third year. Previous to this period, he had had the misfortune to lose his father. Another evil which befell him in early life was a settled asthma, the result of a severe cold which he caught in his fifteenth year. As this disorder was always aggravated by exertion of any kind, it became a serious obstruction to his progress at the bar: some of his pleadings, nevertheless, were much admired, and obtained for him the applause of the bench. Perhaps it was this interruption of his professional career which caused him to turn his attention to literature. In 1779, appeared his "History of Edinburgh," 1 vol., 4to. a work of much research, and greatly superior in a literary point of view to the generality of local works. The style of the historical part is elegant and epigrammatic, with a vein of causticity highly characteristic of the author. From this elaborate work the author is said to have only realized a few pounds of profit; a piratical impression, at less than half the price, was published almost simul-

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taneously at Dublin, and, being shipped over to Scotland in great quantities, completely threw the author's edition out of the market. *A bookseller's second edition*, as it is called, appeared after the author's death, being simply the remainder of the former stock, embellished with plates, and enlarged by some additions from the pen of the publisher, Mr Creech. Another edition was published in 8vo, in 1817. Mr Arnot seems to have now lived on terms of literary equality with those distinguished literary and professional characters who were his fellow-townsmen and contemporaries. He did not, however, for some years publish any other considerable or acknowledged work. He devoted his mind chiefly to local subjects, and sent forth numerous pamphlets and newspaper essays, which had a considerable effect in accelerating or promoting the erection of various public works. The exertions of a man of his public spirit and enlarged mind, at a time when the capital of Scotland was undergoing such a thorough renovation and improvement, must have been of material service to the community, both of that and of all succeeding ages. Such they were acknowledged to be by the magistrates, who bestowed upon him the freedom of the city. We are told that Mr Arnot, by means of his influence in local matters, was able to retard the erection of the *South Bridge of Edinburgh* for ten years—not that he objected to such an obvious improvement on its own account, but only in so far as the magistrates could devise no other method for defraying the expense than by a tax upon carters; a mode of liquidating it, which Mr Arnot thought grossly oppressive, as it fell in the first place upon the poor. He also was the means of preventing for several years the formation of the present splendid road between Edinburgh and Leith, on account of the proposed plan (which was afterwards unhappily carried into effect,) of defraying the expense by a toll; being convinced, from what he knew of local authorities, that, if such an exaction were once established, it would always, on some pretext or other, be kept up. In 1785, Mr Arnot published "A Collection of Celebrated Criminal Trials in Scotland, with Historical and Critical Remarks," 1 vol. 4to.; a work of perhaps even greater research than his history of Edinburgh, and written in the same acutely metaphysical and epigrammatic style. In the front of this volume appears a large list of subscribers, embracing almost all the eminent and considerable persons in Scotland, with many of those in England, and testifying of course to the literary and personal respectability of Mr Arnot. This work appeared without a publisher's name, probably for some reason connected with the following circumstance. Owing perhaps to the unwillingness of the author to allow a sufficient profit to the booksellers, the whole body of that trade in Edinburgh refused to let the subscription papers and prospectuses hang in their shops; for which reason the author announced, by means of an advertisement in the newspapers, that these articles might be seen in the coffee-houses. Mr Arnot received the sum of six hundred pounds for the copies sold of this work, from which he would have to pay the expenses of printing a thin quarto: it thus happened that what was rather the least laborious of his two works, was the most profitable. Mr Arnot only survived the publication of his Criminal Trials about a twelvemonth. The asthma had ever since his fifteenth year been making rapid advances upon him, and his person was now reduced almost to a shadow. While still young, he carried all the marks of age, and accordingly the traditionary recollections of the historian of Edinburgh always point to a man in the extreme of life. Perhaps nothing could indicate more expressively the miserable state to which Mr Arnot was reduced by this disease, than his own half-ludicrous, half-pathetic exclamation, on being annoyed by the bawling of a man selling sand on the streets: "The rascal!" cried the unfortunate invalid, "he spends as much breath in a minute as would serve me for a month!" Among the portraits and

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caricatures of the well known John Kay, may be found several faithful, though somewhat exaggerated, memorials of the emaciated person of Hugo Arnot. As a natural constitutional result of this disease, he was exceedingly *nervous*, and liable to be discomposed by the slightest annoyances: on the other hand, he possessed such ardour and intrepidity of mind, that in youth he once rode on a spirited horse to the end of the pier of Leith, while the waves were dashing over it, and every beholder expected to see him washed immediately into the sea! On another occasion, having excited some hostility by a political pamphlet, and being summoned by an anonymous foe to appear at a particular hour in a lonely part of the King's Park, in order to fight, he went and waited four hours on the spot, thus perilling his life in what might have been the ambuscade of a deadly enemy. By means of the same fortitude of character, he beheld the gradual approach of death with all the calmness of a Stoic philosopher. The magistrates of Leith had acknowledged some of his public services, by the ominous compliment of a piece of ground in their church-yard; and it was the recreation of the last weeks of Mr Arnot's life to go every day to observe the progress made by the workmen in preparing this place for his own reception. It is related that he even expressed considerable anxiety lest his demise should take place before the melancholy work should be completed. He died, November 20th, 1786, when on the point of completing his 37th year; that age so fatal to men of genius that it may almost be styled their climacteric. He was interred in the tomb fitted up by himself at South Leith. Besides his historical and local works, he had published, in 1777, a fanciful metaphysical treatise, entitled, "Nothing," which was originally a paper read before a well-known debating-club styled the Speculative Society; being probably suggested to him by the poem of the Earl of Rochester on the equally impalpable subject of *Silence*. If any disagreeable reflection can rest on Mr Arnot's memory for the free scope he has given to his mind in this little essay—a freedom sanctioned, if not excused, by the taste of the age—he must be held to have made all the amends in his power by the propriety of his deportment in later life; when he entered heartily and regularly into the observances of the Scottish episcopal communion, to which he originally belonged. If Mr Arnot was any thing decidedly in politics, he was a Jacobite, to which party he belonged by descent and by religion, and also perhaps by virtue of his own peculiar turn of mind. In modern politics, he was quite independent, judging all men and all measures by no other standard than their respective merits. In his professional character, he was animated by a chivalrous sentiment of honour worthy of all admiration. He was so little of a casuist, that he would never undertake a case, unless he were perfectly self-satisfied as to its justice and legality. He had often occasion to refuse employment which fell beneath his own standard of honesty, though it might have been profitable, and attended by not the slightest shade of disgrace. On a case being once brought before him, of the merits of which he had an exceedingly bad opinion, he said to the intending litigant, in a serious manner, "Pray, what do you suppose me to be?" "Why," answered the client, "I understand you to be a lawyer." "I thought, Sir," said Arnot sternly, "you took me for a scoundrel." The litigant, though he perhaps thought that the major included the minor proposition, withdrew abashed. Mr Arnot left eight children, all very young; and the talent of the family appears to have revived in a new generation, viz. in the person of his grandson, Dr David Boswell Reid, whose unpatronized abilities have, at an uncommonly early age, placed him as teacher of practical chemistry in the Edinburgh university, and whose "Elements of Chemistry" have already obtained the reputation of being one of the best practical treatises on that science.

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AYTON, (Sir) Robert, an eminent poet at the court of James VI., was a younger son of Andrew Ayton of Kinaldie, in Fife, and was born in the year 1570. From the Registers of St Andrews University, it appears that he was incorporated or enrolled as a student in St Leonard's College, December 3, 1584, and took his master's degree, after the usual course of study, in the year 1588. Subsequently to this, he resided for some time in France; whence, in 1603, he addressed an elegant panegyric in Latin verse, to king James, on his accession to the crown of England, which was printed at Paris the same year; and this panegyric had, no doubt, some influence in securing to the author the favour of that monarch, by whom he was successively appointed one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, and private secretary to his queen, Anne of Denmark, besides receiving the honour of knighthood. He was, at a later period of his life, honoured with the appointment of secretary to Henrietta Maria, queen of Charles I. It is recorded on Ayton's funeral monument, as a distinction, that he had been sent to Germany as ambassador to the Emperor, with a work published by king James, which is supposed to have been his Apology for the Oath of Allegiance. If this conjecture be correct, it must have been in 1609, when his majesty acknowledged a work published anonymously three years before, and inscribed it to all the crowned heads of Europe. During Ayton's residence abroad, as well as at the court of England, he lived in intimacy with, and secured the esteem of the most eminent persons of his time. "He was acquainted," says Aubrey, "with all the wits of his time in England; he was a great acquaintance of Mr Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, whom Mr Hobbes told me he made use of, together with Ben Jonson, for an Aristarchus, when he made his Epistle dedicatory, for his translation of Thucydides." To this information, we may add, as a proof of this respect on the part of Ben Jonson, that, in his conversations with Drummond of Hawthornden, he said, "Sir Robert Ayton loved him (Jonson) dearly."

Sir Robert Ayton died at London, in March, 1637-8, in the 68th year of his age. He lies buried in the south aisle of the choir of Westminster Abbey, at the corner of King Henry the Fifth's Chapel, under a handsome monument of black marble, erected by his nephew, David Ayton of Kinaldie; having his bust in brass gilt, which has been preserved, while that of Henry, the hero of Agincourt, (said to have been of a more precious metal,) has long since disappeared. The following is a copy of the inscription:

M. S.

Clarissimi omnigenaq. virtute et eruditione, præsertim Poesi ornatissimi equitis, Domini Roberti Aitoni, ex antiqua et illustri gente Aitona, ad Castrum Kinnadinum apud Scotos, oriundi, qui a Serenissimo R. Jacobo in Cubicula Interiora admissus, in Germaniam ad Imperatorem, Imperiiq. Principes cum libello Regio, Regiæ authoritatis vindice, Legatus, ac primium Annæ, demum Mariæ, serenissimis Britanniarum Reginis ab epistolis, consiliis et libellis supplicibus, nec non Xenodochio S^tæ Catherinæ præfectus. Anima Creatoris Reddita, hic depositis mortalibus exuviis secundum Redemptoris adventum expectat.

Carolum linquens, repetit Parentem
Et valedicens Mariæ revisit
Annam et Aulai decus, alto Olympi
Mutat Honore.

Obiit Cœlebs in Regio Albaula
Non sine maximo Honore omnium
Luctu et Mœrore, Ætat. suæ LXVIII.
Salut. Humanæ M.DCXXXVIII.

Hoc devoti gratiq. animi
Testimonium optimo Patruo
Jo. Aitonus M L P.

Musarum decus hic, Patriæq. Aulæq. Domique
Et Foris exemplar sed non imitabile honesti.

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The poems of Sir Robert Ayton, for the first time published together in the Miscellany of the Bannatyne Club, (from which we derive these particulars of the poet's life,) are few in number, but of great merit. He composed no Scottish poems, at least none that have come down to our times. He wrote in English, and was, indeed, one of the first of our countrymen who composed in that language with any degree of elegance or purity. It is unfortunate that the most of his poems are complimentary verses to the illustrious individuals with whom he was acquainted, and of course characterised only by a strain of conceited and extravagant flattery. Those, however, upon general topics, are conceived in a refined and tender strain of fancy, that reminds us more of the fairy strains of Herrick than any thing else. John Aubrey remarks, "that Sir Robert was one of the best poets of his time," and adds the more important testimony that "Mr John Dryden has seen verses of his, *some of the best of that age*, printed with some other verses." According to Dempster, Ayton was also a writer of verses in Greek and French, as well as in English and Latin. Several of his Latin poems are preserved in the work called, "Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum," which was printed in his lifetime (1637) at Amsterdam.

One poem by Ayton, entitled, "Inconstancy Reproved," and commencing with the words, "I do confess thou'rt smooth and fair," was esteemed by Burns worthy of being paraphrased into the native dialect of the author; a process certainly of a very curious nature, as it might have rather been expected that the poet of the eighteenth should have *refined* upon the poet of the seventeenth century. It may be safely avowed that the modern poet has not improved upon his predecessor. Perhaps the reader will be less familiar with the following equally beautiful poems by Sir Robert Ayton, than with "Inconstancy Reproved,"—which, after all, is not ascertained to be his.

SONG.

What means this strangeness now of late,
Since time must truth approve?
This distance may consist with state—
It cannot stand with love.

'Tis either cunning or distrust,
That may such ways allow;
The first is base, the last unjust;
Let neither blemish you.

For if you mean to draw me on,
There needs not half this art;
And if you mean to have me gone,
You overact your part.

If kindness cross your wished content,
Dismiss me with a frown,
I'll give you all the love that's spent,
The rest shall be my own.

ON WOMAN'S INCONSTANCY.

I loved thee once, I'll love no more,
Thine be the grief as is the blame;
Thou art not what thou wast before,
What reason I should be the same?
He that can love unloved again,
Hath better store of love than brain:
God send me love my debts to pay,
While unthrifts fool their love away.

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Nothing could have my love o'erthrown,
If thou hadst still continued mine;
Yea, if thou hadst remain'd thy own,
I might perchance have yet been thine.
But thou thy freedom did recall,
That if thou might elsewhere enthral;
And then how could I but disdain
A captive's captive to remain?

When new desires had conquered thee,
And changed the object of thy will,
It had been lethargy in me,
Not constancy to love thee still.
Yea, it had been a sin to go
And prostitute affection so
Since we are taught no prayers to say
To such as must to others pray.

Yet do thou glory in thy choice,
Thy choice of his good fortune boast;
I'll neither grieve nor yet rejoice,
To see him gain what I have lost:
The height of my disdain shall be,
To laugh at him, to blush for thee;
To love thee still, but go no more,
A begging to a beggar's door.

THE ANSWER,

BY THE AUTHOR, AT THE KING'S MAJESTY'S COMMAND.

Thou that loved once, now loves no more,
For fear to show more love than brain;
With heresy unhatch'd before,
Apostasy thou dost maintain.
Can he have either brain or love
That dost inconstancy approve?
A choice well made no change admits,
All changes argue after-wits.

Say that she had not been the same,
Should thou therefore another be?
What thou in her as vice did blame,
Can thou take virtue's name in thee?
No, thou in this her captive was,
And made thee ready by her glass;
Example led revenge astray,
When true love should have kept the way.

True love has no reflecting end,
The object good sets it at rest,
And noble breasts will freely lend,
Without expecting interest.
'Tis merchants' love, 'tis trade for gain,
To barter love for love again:
'Tis usury, yea, worse than this,
For self-idolatry it is.

Then let her choice be what it will,
Let constancy be thy revenge;
If thou retribute good for ill,
Both grief and shame shall check her change,

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Thus may'st thou laugh when thou shalt see
Remorse reclaim her home to thee;
And where thou begg'st of her before,
She now sits begging at thy door.

We submit that such elegant sentiments as these, expressed in such elegant language, are an honour to their author, to his age, and country.

B

BAILLIE, Robert, one of the most eminent, and perhaps the most moderate, of all the Scottish presbyterian clergy during the time of the civil war, was born at Glasgow, in 1599. His father, Thomas Baillie, citizen, was descended from the Baillies of Lamington; his mother, Helen Gibson, was of the family of Gibson of Durie; both of which stocks are distinguished in presbyterian history. Having studied divinity in his native university, Mr Baillie, in 1622, received episcopal orders from Archbishop Law, of Glasgow, and became tutor to the son of the Earl of Eglintoune, by whom he was presented to the parish church of Kilwinning. In 1626 he was admitted a regent at the college of Glasgow, and, on taking his chair, delivered an inaugural oration, *De Mente Agente*. About this period he appears to have prosecuted the study of the oriental languages, in which he is allowed to have attained no mean proficiency. For some years he lived in terms of the strictest intimacy with the noble and pious family of Eglintoune, as also with his ordinary, Archbishop Law, with whom he kept up an epistolary correspondence. Baillie was not only educated and ordained as an episcopalian, but he had imbibed from principal Cameron of Glasgow, the doctrine of passive resistance. He appears, however, to have been brought over to opposite views during the interval between 1630 and 1636, which he employed in discussing with his fellow-clergymen the doctrines of Arminianism, and the new ecclesiastical regulations introduced into the Scottish church by Archbishop Laud. Hence, in the year 1636, being desired by Archbishop Law to preach at Edinburgh in favour of the Canon and Service-books, he positively refused; writing, however, a respectful apology to his lordship. Endeared to the resisting party by this conduct, he was chosen to represent the presbytery of Irvine in the General Assembly of 1638, by which the royal power was braved in the name of the whole nation, and episcopacy formally dissolved. In this meeting, Baillie is said to have behaved with great moderation; a term, however, which must be understood as only comparative, for the expressions used in his letter regarding the matters condemned, are not what would now be considered moderate. In the ensuing year, when it was found necessary to vindicate the proceedings of the Glasgow Assembly with the sword, Baillie entered heartily into the views of his countrymen. He accompanied the army to Dunse Law, in the capacity of preacher to the Earl of Eglintoune's regiment; and he it was, who has handed down the well known description of that extraordinary camp.—"It would have done you good," he remarks in one of his letters, "to have cast your eyes athort our brave and rich hills, as oft as I did, with great contentment and joy; for I was there among the rest, being chosen preacher by the gentlemen of our shire, who came late with Lord Eglintoune. I furnished to half a dozen of good fellows, muskets and pikes, and to my boy a bread sword. I carried myself, as the fashion was, a sword, and a couple of Dutch pistols at my saddle; but I promise, for the offence of no man, except a robber in the way; for it was our part alone to pray and preach for the encouragement of our countrymen, which I did to my power most chearfully." (*Letters*, vol. i. p. 174.) He afterwards states, "Our soldiers grew in experience of arms, in courage, and favour, daily.

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Every one encouraged another. The sight of their nobles, and their beloved pastors, daily raised their hearts. The good sermons and prayers, morning and evening, under the roof of heaven, to which their drums did call them for bells; the remonstrance very frequent of the goodness of their cause; of their conduct hitherto, by a hand clearly divine; also Leslie's skill, and prudence, and fortune, made them as resolute for battle as could be wished. We were feared that emulation among our nobles might have done harm, when they should be met in the field; but such was the wisdom and authority of that old, little, crooked soldier, that all, with an incredible submission, from the beginning to the end, gave over themselves to be guided by him, as if he had been great Solyman.—Had you lent your ear in the morning, or especially at even, and heard in the tents the sound of some singing psalms, some praying, and some reading Scripture, ye would have been refreshed. True, there was swearing, and cursing, and brawling, in some quarters, whereat we were grieved; but we hoped, if our camp had been a little settled, to have gotten some way for these misorders; for all of any fashion did regret, and all promised to do their best endeavours for helping all abuses. For myself, I never found my mind in better temper than it was all that time since I came from home, till my head was again homeward; for I was as a man who had taken my leave from the world, and was resolved to die in that service without return." This expedition ended in a treaty between the Scottish leaders and their sovereign, in terms of which hostilities ceased for a few months. On the renewal of the insurrectionary war next year, Baillie accompanied the Scottish army on its march into England, and became the chronicler of its transactions. Towards the end of the year 1640, he was selected by the Scottish leaders as a proper person to go to London, along with other commissioners, to prepare charges against Archbishop Laud, for his innovations upon the Scottish church, which were alleged to have been the origin of the war. He had, in April, before the expedition, published a pamphlet, entitled, "Ladensium Αυτοκαταχρισις: the Canterburian's Self-conviction; or an Evident Demonstration of the avowed Arminianisme, Poperie, and Tyrannie of that Faction, by their own confessions," which perhaps pointed him out as fit to take a lead in the prosecution of the great Antichrist of Scottish presbytery. Of this and almost all the other proceedings of his public life, he has left a minute account in his letters and journals, which are preserved entire in the archives of the church of Scotland, and in the university of Glasgow, and of which excerpts were published in 2 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1775. These reliques of Mr Baillie form valuable materials of history. Not long after his return to his native country, in 1642, he was appointed joint professor of divinity at Glasgow, along with Mr David Dickson, an equally distinguished, but less moderate divine. It affords some proof of the estimation in which he was now held, that he had the choice of this appointment in all the four universities of Scotland. He performed his duties from this period till the restoration, and at the same time attended all the General Assemblies as a member, except during an interval in 1643-6, when he was absent as a delegate to the Westminster assembly of divines. In this latter capacity, he conducted himself in an unobtrusive manner, but fully concurred in the principles and views of the more prominent men. It is observable from his letters, that, with the pardonable earnestness of his age and party, he looked upon toleration as a thing fatal to religion, and strenuously asserted the divine right of the presbyterian church to be established in complete ascendancy and power as a substitute for the church of England. From 1646 to 1649, he discharged his ordinary duties as a theological teacher, without taking a leading part in public affairs. But in the latter year, he was chosen by the church, as the fittest person to carry its homage to king Charles II. at the Hague, and to invite

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that youthful monarch to assume the government in Scotland, under the limitations and stipulations of the covenant. This duty he executed with a degree of dignity and propriety, which could have been expected from no member of his church, but one, who, like him had spent several years in conducting high diplomatic affairs in England. Indeed, Mr Baillie appears in every transaction of his life, to have been an accomplished man of the world; and yet retaining, along with habits of expediency, the most perfect sincerity in his religious views. When the necessary introduction of the malignants into the king's service, caused a strong division in the church, in 1651, Baillie, as might have been expected from his character and former history, sided with the yielding or Resolutionist party, and soon became its principal leader. On this account he, and many other sincere men, were charged by the Protesting and less worldly party, with a declension from the high principles of the covenant; a charge to which he, at least, certainly was not liable. After the Restoration, though made Principal of his college through court patronage, he scrupulously refused to accept a bishopric, and did not hesitate to express his dissatisfaction with the re-introduction of episcopacy. His health now declining, he was visited by the new-made archbishop, to whom he thus freely expressed himself: "Mr Andrew," said he, "I will not now call you my lord. King Charles would have made me one of these lords; but I do not find in the New Testament that Christ has any lords in his house." He considered this form of religion and ecclesiastical government as "inconsistent with Scripture, contrary to pure and primitive antiquity, and diametrically opposed to the true interest of the country." He died, July, 1662, in the 63d year of his age.

Mr Baillie, besides his Letters and Journals, and a variety of controversial pamphlets, suitable to the spirit of the times, was the author of a respectable and learned work, entitled, "*Opus Historicum et Chronologicum*," which was published in folio at Amsterdam. He was a man of extensive learning—understood no fewer than thirteen languages, among which were Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Samaritan, Arabic, and Ethiopic,—and wrote Latin with almost Augustan elegance. He left a large family: one of his daughters, becoming the wife of Walkinshaw of Barrowfield, was, by a strange chance, the ancestress of Miss Clementina Walkinshaw, well known from her connexion with the history of Prince Charles Stuart—and also grandmother to the celebrated Henry Home, better known under the judicial designation of Lord Kames.

BAILLIE, Robert, of Jerviswood, an eminent patriot of the reign of Charles II., was the son of George Baillie of St John's kirk in Lanarkshire, cadet of the ancient family of Baillie of Lamington, who appears to have purchased the estate of Jerviswood, also in Lanarkshire, in the reign of Charles I., from a family of the name of Livingstone. It is stated by the jacobite, Robert Mylne, in the publication called "Fountainhall's Notes," that the first circumstance which alienated the mind of Robert Baillie from the government, was his marrying a daughter of Sir Archibald Johnston of Warristoun, who, having borne a conspicuous part in the civil war from its beginning, was executed after the Restoration. Whatever be the truth of this allegation, Baillie appears before the year 1676, to have been otherwise allied to the non-conformist party.

The incident which first brought him forward into view as a subject of persecution, was one of those interferences in behalf of natural justice, where all sense of consequences is overborne by the exigency of the occasion. During the misgovernment of the Duke of Lauderdale, a wretched profligate of the name of Carstairs had bargained with Archbishop Sharpe to undertake the business of an informer upon an uncommonly large scale, having a troop of other informers under him, and enjoying a certain reward for each individual whom he could

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detect at the conventicles, besides a share of the fines imposed upon them. It may be supposed that an individual who could permit himself to enter upon a profession of this kind, would not be very scrupulous as to the guilt of the persons whom he sought to make his prey. He accordingly appears to have, at least in one noted instance, pounced upon an individual who was perfectly innocent. This was the Rev. Mr Kirkton, a non-conformist minister it is true, but one who had been cautious to keep strictly within the verge of the law. Kirkton was the brother-in-law of Mr Baillie of Jerviswood, by his marriage to the sister of that gentleman, and he is eminent in Scottish literary history for a memoir of the church during his own times, which was of great service in manuscript to the historian Wodrow, and was at length published in 1817. One day in June, 1676, as Mr Kirkton was walking along the High Street of Edinburgh, Carstairs, whose person he did not know, accosted him in a very civil manner, and expressed a desire to speak with him in private. Mr Kirkton, suspecting no evil, followed Carstairs to a very mean-looking house, near the common prison. Carstairs, who had no warrant to apprehend or detain Mr Kirkton, went out to get one, locking the door upon his victim.[1] The unfortunate clergyman then perceived that he was in some danger, and prevailed upon a person in the house to go to seek his brother-in-law, Mr Baillie, and apprise him of his situation. Carstairs, having in vain endeavoured to get the requisite number of privy-councillors to sign a warrant, now came back, resolved, it appears, to try at least if he could not force some money from Mr Kirkton for his release. Just as they were about to confer upon this subject, Mr Baillie came to the door, with several other persons, and called to Carstairs to open. Kirkton, hearing the voices of friends, took courage, and desired his captor either to set him free, or to show a warrant for his detention. Carstairs, instead of doing either, drew a pocket pistol, and Kirkton found it necessary, for his own safety, to enter into a personal struggle, and endeavour to secure the weapon of his antagonist. The gentlemen without, hearing a struggle, and cries of murder, burst open the door, and found Carstairs sitting upon Mr Kirkton, on the floor. Baillie drew his sword, and commanded the poltroon to come off, asking him at the same time if he had any warrant for apprehending Mr Kirkton. Carstairs said he had a warrant for conducting him to prison, but he utterly refused to show it, though Mr Baillie said that, if he saw any warrant against his friend, he would assist in carrying it into execution. The wretch still persisting in saying he had a warrant, but was not bound to show it, Mr Baillie left the place, with Mr Kirkton and other friends, having offered no violence whatever to Carstairs, but only threatened to sue him for unlawful invasion of his brother-in-law's person.

It might have been expected from even a government so lost to all honour and justice as that which now prevailed in Scotland, that it would have had at least the *good sense* to overlook this unhappy accident to one of its tools. On the contrary, it was resolved to brave the popular feeling of right, by listening to the complaints of Carstairs. Through the influence of Archbishop Sharpe, who said that, if Carstairs was not countenanced, no one would be procured to apprehend fanatics afterwards, a majority of the council agreed to prosecute Baillie, Kirkton, and the other persons concerned. For this purpose, an antedated warrant was furnished to Carstairs, signed by nine of the councillors. The Marquis of Atholl told Bishop Burnet, that he had been one of the nine who lent their names to this infamous document. The whole case was therefore made out to be a tumult against the government; Baillie was fined in six thousand merks, (£318 sterling)[2] and his friends in smaller sums, and to be imprisoned till they should render payment.

[1] Burnet. Wodrow's account is slightly different.
[2] Wodrow says £500 sterling, new edit. v. 2. p. 328.

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This award was so opposite, in every particular, to the principles of truth, honour, and justice, that, even if not directed against individuals connected with the popular cause, it could not have failed to excite general indignation. It appears that a respectable minority of the council itself was strongly opposed to the decision, and took care to let it be known at court. Mr Baillie was therefore released at the end of four months, in consideration of payment of one half of his fine to the creature Carstairs. Lord Halton, however, who was at this time a kind of pro-regent under his brother Lauderdale, had interest to obtain the dismissal of his opponents from the council, namely, the Duke of Hamilton, the Earls of Morton, Dumfries, and Kincardine, and the Lords Cochrane and Primrose, whom he branded, for their conduct on this occasion, as enemies to the church and favourers of conventicles.

After this period, nothing is known of Mr Baillie till the year 1683, when he is found taking a prominent share in a scheme of emigration, agitated by a number of Scottish gentlemen, who saw no refuge but this from the tyranny of the government. These gentlemen entered into a negotiation with the patentees of South Carolina, for permission to convey themselves thither, along with their families and dependents. While thus engaged, Mr Baillie was induced, along with several of his friends, to enter into correspondence and counsel with the heads of the Puritan party in England, who were now forming an extensive plan of insurrection, for the purpose of obtaining a change of measures in the government, though with no ulterior view. Under the pretext of the American expedition, Lord Melville, Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree, Mr Baillie, and three others, were invited and repaired to London, to consult with the Duke of Monmouth, Sydney, Russell, and the rest of that party. This scheme was never properly matured; indeed, it never was any thing but a matter of talk, and had ceased to be even that, when a minor plot for assassinating the king, to which only a small number of the party were privy, burst prematurely, and involved several of the chiefs, who were totally ignorant of it, in destruction. Sydney and Russell suffered for this crime, of which they were innocent; and Baillie and several other gentlemen were seized and sent down to be tried in Scotland.[2]

The subsequent judicial proceedings were characterised by the usual violence and illegality of the time. He endured a long confinement, during which he was treated very harshly, and not permitted to have the society of his lady, though she offered to go into irons, as an assurance against any attempt at facilitating his escape. An attempt was made to procure sufficient proof of guilt from the confessions wrought out of his nephew-in-law, the Earl of Tarras (who had been first married to the elder sister of the Duchess of Monmouth); but, this being found insufficient, his prosecutors were at last obliged to adopt the unlawful expedient, too common in those distracted times, of putting him to a purgative oath. An accusation was sent to him, not in the form of an indictment, nor grounded on any law, but on a letter of the king, in which he was charged with a conspiracy to raise rebellion, and a concern in the Ryehouse Plot. He was told that, if he would not clear himself of these charges by his oath, he should be held as guilty, though not as in a criminal court, but only as before the council, who had no power to award a higher sentence than fine and imprisonment. As he utterly refused to yield to such a demand, he was fined by

[2] Mr Rose, in his Observations on Mr Fox's History, relates that the hope of a pardon being held out to him, on condition of his giving information respecting some friends supposed to be engaged with him, his answer was, "They who can make such a proposal to me neither know me nor my country;" an expression of which the latter part is amply justified by fact, for, as Lord John Russell has justly observed, in his Memoirs of Lord William Russell, "It is to the honour of Scotland, that [on this occasion] no witnesses came forward voluntarily, to accuse their associates, as had been done in England."

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the council in £6,000, being about the value of his whole estates. It was then supposed that the prosecution would cease, and that he would escape with the doom of a captive. For several months he continued shut up in a loathsome prison, which had such an effect upon his health that he was brought almost to the last extremity. Yet "all the while," to use the words of Bishop Burnet,[3] "he seemed so composed, and even so cheerful, that his behaviour looked like a reviving of the spirit of the noblest of the old Greeks or Romans, or rather of the primitive Christians, and first martyrs in those last days of the church." At length, on the 23rd of December, 1684, he was brought before the court of justiciary. He was now so weak as to be obliged to appear at the bar in his night-gown, and take frequent applications of cordials, which were supplied to him by his sister, the wife of Mr Ker of Graden. The only evidence that could be produced was the confessions forced from his friends by torture, one of whom, the Rev. Mr Carstairs, afterwards the distinguished Principal of the Edinburgh University, had only emitted a declaration, on an express promise that no use was to be made of it. Mr Baillie solemnly denied having been accessary to any conspiracy against the king's life, or being unfavourably disposed to monarchical government. He complained that his friends had been forced to bring forth untrue representations against him. Indeed, there can be no doubt that the whole extent of his offence was a *desire* to procure some amelioration of the measures, and not any change of the members of the government; we say *desire*, because it never could be proved that a single step had been taken in the matter, nor is there the least probability that it would have ever been heard of, but for the trials of several innocent persons.

A cavalier and contemporary writer has alleged that Mr Baillie conducted himself on his trial in a very haughty and scornful manner,—"very huffy and proud," is the expression used—but this probably is only the colour given by a political enemy to the Roman dignity, which Burnet saw in his behaviour. After the evidence had been adduced, and when the Lord Advocate had ended his charge, the following remarkable dialogue took place between him and that officer:—

"My lord, I think it very strange that you charge me with such abominable things; you may remember that when you came to me in person, you told me that such things were laid to my charge, but that you did not believe them. How then, my lord, did you come to lay such a stain upon me with so much violence? Are you now convinced in your conscience that I am more guilty than before? You may remember what passed betwixt us in prison."

The whole audience fixed their eyes upon the advocate, who appeared in no small confusion, and said,

"Jerviswood, I own what you say. My thoughts there were as a private man; but what I say here is by special direction of the privy council. And," pointing to Sir William Paterson, clerk, "he knows my orders."

"Well," said Baillie, "if your lordship have one conscience for yourself, and another for the council, I pray God forgive you; I do. My lords," he added, "I trouble your lordships no further."

The assize was empannelled at midnight, and sat till nine in the morning of the succeeding day, when a verdict of guilty was returned against Mr Baillie, and he was sentenced to be executed that afternoon, at the cross, and his limbs to be afterwards exhibited on the jails of four different Scottish towns. The reason for such precipitation was the fear of his judges that a natural death would disappoint the wishes of the government, which called imperatively at this

[3] Burnet, being the nephew of Sir Archibald Johnstone, was cousin by marriage to Mr Baillie.

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moment for a public example to terrify its opponents. Baillie only said, "My lords, the time is short, the sentence is sharp, but I thank my God who hath made me as fit to die as you are to live." On returning to the prison he experienced what Wodrow describes as "a wonderful rapture of joy, from the assurance he had, that in a few hours he should be inconceivably happy."

Mr Baillie was attended to the scaffold by his faithful and affectionate sister. He had prepared an address to the people; but knowing that he might be prevented from delivering it, he had previously given it to his friends in writing. It is said that the government afterwards offered to give up his body for burial, if his friends would agree to suppress this document. They appear to have rejected the proposition. The unfortunate gentleman was so weak that he required to be assisted in mounting the ladder: he betrayed, however, no symptom of moral weakness. Just before being consigned to his fate, he said, in the self-accusing spirit of true excellence, "My faint zeal for the protestant religion has brought me to this end." His sister-in-law, with the stern virtue of her family, waited to the last.[2]

"Thus," says Bishop Burnet, "a learned and worthy gentleman, after twenty months' hard usage, was brought to death, in a way so full in all the steps of it of the spirit and practice of the courts of Inquisition, that one is tempted to think that the methods taken in it were suggested by one well studied, if not practised, in them. The only excuse that ever was pretended for this infamous prosecution was, that they were sure he was guilty; and that the whole secret of the negotiation between the two kingdoms was intrusted to him; and that, since he would not discover it, all methods might be taken to destroy him. Not considering what a precedent they made on this occasion, by which, if they were once possessed of an ill opinion of a man, they were to spare neither artifice nor violence, but to hunt him down by any means."

Dr Owen has testified in a strong manner to the great abilities of the Scottish Sydney. Writing to a Scottish friend, he said, "You have truly men of great spirits among you; there is, for a gentleman, Mr Baillie of Jerviswood, a person of the greatest abilities I ever almost met with."

Mr Baillie's family was completely ruined by his forfeiture. He left a son, George Baillie, who, after his execution, was obliged to take refuge in Holland, whence he afterwards returned with the Prince of Orange, by whom he was restored to his estates. The wife of this gentleman was Miss Grisel Hume, daughter of Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, a fellow-patriot of Mr Robert Baillie. The occasion of their meeting was very remarkable. Miss Grisel, when a very young girl, was sent by her father from the country, to endeavour to convey a letter to Mr Baillie in prison, and bring back what intelligence she could. She succeeded in this difficult enterprise; and having at the same time met with Mr Baillie's son, the intimacy and friendship was formed, which was afterwards completed by their marriage.

BAILLIE, Matthew, M.D. a distinguished modern physician and anatomist, was the son of the Rev. James Baillie, D.D. Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. He was born October 27, 1761, in the manse of Shotts, of which parish his father was then minister. The father of Dr Matthew Baillie was supposed to be descended from the family of Baillie of Jerviswood, so noted in the history of Scottish freedom; his mother was a sister of the two celebrated anatomists, Dr William and Mr John Hunter; and one of his two sisters was Miss Joanna

[2] "The Lady Graden, with a more than masculine courage, attended him on the scaffold till he was quartered, and went with the hangman and saw his quarters sodden, oyled, &c." —*Fountainhall's Notes*, 117, 118. It is scarcely possible for an individual accustomed to the feelings of modern society to believe such a statement.

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Baillie, the yet living and much honoured authoress of "Plays on the Passions." After receiving the rudiments of his education under his father's immediate superintendence, he began his academical course in 1773, in the University of Glasgow, where he distinguished himself so highly as to be transferred, in 1778, upon Snell's foundation, to Baliol College, Oxford. Here, when he had attained the proper standing, he took his degrees in arts and physic. In 1780, while still keeping his terms at Oxford, he commenced his anatomical studies at London, under the care of his uncles. He had the great advantage of residing with Dr William Hunter, and, when he became sufficiently advanced in his studies, of being employed to make the necessary preparations for the lectures, to conduct the demonstrations, and to superintend the operations of the students. On the death of Dr Hunter, March 1783, he was found qualified to become the successor of that great man, in conjunction with Mr Cruickshank, who had previously been employed as Dr Hunter's assistant. His uncle appointed him by will to have the use of his splendid collection of anatomical preparations, so long as he should continue an anatomical lecturer, after which it was to be transferred to Glasgow College. Dr Baillie began to lecture in 1784, and soon acquired the highest reputation as an anatomical teacher. He was himself indefatigable in the business of forming preparations, adding, it is said, no fewer than eleven hundred articles to his uncle's museum. He possessed the valuable talent of making an abstruse and difficult subject plain; his prelections were remarkable for that lucid order and clearness of expression which proceed from a perfect conception of the subject; and he never permitted any vanity of display to turn him from his great object of conveying information in the simplest and most intelligible way, and so as to become useful to his pupils. The distinctness of his elocution was also much admired, notwithstanding that he never could altogether shake off the accent of his native country. In 1795, Dr Baillie embodied the knowledge he possessed through his own observations and those of his uncle, in a small but most valuable work, entitled, "The Morbid Anatomy of some of the most important parts of the Human Body," which was immediately translated into French and German, and extended his name to every land where medical science was cultivated. The publication of this little treatise was, indeed, an era in the history of medical knowledge in this country. It combined all the information formerly scattered through the writings of Bonetus, Lieutaud, and Montagni, besides the immense store of observations made by the ingenious author. The knowledge of the changes produced on the human frame by disease had previously been very imperfect; but it was now so completely elucidated that, with the assistance of this little volume, any person previously acquainted with morbid symptoms, but unacquainted with the disease, could, upon an examination after death, understand the whole malady. Perhaps no production of late years ever had so much influence on the study of medicine, or contributed so much to correct unfounded speculations upon the nature of disease, to excite a spirit of observation, and to lead the attention of the student to fact and experience. Along with all its excellencies, it was delightful to observe the extreme modesty and total absence of pretension, with which the author, in the fulness of his immense knowledge, ushered it into the world.

In 1787, Dr Baillie had been elected physician to St George's Hospital, a situation which afforded him many of those opportunities of observation upon which the success of his work on Morbid Anatomy was founded. In 1789, having taken his degree of M.D. at Oxford, he was admitted a candidate at the College of Physicians, and in the following year had the full privileges of fellowship conferred upon him. About the same time, he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, to which he had contributed two essays. He served the

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office of censor in the Royal College of Physicians, in 1792 and 1797, and that of commissioner under the act of parliament for the inspection and licensing of mad-houses, in 1794 and 1795.

In 1799, Dr Baillie relinquished the business of an anatomical lecturer, and in 1800 resigned his duties as physician to St George's Hospital. Partly by the influence of his fame as an anatomist, and partly through the disinterested recommendations of several members of his own profession, he found himself gradually tempted into the less agreeable business of a general physician. He was always resorted to, when more than ordinary scientific precision was required. About the year 1801, when he had attained the mature age of forty, he had become completely absorbed in practice. As a physician, he possessed, in an eminent degree, a facility in distinguishing diseases,—one of the most important qualifications in the practice of medicine; as a want of accuracy in discriminating symptomatic from primary affections leads to the most serious errors; whilst it may be said that, when a disease is once distinctly characterised, and the peculiarities of the case defined, the cure is half performed. Habits of attentive observation had enabled Dr Baillie to know, with great accuracy, the precise extent of the powers of medicine; indeed, there was no class of cases more likely to fall under his observation than those in which they had been abused; younger practitioners being apt to carry a particular system of treatment beyond its proper limits; Dr Baillie's readiness, therefore, in seeing this abuse, rendered his opinions, in many cases, of great value. Yet he was always scrupulously anxious, through the natural benignity of his disposition, to use his knowledge with a delicate regard to the interests of those juniors whose procedure he was called upon to amend. He managed, indeed, this part of his practice with so much delicacy that he was held in the utmost affection and esteem by the younger branches of the profession.

Dr Baillie was remarkable for forming his judgment of any case before him from his own observations exclusively; carefully guarding himself against any prepossessions from the opinions suggested by others. When he visited a patient, he observed him accurately, he listened to him attentively, he put a few pointed questions—and his opinion was formed. Beneath a most natural and unassuming manner, which was the same on all occasions, was concealed an almost intuitive power of perceiving the state of his patient. His mind was always quietly, but eagerly directed, to an investigation of the symptoms; and he had so distinct and systematic a mode of putting questions, that the answers of his patients often presented a connected view of the whole case. On such occasions, he avoided technical and learned phrases; he affected none of that sentimental tenderness, which is sometimes assumed by a physician with a view to recommend himself to his patient; but he expressed what he had to say in the simplest and plainest terms; with some pleasantry, if the occasion admitted of it, and with gravity and gentleness, if they were required; and he left his patient, either encouraged or tranquillized, persuaded that the opinion he had received was sound and honest, whether it was unfavourable or not, and that his physician merited his confidence. In delivering or writing his opinions, he was equally remarkable for unaffected simplicity. His language was sometimes so plain, that his patients have been able to repeat to their other medical attendants, every word which he had uttered. In consultation, he gave his opinion concisely, and with a few grounds; those grounds being chiefly facts, rather than arguments, so that little room was left for dispute. If any difference or difficulty arose, his example pointed out the way of removing it, by an appeal to other facts, and by a neglect of speculative reasoning.

In every relation and situation of private life, Dr Baillie was equally to be

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admired; and it must be added, that the same liberal and just ideas which, on all occasions, guided his conduct as an individual, ruled him in his many public duties: he never countenanced any measures which had the appearance of oppression or hostility towards the members of his profession. Men seldom act, collectively, with the same honour and integrity as they would do individually; and a member of a public body requires an unusual share of moral courage, who opposes those measures of his associates, which he may not himself approve of; but if there was one qualification more than another, which gave Dr Baillie the public confidence he enjoyed, and raised him to the zenith of professional distinction, it was his inflexible integrity.

In 1799, Dr Baillie commenced the publication of "A Series of Engravings, to illustrate some parts of Morbid Anatomy," in successive *fasciculi*, which were completed in 1803. The drawings for this splendid work were done by Mr Clift, the Conservator of the Hunterian Museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields; and they were creditable at once to the taste and liberality of Dr Baillie, and to the state of art in that day. Dr Baillie afterwards published "An Anatomical description of the Gravid Uterus;" and throughout the whole course of his professional life, he contributed largely to the transactions and medical collections of the time. When he was at the height of his popularity, he enjoyed a higher income than any preceding physician, and which was only inferior to the sum received by one particular contemporary. In one of his busiest years, when he had scarcely time to take a single meal, it is said to have reached £10,000. He was admitted to have the greatest *consultation business* of his time; and it was known that he was applied to for medical advice from many distant quarters of the world. From his arduous, and to his mind, often irksome duties, he enjoyed no relaxation for many years, till at length he began to indulge in an annual retirement of a few months to the country. On one of the first of these occasions, he paid a visit to the land of his birth, which, during an absence of thirty years, spent in busy and distracting pursuits, he had never ceased to regard with the most tender feelings. The love of country was, indeed, a prominent feature in his character; and he was prepared on this occasion to realize many enjoyments which he had previously contemplated with enthusiasm, in the prospect of once more beholding the land and friends of his youth. The result was far different from his expectations. He found most of his early companions either scattered over the world, in search, as he himself had been, of fortune, or else forgotten in untimely graves; of those who survived, many were removed beyond his sympathies by that total alteration of feeling which a difference of worldly circumstances so invariably effects in the hearts of early friends, on the side of the depressed party as well as the elevated.

Dr Baillie was introduced to the favourable notice of the royal family, in consequence of his treatment of the duke of Gloucester. Being subsequently joined in consultation with the king's physicians, upon his majesty's own unhappy case, he came more prominently than ever into public view, as in some measure the principal director of the royal treatment. The *political* responsibility of this situation was so very weighty, that, if Dr Baillie had been a man of less firmness of nerve, he could scarcely have maintained himself under it. Such, however, was the public confidence in his inflexible integrity, that, amidst the hopes and fears which for a long time agitated the nation, on the subject of the king's health, the opinion of Dr Baillie ever regulated that of the public. On the first vacancy, which occurred in 1810, he was appointed one of the physicians to the king, with the offer of a baronetcy, which, however, his good sense and unassuming disposition induced him to decline.

Dr Baillie at length sunk under the weight of his practice, notwithstanding

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that for several years he had taken every possible expedient to shift off his duties to the care of younger aspirants. At the last quarterly meeting of the College of Physicians before his death, when there was a full assemblage of members, in the midst of the affairs for the consideration of which they were called together, Dr Baillie entered the room, emaciated, hectic, and with all the symptoms of approaching dissolution. Such was the effect of his sudden and unexpected appearance, that the public business was suspended, and every one present instantly and spontaneously rose, and remained standing until Dr Baillie had taken his seat; a tribute of affectionate reverence believed to have been wholly unprecedented. Besides the natural claim he had upon this body, from his unapproached anatomical and medical skill, and the extraordinary benignity and worth of his character, he had entitled himself to its peculiar gratitude by leaving to it the whole of his valuable collection of preparations, together with the sum of six hundred pounds to keep it in order. Dr Baillie died on the 23d of September, 1823.

Dr Baillie had married, early in life, Miss Sophia Denman, sister of Mr Denman, the well-known barrister, appointed attorney-general in 1830. By her he left one son, to whom he devoted his estate of Duntisbourne, in Gloucestershire, and one daughter. The sums and effects destined by his will, many of which were given to medical institutions and public charities, were sworn in the Prerogative Court at less than £80,000.

Dr Baillie is thus characterised in the *Annual Obituary* for 1824. "He seemed to have an innate goodness of heart, a secret sympathy with the virtuous, and to rejoice in their honourable and dignified conduct, as in a thing in which he had a personal interest, and as if he felt that his own character was raised by it, as well as human nature ennobled. He censured warmly what he disapproved, from a strong attachment to what is right, not to display his superiority to others, or to give vent to any asperity of temper; at the same time he was indulgent to failings; his kindness to others leading him on many occasions to overlook what was due to himself; and even in his last illness he paid gratuitous professional visits which were above his strength, and was in danger of suddenly exhausting himself by exertions for others. His liberal disposition was well known to all acquainted with public subscriptions; the great extent to which it showed itself in private benefactions is known only to those who were nearly connected with him, and perhaps was fully known only to himself."

BAIRD, (the Right Honourable, General Sir) DAVID, a distinguished commander during the wars of the French Revolution, was the second surviving son of William Baird, Esq., heir, by settlement, of his second cousin Sir John Baird, of Newbyth, Bart. He entered the army, December 16, 1772, as an ensign in the 2nd foot, joined the regiment at Gibraltar, April 1773, and returned to Britain in 1776. Having been promoted to a lieutenancy in 1778, he immediately after obtained a company in the 73rd, a regiment then just raised by Lord Macleod, with which he sailed for India, and arrived at Madras, January 1780.

This young regiment was here at once ushered into the trying and hazardous scenes of the war against Hyder Ally, whom the English company had provoked by a shameful breach of faith into a hostility that threatened to overwhelm it. In July 1780, while the company, exclusive of Lord Macleod's regiment, had only about 5,000 men under arms, Hyder burst into the Carnatic with an army of 100,000 men, disciplined and commanded by French officers, and laid siege to Arcot, the capital of the only native prince friendly to the British. Sir Hector Munro, commander-in-chief of the Company's troops, set out to relieve this city on the 25th of August, expecting to be joined on the 30th, by a large detachment then in the northern circars under Colonel Baillie. On learning this

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movement, Hyder left Arcot, and threw himself in the way of Colonel Baillie. In order to favour, if possible, the approach of this officer, Sir Hector Munro, on the 5th of September, changed his position a little, and advanced two miles on the Trepassore road, which brought him within a short distance from the enemy. Hyder then detached his brother-in-law, Meer Saib, with 8,000 horse, to attack Colonel Baillie, and afterwards an additional force of 6,000 infantry, 18,000 cavalry, and 12 pieces of cannon, under his son, the celebrated Tippoo. He at the same time made demonstrations on his front, to keep up the attention of Sir Hector and the main army. Baillie, though commanding no more than 2,000 Sepoys and a few European companies, gained a complete victory over the immense force sent against him, but at the same time sent word to Sir Hector, that, unless provision were made for accomplishing a junction, he must certainly be cut off. The commander-in-chief held a council of war, when it was determined at all hazards to send a reinforcement, for the purpose of achieving the relief of this gallant officer. A small force was selected, consisting principally of the grenadier and infantry companies of Lord Macleod's regiment, which, having received strict injunctions as to the necessity of a secret and expeditious march, set off towards Colonel Baillie's position, under the command of Colonel Fletcher and Captain Baird. Hyder Ally had secret intelligence of this movement, and sent a detachment to cut it off; but Colonel Fletcher and Captain Baird, having fortunately conceived some suspicion of their guides, suddenly altered their line of march, and were thereby enabled to gain their point. Hyder was determined that Colonel Baillie, with his friends, should not advance so safely to the main army. He therefore, with the most consummate ability, and under his own personal inspection, prepared an ambuscade at a particular pass through which they would have to march. This part of the road, he had occupied and enfiladed with several batteries of cannon, behind which lay large bodies of his best foot, while he himself, with almost his whole force, was ready to support the attack. While these real dispositions were made, a cloud of irregular cavalry were employed in several motions on the side of Conjeveram, in order to divert the attention of the English camp.

The morning of the 10th of September had scarcely dawned, when the silent and expectant enemy perceived Colonel Baillie's little army advancing into the very toils planted to receive it. The ambuscade reserved their fire with admirable coolness and self-command, till the unhappy English were in the midst of them. The army marched in column. On a sudden, while in a narrow defile, a battery of twelve guns poured a storm of grape-shot into their right flank. The English faced about; another battery immediately opened on their rear. They had no chance, therefore, but to advance; other batteries met them here likewise, and in less than half an hour, 57 pieces of cannon were so brought to bear on them as to penetrate into every part of the British line. By seven o'clock in the morning, the enemy poured down upon them in thousands, and every Englishman in the army was engaged. Captain Baird, at the head of his grenadiers, fought with the greatest heroism. Surrounded and attacked on all sides by 25,000 cavalry, by 30 regiments of Sepoy infantry, besides Hyder Ally's European corps, and a numerous artillery playing upon them from all quarters within grape-shot distance, yet this heroic column stood firm and undaunted, alternately facing their enemies on every side of attack. The French officers in Hyder's camp beheld the scene with astonishment, which was increased, when, in the midst of all this tumult and extreme peril, they saw the British grenadiers performing their evolutions with as much precision, coolness, and steadiness, as if under the eyes of a commander on a parade.

Colonels Baillie and Fletcher, and Captain Baird, had only ten pieces of

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cannon; but these were so excellently served, that they made great havoc amongst the enemy. At length, after a dubious contest of three hours, (from six in the morning till nine,) victory began to declare for the English; the flower of the Mysore cavalry, after many bloody repulses, were at length entirely defeated with great slaughter, and the right wing, composed of Hyder's best forces, was thrown into disorder, and began to give way. Hyder himself was about to give the orders for retreat, and the French officer who directed the artillery began to draw it off.

At this moment of exultation and triumph, when British valour was just about to reap that safety which it had so well fought for, there occurred an unlucky accident, which entirely altered the fortune of the day. The tumbrils containing the ammunition suddenly blew up, with two dreadful explosions, in the centre of the British line. The whole face of their column was laid open, and their artillery overturned and destroyed. The destruction of men was great, but the total loss of their ammunition was still more fatal to the survivors. Tippoo Saib, a worthy son of his martial father, instantly saw and seized the moment of advantage, and, without waiting for orders, fell with the utmost rapidity, at the head of the Mogul and Carnatic horse, into the broken square, which had not yet time in any degree to recover its form and order. This attack by the enemy's cavalry being immediately seconded by the French corps, and by the first line of infantry, determined at once the fate of our unfortunate army. After successive prodigies of valour, the brave Sepoys were almost to a man cut to pieces.

Colonels Baillie and Fletcher made one more desperate effort; they rallied the Europeans, and, under the fire of the whole artillery of the enemy, gained a little eminence and formed themselves into a square. In this form, did this invincible band, though totally without ammunition, the officers fighting only with their swords, and the soldiers with their bare bayonets, resist and repulse the enemy in thirteen different attacks; until, at length, incapable of withstanding the successive torrents of fresh troops which were continually pouring upon them, they were fairly borne down and trampled upon, many of them still continuing to fight under the very legs of the horses and elephants.

Out of about 4,000 Sepoys and 800 Europeans who had commenced this engagement, only about 200 of the latter survived. Colonel Fletcher was among the slain, and Captain Baird had wounds in four places. When he and Colonel Baillie, with other captive officers, were taken before Hyder Ally, the latter gentleman said to the barbarous chief, "Your son will inform you, that you owe the victory to our disaster, rather than to our defeat." Hyder angrily ordered them from his presence, and commanded them instantly to prison. The slaughter among the Mysore troops was very great, amounting, it is said, to three times the whole British army. When Sir Hector Munroe learned the unhappy fate of his detachment, he found it necessary to retreat to Madras.

Captain Baird, with the officers, remained in a dungeon in one of Hyder's forts for three days and a half; he was chained by the leg to another prisoner, as much of the slaughter in Hyder's army was attributed to the grenadiers. At length, in July 1784, he was released, and joined his regiment at Arcot. In 1787, he removed with his regiment (now styled the 71st) to Bombay, and returned to Madras next year. On the 5th of June 1789, he received the majority of the 71st, and in October obtained leave of absence, and returned to Britain. In 1791, he returned as lieutenant-colonel of the 71st, and joined the army under the marquis Cornwallis. As commander of a brigade of Sepoys, he was present at the attack of a number of Droogs, or hill-forts, and at the siege of Seringapatam, in 1791 and 1792; and likewise at the storming of Tippoo

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Sultaun's lines and camps in the island of Seringapatam. In 1793, he commanded a brigade of Europeans, and was present at the siege of Pondicherry. He received a colonelcy in 1795. In October 1797, he embarked at Madras with his regiment for Europe; in December, when he arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, he was appointed Brigadier-general, and placed on that staff, in command of a brigade. June 18, 1798, he was appointed Major-general, and returned to the staff in India. In January 1799, he arrived at Madras, in command of two regiments of foot, together with the drafts of the 28th dragoons. May 4, he commanded the storming party at that distinguished action, the assault of Seringapatam; when, in requital of his brilliant services, he was presented by the army, through the Commander-in-chief, with the state sword of Tippoo Sultaun, and also with a dress-sword from the field-officers serving under his immediate command at the assault.

The eminent merit of Brigadier-general Baird was now fully known and acknowledged by the government at home. He was therefore, in 1800, appointed to the command of an expedition against Batavia, but which was afterwards sent to Egypt. He landed at Coseir in June, crossed the desert, and, embarking on the Nile, descended to Grand Cairo; whence he set out for Alexandria, which he reached a few days before it surrendered to General Hutchison. Next year he led the Egyptian Indian army overland to India, where he was concerned in various military transactions. His services, however, being soon after superseded by Sir Arthur Wellesley (afterwards the illustrious protector of Europe), he sailed for Britain with his staff, March 1803, and after a tedious voyage, during which he was taken prisoner by a French privateer, but afterwards retaken, he arrived in England in November.

Sir David Baird was received at the British court with great distinction. In December, he received the royal permission to wear the Turkish order of the Crescent. In June, 1804, he received the honour of knighthood; and on the 18th of August following became a knight companion of the Bath. With the increased rank of Lieutenant-general, he commanded an expedition which sailed in October 1805, for the Cape of Good Hope. Landing there, January 6, 1806, he attacked and beat the Dutch army, and on the 18th received the surrender of the colony. Being recalled, he arrived in Britain, April 1807, and was shifted from the colonelcy of the 54th, which he had held for some years, to that of the 24th, and placed on the foreign staff under General Lord Cathcart. He commanded a division at the siege of Copenhagen, where he was twice slightly wounded; and returned with the army in November.

After a short period of service in Ireland, Sir David sailed in command of an armament of 10,000 men for Corunna, where he arrived in November 1808, and formed a junction with the army under General Sir John Moore. He commanded the first division of that army, and in the battle of Corunna, January 16, 1809, he lost his left arm.

By the death of Sir John Moore in this action, Sir David succeeded to the chief command, and had the honour of communicating intelligence of the victory to government. On this occasion, he received for the fourth time in his life the thanks of parliament, and, April 18, was created a baronet, with very honourable armorial bearings allusive to the transactions of his life. After this period, he never again appeared in active service. In 1810, he married Miss Preston Campbell, of Ferntower and Lochlane, Perthshire, by whom he left no issue. In 1814, he was promoted to the rank of General, and in 1819 became governor of Kinsale in Ireland, and in 1827, of Fort George in the north of Scotland. This brave veteran died at an advanced age, August 18, 1829, at his seat of Ferntower in Perthshire. His lady, who survives him, has designed

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a monument to his memory on the top of a romantic hill, named, Tom-na-chaistel, (*i. e.* the hill of the castle,) in the neighbourhood of Ferntower.

BALCANQUEL, Walter, D.D. an eminent divine of the seventeenth century, was the son of the Rev. Walter Balcanquel, who was a minister of Edinburgh for forty-three years, and died in August, 1616. Dr Walter Balcanquel was born at Edinburgh. It has been supposed that he was himself a minister of Edinburgh; but probably the writer who makes this statement only mistakes him for his father, who bore the same name. He entered a bachelor of divinity at Pembroke Hall, Oxford, where, September 8th, 1611, he was admitted a *fellow*. He appears to have enjoyed the patronage and friendship of King James, and his first preferment was to be one of the royal chaplains. In 1617, he became Master of the Savoy in the Strand, London; which office, however, he soon after resigned in favour of Mark Antony de Dominis, archbishop of Spalatro, who came to England on account of religion, and became a candidate for the king's favour. In 1618, Dr Balcanquel was sent to the celebrated synod of Dort, as one of the representatives of the church of Scotland. He has given an account of a considerable part of the proceedings of this grand religious council, in a series of letters to Sir Dudley Carleton, which are to be found in "The Golden Remains of the ever memorable Mr John Hales of Eaton, 4to. 1673." In 1621, the Archbishop of Spalatro having resigned the mastership of the Savoy, Dr Balcanquel was re-appointed; and on the 12th of March, 1624, being then doctor of divinity, he was installed Dean of Rochester. George Heriot, at his death, February 12th, 1624, ordained Dr Balcanquel to be one of the three executors of his last will, and to take the principal charge of the establishment of his hospital at Edinburgh. Probably, the experience which he had already acquired in the management of the Savoy Hospital might be the chief cause of his being selected for this important duty. Heriot appointed Dr Balcanquel, by his will, "to repair, with all the convenience he can, after my decease, to the town of Edinburgh," in order to conclude with the magistrates about the business of the hospital; allowing him, for his pains, in addition to the sum of one hundred merks, which he enjoyed as an ordinary executor, one hundred pounds sterling, payable by two equal instalments—the first three months after the decease of the testator, and the second at the completion of the hospital.

Dr Balcanquel is entitled to no small commendation for the able manner in which he discharged this great and onerous trust. The Statutes, which, in terms of the testator's will, were drawn up by him, are dated 1627, and do great credit to his sagacity and practical good sense.[1]

[1] They conclude with the following adjuration to the magistrates and clergy of Edinburgh, who were designed in all time coming to be the managers of the hospital; a piece of composition, calculated, we should think, by its extraordinary solemnity and impressiveness, to have all the effect which could be expected, where there is no other reason for righteousness than conscientious feeling.

"And now, finally, I, the unworthy servant of God, Walter Balcanquel, the composer of these Statutes, do onerate and charge the consciences of you, the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Ministry, and Council of the city of Edinburgh, and of all those who shall be your successors, unto the second coming of the Son of God, and that by the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, who one day will come to judge the quick and the dead, and take a particular account of every one of you, for this particular stewardship, wherewith you are trusted; by the zeal and honour of our reformed religion, which by this pious work of the founder, is illustrated and vindicated from the calumnies of the adversaries to our holy profession, by that pious respect which you, his fellow-citizens, ought to carry to the pious memory and last will of the religious founder, your worthy citizen, *George Heriot*. And, lastly, for the clearing of your own consciences, and your own particular accounts in the great day of the Lord, let none of you, who read these presents, nor your successors, who in after ages shall come to read them, offer to frustrate the pious Founder of his holy intention, either by taking, directly or indirectly, from this hospital, any thing which he, in his piety, hath devoted unto it, or by altering it, or bestowing it upon any other use, though you shall conceive it to be far

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Dr Balcanquel's next appearance in the public concerns of his native country, was of a less happy character. In 1638, when Charles I. sent down the Marquis of Hamilton to Scotland, to treat with the Covenanters, the Dean of Rochester accompanied his grace in the capacity of chaplain. What was his external behaviour on this occasion, we do not know; but it was afterwards surmised by the Covenanters, that he had been deputed by Archbishop Laud, as a spy, at once upon the Marquis, who was suspected of moderation, and the people with whom he was dealing. It is asserted by Sir James Balfour, in his "Memorialls of State," that Dr Balcanquel also communicated intelligence of all that happened in Scotland, to Signor George Con, the Pope's legate, "as some of his intercepted letters can beare recorde." Early in the ensuing year, was published an apologetical narrative of the court-proceedings, under the title of "His Majesties Large Declaration, concerning the Late Tumults in Scotland," which, by universal and apparently uncontradicted report, was ascribed to the pen of Dr Balcanquel. While this work was received by the friends of the king as a triumphant vindication of his attempts upon the purity of the Scottish church, it only excited new indignation in the minds of the outraged people, who soon after appeared in arms at Dunse Law, to defend their religious opinions with the sword. On the 14th of May, 1639, at the very time when the armies were about to meet on the borders, Dr Balcanquel, apparently in requital of his exertions, was installed Dean of Durham. He had now rendered himself a marked man to the Scottish presbyterians, and accordingly his name is frequently alluded to in their publications as an "*incendiary*." Under this character he was denounced by the Scottish estates, July 29, 1641, along with the Earl of Traquair, Sir John Hay, Clerk Register, Sir Robert Spottiswoode, and Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, all of whom were regarded as the principal causes of the war between the king and his people. In the Canterburian's Self-Conviction, a pamphlet written in 1641, by the Rev. Robert Baillie, against Archbishop Laud, he is spoken of in a style of such asperity, as might have convinced him that, in the event of a complete triumph of the presbyterian party, he would share in the vindictive persecution now directed against that eminent prelate. Accordingly, the very next year, when the king could no longer protect his partizans, Dr Balcanquel was forced from his mastership of the Savoy, plundered, sequestered, and obliged to fly from London. Repairing to Oxford, he attached himself to the precarious fortunes of his sovereign, and for several years afterwards, had to shift about from place to place, wherever he could find security for his life. At length, having taken refuge in Chirk Castle, Denbighshire, he died there in a very cold season, on Christmas day, 1645. He was buried next day in the parish church of Chirk, where some years after a splendid monument was erected to his memory by a neighbouring royalist, Sir Thomas Middleton of Chirk Castle.

BALFOUR, Alexander, an esteemed miscellaneous writer, was born March 1st, 1767, in the parish of Monikie, Forfarshire. His parents belonged to the

more pious or profitable; or to go about to alter any of these Statutes and Ordinances, after they shall be once delivered up unto you, completely subscribed and sealed, as you will answer the contrary, at the uttermost of your perils, in the day of the Lord Jesus: to whom, (being fully assured of your goodly care and zealous conscience in these particulars) with his Father, and the Holy Ghost, three Persons, but one undivided Essence of the Godhead, as for all other their blessings, so in particular for the great charity of this most pious and religious founder, be ascribed, as is most due, all praise, honour, and glory, from age to age, Amen."

It is alleged, by traditionary report, that the taste of Dr Balcanquel is conspicuous in the external architecture of Heriot's Hospital. He is said, in particular, to have directed that anomalous contrariety of ornaments which is observed in the windows of the building; a blemish, however, affecting only the details, and not the general effect of the building.

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humbler rural class, and as he was a twin, he was almost immediately taken under the protection of a friend of the family, to whom he was indebted not only for support during his early years, but also for those lessons of early piety and virtue which seemed to have laid the foundation of his character in after life. His education was very limited, and he was apprenticed at an early age to a weaver. Yet we are told that, while still a mere youth, he taught a school for several years in his native parish. At twenty-six, he became clerk to a merchant and manufacturer in Arbroath, and married in the ensuing year. His earliest attempts in composition were made at the age of twelve; the period of life when Pope and Cowley first began to scribble, and when almost all men of genius seem to show some sparklings of what they are afterwards to be. He contributed occasional verses at a somewhat maturer age to the newspaper styled the British Chronicle, to Dr Anderson's "Bee," and to several provincial miscellanies. Some years after his removal to Arbroath, he commenced business in partnership with the widow of his employer, after whose death, in 1800, he assumed another partner. The business was soon after much extended, in consequence of the firm having become government-contractors for supplying the navy with canvas. Still, under the pressure of his avocations, he continued to cultivate his talent for poetry. In a few years he was enabled by his success in business to purchase a considerable quantity of property. His life now passed in an uninterrupted course of commercial prosperity, domestic pleasure, and literary recreation. He also kept up a correspondence with some of the literary men of the capital, which was to him a source of much pleasure. In 1814, he removed to Trottick, within two miles of Dundee, to assume the management of a branch of a London house, which had long transacted business on a large scale, and which, for many years, had been extensively connected with his own firm. This step was unfortunate. In the ensuing year, so remarkable for calamity in the commercial world, the house in which he had embarked his fortunes was suddenly involved in bankruptcy.

Balfour was now at that age when a revolution of fortune or a severe disappointment in life, is least reparable and most difficult to be withstood. There is, at thirty, that encouraging hope of a restoration to prosperity, and that ability to accomplish it, which are denied to fifty; and it is little to be wondered at, that this was the fatal crisis of the life of Alexander Balfour. In some men, a misfortune in middle-life leads to the down-hill path of dissipation and folly; in others, that is prevented by a comparative strength of character. The latter was Balfour's case. Till some better employment should occur to him, he busied himself in the composition of a novel, which he had projected in his better days, and from which he had reason to expect some remuneration for his time and trouble. The ground-work of this work is the imaginary life of a licentiate of the Scottish church, who, with respectable abilities, and the most blameless character, is yet unable, during a long life, to obtain a settlement in the world, and is left at last in a state of humble dependence. The incidents of the work are varied and interesting; the author's acquaintance with life and with the human heart are displayed in every page; and the story, altogether, has a pathos, that renders it in the highest degree affecting. It was published in 1819, under the title of "Campbell, or the Scottish Probationer," and was received by the public in a very favourable manner. Previously to this period, the author had accepted a dependent situation, as manager of a manufacturing establishment at Balgonie in Fife, the emoluments of which were barely sufficient to support a family consisting of a wife, two sons, and three daughters. Here he continued three years. He was at length induced, in 1818, to remove to Edinburgh, principally on account of his children, who were now

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arrived at that age when it was necessary to fix them in the particular walks of life which might be deemed most suitable.

Mr Balfour came to Edinburgh in October, 1818, and was employed as a clerk by Mr Blackwood, the eminent publisher and bookseller. This, however, was an unfavourable employment. Accustomed for many years to a life of activity, he was now confined to the desk from morning till night; and, instead of the free air of the country, his short intervals of relaxation were breathed out amidst the city wilderness of buildings. Although willing to bury in obscurity talents which fitted him for a very different sphere, even this was not permitted to his fine principled and well regulated mind. In the course of a few months, he began to experience the approaches of general paralysis. His face and speech became affected, and he was seized with a particular sensation in the head. In June, 1819, he was obliged to relinquish his humble employment, and in October, he for the last time set his foot upon the ground.

For ten years after this period, Mr Balfour spent his days in a wheel-chair, from which he could not rise without assistance. It was as entirely a literary life as could be imagined. At the close of the year 1819, he edited the poetical works of his deceased friend Richard Gall, with a biographical preface. About the same time, he became a contributor of tales, sketches, and poems, concerning Scottish rural life, to Constable's Edinburgh Magazine; a work of which, in this capacity, he formed one of the chief literary supporters, till its close in 1826. Most of these articles are of eminent merit, painting the homely manners of Scotland with a mixture of truth, humour, and pathos, that has never been equalled, and forming, in the mass, a most valuable historical record of what they refer to. One poetical series was entitled, "Characters omitted in Crabbe's Parish Register," which were of such uniform excellence, that they were supposed by many to be real contributions by the English poet. The notice with which they were honoured, induced the author to re-publish them in 1825, in the shape of a volume; and it is by this volume, in the opinion of Mr Balfour's biographer, that his reputation as a poet must be best preserved. "With all due feeling of the great and severe genius of Crabbe," says this biographer, "we think that these Omitted Characters may be bound up with his Register, without any disparagement; for, although inferior to his prototype in the stern realities of nature, or the Flemish picturesque of description, and in the depth of his democratic sneer, Balfour sometimes equals, nay, surpasses him in the softer truth of delineation, and mingles a dash of rural feeling into the heartless dulness of city scenes, which would have been like 'a sun burst mid renewing storms' in the pages of the Modern Juvenal."[2] We cordially concur in this eloquently expressed panegyric. Mr Balfour, in 1820, published a volume under the title of "Contemplation and other Poems." The leading poem Contemplation, is unfortunately in the septe-syllabic measure, which, however adapted for such sprightly little poems as L'Allegro, is not suitable to longer and graver compositions. The volume, therefore, brought little addition to Mr Balfour's reputation. In 1823, he began to contribute novels to the celebrated source of publication called, we suppose *quasi lucus a non lucendo*, the Minerva Press; his first offering was in three volumes, and entitled, "The Foundling of Glenthorn, or the Smuggler's Cave." He contributed about the same time to "The Caledonian Magazine," and "Literary Olio," published at Dundee.

During the first seven years of his life as an invalid, he had resided in a

[2] Memoir prefixed to "Weeds and Wildflowers," a posthumous volume of selections of the Remains of Mr Balfour, edited by D. M. Moir, Esq. of Musselburgh.

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street where he was shut out from every vestige of the general features of nature, save, perhaps,

> A scanty plot of sky
> With its small patch of stars.

It may be imagined with what boundless delight, in 1816, he found it convenient to remove to a house in the suburbs, where he could gaze over a considerable expanse of country, bounded by the swelling outline of the Pentland Hills. To a heart, originally devoted to nature, but sequestered from the object of its worship for such a length of time, this re-introduction to it must have been accompanied by feelings scarcely surpassed even by those with which the exile again beholds his native land. Here, moreover, was collected for him, by the care of his family, an extensive range of house-plants and exotics, which served to him, in the impossibility of a nearer acquaintance with that department of nature, as the relic of a beloved mistress serves to the lover in the absence of that mistress herself. Wordsworth says of the many-wived potter Peter Bell, that

> "——— a primrose by the river's brim,
> A yellow primrose was to him;
> And it was nothing more.

But it was very different with the susceptible and sensitive mind of Alexander Balfour. Associations were woven round his heart too tenderly to be untwined. In the delicate blossoms beside him, he beheld a reflection of his own tenderness, and inability to brave the free atmosphere as he had once done, and preferred to them all the common garden rose, for it spoke to him of the dews and sunshine, the free wind, and the open sky. Under the influence of these feelings, he composed "Stanzas to a Florist," remonstrating against a love for exotics, and pointing out the beauties of the indigenous flowers of his country.

* * * *

When herds are lowing on the plain,
Or on the hills when lambkins bleat,
As fair is Scotia's native train,
And perfumes shed, as rich and sweet.

See purpling orchis towering rise,
Midst cowslips in the green-sward vale;
While violets hid from mortal eyes
Breathe incense in the vernal gale.

Mark when the mavis tells a tale
Of love, perched on the blossom'd thorn,
And then you'll see the primrose pale,
With smiles salute the rising morn.

How lovely are our snow-white slaes!
How sweet the whin with golden bloom!
How pleasant are our banks and braes,
Where waves our richly yellow broom!

* * * *

Of all the flowers that "grace the wild,"
One will be dearer than the rest,
The gowan, Scotia's native child,
Will wake remembrance in your breast.

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You'll muse upon its simple form,
The earliest bloom to welcome Spring;
And lingering, till the wintry storm
Waves o'er its head his chilling wing.

Sweet emblem of unchanging love,
Of friendship that can ne'er decay,
That will through life still constant prove,
And kindly grace your breathless clay.

Daisy! of flowers my first delight,
In childhood dear thy spotless bloom;
Through life still lovely to my sight,
Be thou the trophy on my tomb!

Wherever rests my mouldering clay,
There be thy bosom sunward spread;
In promise of returning day,
Still blossom on my grassy bed!

Amidst the pangs of his disorder, Mr Balfour continued to enjoy such good general health, that he is said to have not been absent from his family breakfast-table more than twelve times during the long period of ten years. He slept regularly, and generally was able to spend twelve or fourteen hours each day in study and composition. His eyesight, his memory, and all his intellectual powers were as good as at any former period of life. His feelings, however, were sensitive to a morbid degree, and he had little command over their outward expression.

In the year 1827, through the intervention, it is believed, of Mr Joseph Hume, M.P. who presented a number of Mr Balfour's works to the premier, Mr Canning, a treasury donation of one hundred pounds was obtained for this unfortunate son of genius, to whom the gift was not less honourable than to those who so generously dispensed it.

The latest considerable work of Mr Balfour was a novel, entitled, "Highland Mary," in four volumes. It is written with great simplicity and taste, and, as a story, is replete with a mournful pathos. No decay of power is discernible in this work, and there is an individuality in the characters, which evinces much intellectual discrimination. He continued to the last to contribute to the periodical works of the day.

He enjoyed his usual health till the 1st of September, 1829, when an illness commenced that quickly hurried him to the grave. The usual embarrassment of his speech being greatly increased by this attack, it was latterly impossible for him to make himself understood by those around his dying bed. "For some time he was able to trace a few words by means of an alphabet, which he had sometimes used before, but the effort became latterly too much, even when his hand was supported. If his friends, however, were tempted to repine at this aggravation to his and their sufferings, the meek submission, and uncomplaining patience, with which he bore the most severe physical agony, and the serene composure with which he anticipated his awful change, (for he was able to express his consciousness of its being near,) forbade these repinings to be indulged in. For some time, immediately before his death, his sufferings appeared to be abated, and he departed as in a sleep. His countenance retained the aspect of repose, and betokened to the gazer that that day had indeed been to him the last of danger and distress. He expired, September 12th, 1829, in the sixty-third year of his age."[1]

[1] Memoir *ut supra*.

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BALFOUR, (Sir) ANDREW, Bart. M.D. who first introduced the dissection of the human body into Scotland, and that at a very superstitious period; who projected the first hospital in the country, for the relief of disease and poverty at the public expense; who was the founder of the botanic garden at Edinburgh, and almost the father of the science in Scotland; who planned the royal college of physicians at Edinburgh; and bequeathed to the public a museum, which at that time would have been an ornament to any university, or any metropolis,—was the fifth and youngest son of Sir Michael Balfour of Denmilne in Fife, and was born at that place on the 18th of January, 1630. He prosecuted his studies in the university of St Andrews, where he took his degree of A. M. At this period his education was superintended by his brother Sir James Balfour, the famous antiquary, and lion king at arms to Charles I., who was about thirty years older than himself. At college he first discovered his attachment to botany, which in him is said to have led to the study of physic, instead of being, as it generally is, a handmaid to that art. Quitting the university about the year 1650, he removed to London, where his medical studies were chiefly directed by the celebrated Harvey, by Sir Theodore Mayerne, the distinguished physician of king James I., and various other eminent practitioners. He afterwards travelled to Blois in France, and remained there for some time, to see the botanic garden of the Duke of Orleans, which was then the best in Europe, and was kept by his countryman Dr Morison. Here he contracted a warm friendship for that great botanist, which continued unimpaired while they lived. From Blois he went to Paris, where, for a long time, he prosecuted his medical studies with great ardour. He completed his education at the university of Caen, from which he received the degrees of bachelor and doctor of physic, on the 20th of September, 1661.

Returning to London soon afterwards, Dr Balfour was introduced to Charles II., who named him as the most proper person to attend the young earl of Rochester on his continental travels. After an absence of four years, he returned with his pupil in 1667. During their tour he endeavoured, and at that time not without some appearance of success, to recall that abandoned young nobleman to the paths of virtue, and to inspire him with the love of learning. Rochester himself often acknowledged, and to Bishop Burnet, in particular, only three days before his death, how much he was bound to love and honour Dr Balfour, to whom, next to his parents, he thought he owed more than to all the world.

On returning to his native country, Balfour settled at St Andrews as a physician. "He brought with him," says Dr Walker, in his Essays on Natural History, "the best library, especially in medicine and natural history, that had till then appeared in Scotland; and not only these, but a perfect knowledge of the languages in which they were written; likewise many unpublished manuscripts of learned men, a series of antique medals, modern medallions, and pictures and busts, to form the painter and the architect; the remarkable arms, vestments, and ornaments of foreign countries; numerous mathematical, philosophical, and surgical instruments, which he not only possessed, but used; with operations in surgery, till then unknown in this country; a complete cabinet with all the simples of the materia medica, and new compositions in pharmacy; and large collections of the fossils, plants, and animals, not only of the foreign countries he traversed, but of the most distant parts of the world."

Dr Balfour's merit was too conspicuous to suffer him to remain long at St Andrews. In the year 1670, he removed to Edinburgh, where he immediately came into great practice. Here, among other improvements, he prosecuted the manufacture of paper, and was the means of introducing that valuable art into the country—though for many years it remained in a state of complete, or nearly

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complete dormancy; the people deriving stationary articles of all kinds from Holland. Adjoining to his house, he had a small botanic garden, which he furnished by the seeds he received from his foreign correspondents; and in this garden he raised many plants which were then first introduced into Scotland. One of his fellow-labourers in this department was Patrick Murray of Livingston, whom he had initiated into the study of natural history. This young gentleman, who enjoyed an ample fortune, formed at his seat in the country a botanic garden, containing one thousand species of plants, which at that period was a very large collection. He traversed the whole of France in quest of the plants of that country; and on his way to Italy, he prematurely died of a fever. Soon after his death, Dr Balfour transferred his collection from Livingston to Edinburgh; and with it, joined to his own, he had the merit of laying the foundation of the public botanic garden. The necessary expense of this new institution was at first defrayed by Dr Balfour, Sir Robert Sibbald, and the Faculty of Advocates. But at length the city allotted a piece of ground near Trinity College Church for a public garden, and out of the revenues of the university, allowed a certain sum for its support. As the first keeper of this garden, Dr Balfour selected Mr James Sutherland; who, in 1684, published a work, entitled, *Hortus Edinburgensis.* [See SUTHERLAND.] The new institution soon became considerable: plants and seeds were sent from Morison at Oxford, Watts at London, Marchant at Paris, Herman at Leyden, and Spottiswood at Tangier. From the last were received many African plants, which flourished in this country.

Such efforts as these, by a native Scotsman, occurring at a time when the attention of the country seems to have been almost exclusively devoted to contending systems of church-government, are truly grateful in the contemplation. It is only to be lamented, that the spirit which presided over them, was premature in its appearance; it found no genial field to act upon, and it was soon quenched in the prevailing darkness of the public mind. Sir Andrew Balfour was the morning-star of science in Scotland, but he might almost be said to have set before the approach of day, leaving the landscape in gloom as deep as ever.

He was created a baronet by Charles II., which seems to indicate that, like most men of literary and scientific character in that age, he maintained a sentiment of loyalty to the existing dynasty and government, which was fast decaying from the public mind at large. His interest with the ministry, and with the municipality of Edinburgh, seems to have always been considerable, and was uniformly exerted for the public good, and for the encouragement of merit.

Upon his settlement in Edinburgh, he had found the medical art taught in a very loose and irregular manner. In order to place it on a more respectable footing, he planned, with Sir Robert Sibbald, the royal college of physicians; and of that respectable society his brethren elected him the first president. When the college undertook the publication of a *Pharmacopœia*, the whole arrangement of the materia medica was committed to his particular care. For such a task he was eminently qualified by his skill in natural history. This performance made its appearance in 1685; and, in the opinion of Dr Cullen, it is superior to any *Pharmacopœia* of that era.

Not long before his decease, his desire to promote the science of medicine in his native country, joined to the universal humanity of his disposition, led him to project the foundation of an hospital in Edinburgh. The institution was at first narrow and confined, but it survived to be expanded into full shape, as the royal infirmary, under the care of George Drummond. Sir Andrew died in 1694, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, after a severe conflict with the gout and other painful disorders; which afforded him an opportunity of displaying upon the approach of death, those virtues and that equanimity, which had

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distinguished him during his life. His person, like his mind and manners, was elegant. He was possessed of a handsome figure with a pleasing and expressive countenance; of a graceful elocution; and, by his natural disposition, as well as his long intercourse with the higher ranks in society, of a most courteous and polite demeanour. A print of him was executed at Paris; but no copy is known to exist.

His library and museum were the anxious result of fourteen years of travelling, and between twenty and thirty more of correspondence. For their accommodation, he had built an addition to his house when he had nearly arrived at his fortieth year; but after the building was completed, he found himself so infirm as to be unable to place them in that order which he intended. After his death, his library, consisting of about three thousand volumes, besides manuscripts, was sold, we suppose, by public auction. There is a printed catalogue still extant. His museum was deposited in the hall which was, till 1829, occupied as the university library. There it remained many years, useless and neglected; some parts of it falling to inevitable decay, and other parts being abstracted. "Yet, even after 1750," says Dr Walker, "it still continued a considerable collection, which I have good reason to remember, as it was the sight of it, about that time, that first inspired me with an attachment to natural history. Soon after that period," to pursue a narrative so deeply disgraceful to the age and the institution referred to, "it was dislodged from the hall where it had been long kept; was thrown aside, and exposed as lumber; was further and further dilapidated, and at length almost completely demolished. In the year 1782, out of its ruins and rubbish I extracted many pieces still valuable and useful, and placed them here in the best order I could. These, I hope, may remain long, and be considered as so many precious relics of one of the best and greatest men this country has produced."

From the account that has been given of Sir Andrew Balfour, every person conversant in natural history or medicine must regret that he never appeared as an author. To his friend, Mr Murray of Livingston, he addressed a series of familiar letters, for the direction of his researches while abroad. These, forming the only literary relics of Balfour, were published by his son, in 1700.

BALFOUR, (Sir) James, an eminent lawyer and public character of the sixteenth century, was a son of Balfour of Monquhanny, in Fife, a very ancient family. In youth, being designed for the church, he made considerable proficiency, not only in ordinary literature, but in the study of divinity and law; which were all alike necessary in those times for an ecclesiastic, on account of the mixed character which the age admitted to be assumed by such individuals. Balfour, while still a young man, was so unfortunate as to join with the conspirators who, after murdering Cardinal Beaton, held out the castle of St Andrews against the governor Arran. He seems, however, to have been not altogether a thorough-paced partizan of the conspirators. John Knox, who was entitled to that character, and who became their hearty apologist, if such a word be appropriate where no idea of criminality seems to have been entertained, calls the subject of this article the *Blasphemous Balfour*, from his having refused to communicate along with his Calvinistic associates. Balfour shared the fate of his companions in being sent to the French galleys,[2] from which he escaped in 1550, along with the rest, by the tacit permission of the French government.

[2] The following anecdote of Balfour in connexion with Knox is related by Dr M'Crie. "The galleys returned to Scotland in summer 1548, as near as I can collect, and continued for a considerable time on the east coast, to watch for English vessels." Knox's health was now greatly impaired by the severity of his confinement, and he was seized with a fever, during which his life was despaired of by all in the ship. But even in this state, his forti-

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Balfour seems to have afterwards joined in the proceedings of the reformers, but only with courtier-like temperance, and without going into the enthusiasm in favour of Calvinism. He was preferred to the ecclesiastical appointment of official of Lothian, and afterwards became rector of Flisk, a parish in his native county. In 1563, he was appointed by Queen Mary to be a Lord of Session, the court then being composed partly of churchmen and partly of laics. In 1564, when the Commissary court was instituted in place of the ecclesiastical tribunal which had been dissolved at the Reformation, Balfour became one of the four commissaries, with a salary of four hundred merks, while the others had only three hundred. In July, 1565, the Queen extended the further favour of admitting him into her privy council.

Balfour was one of those servants of the state, who, being advanced rather on account of merit than birth, used at all times to give great offence to the Scottish nobility. It seems to have never been supposed by this haughty class, that there was the least necessity for ingenious or faithful service in the officials employed by majesty; birth and *following* were the only qualifications allowed by them to be of any value. Accordingly, it is not surprising to find that the same conspiracy which overthrew the "kinless" adventurer Rizio, contemplated the destruction of Balfour. He was so fortunate, however, as to escape, and even derived some advantage from the event, being promoted to the office of clerk-register, in room of Mr James Macgill, who was concerned in the conspiracy. He was also about this time made a knight, and appointed to be one of the commissioners for revising, correcting, and publishing the ancient laws and statutes of the kingdom.

In the beginning of the year 1567, Sir James Balfour was appointed governor of Edinburgh castle. In this important situation, he naturally became an object of great solicitude to the confederate lords, who, in the ensuing May, commenced a successful rebellion against Queen Mary. It would appear that Sir James was not now more loyal than many other persons who had experienced the favour of Mary. He is said to have even been the means of throwing into the hands of the confederates that celebrated box of letters, upon which they endeavoured to ground the proof of her guilt. There can be no doubt that he was at this time in the way of receiving high favours from the Earl of Murray, who was the chief man opposed to the dethroned queen. He was, in September, 1567, admitted by Murray a lord of his privy council, and made commendator of the priory of Pittenweem; and in December, a bargain was accomplished, by which he agreed to accept a pension of L.500 and the presidency of the Court of Session, in lieu of the clerk-registry, which Murray wished to be restored to his friend Macgill. Sir James continued faithful to the party which opposed Queen Mary, till the death of Murray, January, 1569-70, when he was in some measure compelled to revert to the Queen's side, on account of a charge preferred against him by the succeeding Regent, Lennox, who taxed him with a share in the murder of Darnley. For this accusation no proof was ever adduced, but

tude of mind remained unsubdued, and he comforted his fellow-prisoners with hopes of release. To their anxious desponding inquiries, natural to men in their situation, 'If he thought they would ever obtain their liberty,' his uniform answer was, 'God will deliver us to his glory, even in this life.' While they lay on the coast between Dundee and St Andrews, Mr (afterwards Sir) James Balfour, who was confined in the same ship, desired him to look at the land and see if he knew it. Though at that time very sick, he replied, 'Yes I know it well, for I see the steeple of that place where God first opened my mouth in public to his glory: and I am fully persuaded, how weak soever I now appear, that I shall not depart this life till that my tongue shall glorify his godly name in the same place.' This striking reply Sir James repeated in the presence of many witnesses, a number of years before Knox returned to Scotland, and when there was very little prospect of his words being verified." *Life of Knox*, 1st *edit. p.* 53.

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even allowing Sir James to have been guilty, it will only add another to the list of great men concerned in the transaction, and show the more clearly how neither learning, rank, official dignity, nor any other ennobling qualification, prevented a man in those days from staining his hands with blood. Balfour outlived Lennox, and was serviceable in bringing about the pacification between the King's and Queen's party, under Morton, in 1573. He would appear to have been encouraged by Morton in the task of revising the laws of the country, which he at length completed in a style allowed at that time to be most masterly. Morton afterwards thought proper to revive the charge brought by Lennox against Sir James, who was consequently obliged to retire to France, where he lived for some years. He returned in 1580, and revenged the persecution of Morton, by producing against him, on his trial, a deed to which he had acceded, in common with others of the Scottish nobility, alleging Bothwell's innocence of the King's murder, and recommending him to the Queen as a husband. Sir James died before the 14th of January, 1583-4.

The Practicks of Scots Law, compiled by Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich, president of the Court of Session, continued to be used and consulted in manuscript, both by students and practitioners, till nearly a century after his decease, when it was for the first time supplanted by the Institutes of Lord Stair. Even after that event, it was held as a curious repertory of the old practices of Scottish law, besides fulfilling certain uses not answered by the work of Lord Stair. It was therefore printed in 1754, by the Ruddimans, along with an accurate biographical preface by Walter Goodal. The work has been of considerable service to Dr Jamieson in his Dictionary of the Scottish language.

BALFOUR, (Sir) James, an eminent antiquary, herald, and annalist, was born about the close of the sixteenth century. He was the eldest son of a small Fife laird, Michael Balfour of Denmylne, who derived his descent from James, son of Sir John Balfour of Balgarvy, a cadet[1] of the ancient and honourable house of Balfour of Balfour in Fife. James Balfour, the ancestor of Sir Michael, had obtained the estate of Denmylne from James II., in the fourteenth year of his reign, which corresponds with 1450-1. Michael Balfour, the father of Sir James, and also of Sir Andrew, whose life has been already commemorated, was, in the words of Sir Robert Sibbald, "equally distinguished for military bravery and civil prudence." He bore the honourable office of Comptroller of the Scottish Household, in the reign of Charles I., and in 1630 was knighted, at Holyrood house, by George, Viscount Dupplin, Chancellor of Scotland, under his Majesty's special warrant. This eminent personage was, by Jean Durham, daughter of James Durham of Pitkerrow, the father of five sons, all of whom attained to distinction in public life, besides nine daughters, who all formed honourable alliances, except two, who died unmarried. He lived to see three hundred of his own descendants; a number which his youngest son, Sir Andrew, lived to see doubled.

Sir Michael Balfour gave his eldest son an education suitable to the extended capacity which he displayed in his earliest years. This education, of which the fruits are apparent in his taste and writings, was accompanied by a thorough initiation into the duties of religion, as then professed on a presbyterian model. The genius of the future antiquary was first exhibited in a turn for poetry, which was a favourite study among the scholars of that period, even where there was no particular aptitude to excel in its composition, but for which

[1] This branch was ennobled in 1607, in the person of Michael Balfour of Balgarvy, who, having served King James in several embassies to the principal courts of Europe, was created Lord Balfour of Burleigh. This peerage was attainted in consequence of the concern of its occupant in the civil war of 1715.

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Sir James Balfour appears to have had a genuine taste. His juvenile proficiency in versification is thus alluded to by the poet Leoch, or Leochæus, in his *Strenæ*, published in 1626, of which that entitled *Janus* is dedicated *Generoso Juveni Jacobo Balfourio Kincardio :*

Hunc tu carminibus constrictum, Jacobe, Latinis
Coge tuis numeris, quos Musa Caledonis aptat,
Et natura tibi ; nam tu quoque Scotica Siren.
Panthea nostra tu est ita cultu læta Britanno,
Et meliora mea, si quid queat esse, Puella.

It appears that Balfour, who cultivated Scottish vernacular poetry, had successfully translated Leoch's Latin poem, entitled, *Panthea*, into that style of verse ; therefore the Latinist says—

Namque ut pulchra satis, minus est mea Panthea casta ;
Quum non pulchra minus, et tua casta magis.

Sir Robert Sibbald informs us that he had seen a volume containing Latin and Scottish poems by Sir James Balfour, which, however, is now lost. In its absence, the taste at least of the youthful antiquary for poetical objects of contemplation, is evinced by the following letter, extracted from a transcribed collection of his epistles in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh. It is addressed to Lord Elcho, but has no date.

My Lord,

Ye aske of my health and quhat I am aboute. I make a returne, by that rill issewing from the ocean of your love, that I am now taken with the plesur of the fieldes, and delyght als much in my reteired quietnes from out of the city, als your lordship does to find a drag going cole at Cameron,[1] for as that promises you for your pains riches, so does this to me healthful houres, and bountiful recreations with the Muses, quhen as I often feid my eiyes with the fruitful usery of my winter labors, much rejoysing that with healthful prosperity, you should remember your poorest freindes. Onley let me pleid for my bypast silence, since I have nothing to wreatt but foolries, which I presume to be bot harsh musicke for so wyse and weill tuned eares. Howsoever, quhen you are most idle, will ye be bot pleased to overlook this paper, in which, without aney mentall reservatione, I subscribe myselve, my lord,

Your lo : most faithful servant.

Balfour also appears, at an early period of his life, to have cultivated the society of William Drummond of Hawthornden, then by far the highest poetical name in Scotland. Probably, as none of his own pieces have escaped to posterity, they were such as to render their loss no matter of regret : he must, however, have possessed the sort of qualification which we have elsewhere[2] designated as passive or negative poetry, that is, a keen perception and relish of the compositions of others, though perhaps destitute of the active power of creating good poetry himself. This seems to be evidenced by the following letters to Drummond, which breathe strongly of that ardent affection, which we are apt to entertain towards distinguished literary personages whose writings have made a deep impression upon our minds.

"To Hawthornden,

"Sir,—That love I beare you hath mened me, with this passing bearir, to vreatt theese few lynes, content thus in haist to salut you, in doing quhereof, altho I fulfill not the office of a frind, nevertheless I evedince the constancey of my affection. You may therfore returne something to reid : and, if necessity urge, imitat my brevity ;

[1] A coal field at Cameron, in Fife.

[2] See Life of George Bannatyne.

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altho I be bewitched with the neatness of your pieces, yet, finding heir in my selve conscions, I daire hardly be bold to crave a quholl sheitt of you; howsoever, I will be yours quhill I am "Ja: Balfour."

"To the same,

"Sir,—You desyre of me quholl sheitts, I must confess a symboll of our inteirest affections. Bot I, conscious of my own imbecility, rather prove a Laconick. No wounder altho my vaine be stopt, since this longe tyme you have not lanced it, aither with the reiding of some of your pieces, or with so much as with a lyne of your hand. Whence, then, is it that you should become such a usurer to him that has not receved so long aney learnid annuity of you. Your starrie Urania, on the wings of a strong wind, flees by us, in every ones handes: quherfor, I intreid you, wold you have me deprived of it? Have you thought me dead to the Muses, that aither I could not judge of it, or so dull that I could not praise it. In so doing, you have dirogatt much from my genius, and daily conversatione. Nevertheless, in despight of your interdictione, I have gained a sight of it. I wold conceill my thoughts with silence. I wold be revenged, if the admiratione of your writtings did not breke all sense of injury; and though you scatter abroad your pieces (yet ceasse not to love me,) I sall enjoy them, though by the bountifull hand of ane other. Faire ye weill."

The poetical temperament of Sir James, and the courtly grace which generally is, and ever ought to be the accompaniment of that character, is further shown in the following epistle to a lady, which we consider a very elegant specimen of the English prose of the age of Charles I., and, indeed, singularly so, when the native country of the writer is considered:—

"To a Lady for a Friend,

"Madam,—You must appardone me if, after the remembring of my best love to you, I should rander you hartly thanks for your affectione, since thankes are the best knowen blossomes of the hartes strongest desyres. I never, for my pairt, doubtit of your affectione, bot persuadit myselve that so good a creature could never prove unconstant, and altho the fairest dayes may have some stormy overshadowings, yet I persuade myselve that these proceids not from heavenly thinges, bot from vapors arising from below, and though they for a tyme conte [ract] the sun's heat, yet make they that heat in the end to be more powerfull. I hope your friends sall have all the contentment that layes in my power to gif them: And, since Malice itselve can not judge of you bot noblie, I wisch that tyme make your affectione als constant, as my harte sall ever prove, and remaine loyall; and lest I seime to weirey you more than myselve, again I must beg pardone for all my oversights (if you think of aney) wich will be a rare perfectione of goodness in you to forgive freely, and love constantly him quhosse greatest happines under heaven is always to leive and die

"Your trewly affectionat servant."

Sir James seems to have spent some of the years subsequent to 1626 in foreign countries, where he is said to have improved himself much by observing the manners of nations more polished than that to which he himself belonged, and by forming the acquaintance of eminent literary men. At the close of his continental travels, he spent some time in London, and obtained the friendship of the distinguished antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton, and also of Sir William Segar, Garter King at Arms. He had now turned his attention to the study of heraldry, and the friendship of these men, which he obtained rather through the intense sympathy produced by a common taste for rare pursuits, than by the recommendations of others, was of material service in the completion of what might be called his professional education. He also contracted a literary acquaintance with Roger Dodsworth, and Sir William Dugdale, to whom he com-

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municated several charters and other pieces of information regarding Scottish ecclesiastical antiquities, which they attached to their *Monasticon Anglicanum*, under the title, *Cœnobia Scotica*, and which Sir James afterwards expanded into a distinct volume, under the title, *Monasticon Scoticum*, though, as Bishop Nicholson has remarked, it looked more like an index to such a work than the complete work itself. The friendship of Sir William Segar appears to have been of considerable influence in the direction of Balfour's course of life. He exerted himself to conciliate to his Scottish protegé, the respect of the college of heralds; and his efforts were crowned with such success, that, in 1628, that body presented to Balfour the following honourable diploma:

"To all and singular to whom thir presents shall come, Greeting: Sir William Segar, Sir Richard St George, and Sir John Barroughe, Garter, Clarentius, and Norroy, Kings of Arms; William Penson, Lancaster; Sir Henry St George, Richmond, etc. According to the laudable custome of nations, not to conceill that honour which is due to verteu and learning, We doe testifie and beare record, that James Balfour, Esq. by and attour his insicht and knowledge in diverse languages, has also singular good experience and knowledge in all antiquities and forraine histories, but especiall in these concerning the illand of Great Britain and Irland; as also we testifie and does vitness him to be ane expert and graduate herauld, in blazing of cotts and armories, in inventing of crests and supporters, in searching of genealogies and discents, in marshalling of funeralls, triumphs and inaugurations, etc. and in all ceremonies whatsoever pertaining to honour or armes. In witnes of the premisses, we above named, kings of armes, heraulds, and pursevants, hes to this our present testificate and approbatione, with the several cotts of our armes, affixed our manuall subscriptions, at our office of armes in the cittie of London, Oct. 3, and Dec. 4, 1628."

Besides these antiquarian friends, Balfour secured several others of a more courtly complexion, who were natives of his own country. He enjoyed the friendship of Sir Robert Aytoun, the poetical courtier, with whom he afterwards became distantly connected by marriage. He was also on the most familiar terms with another poetical attendant on the elegant court of Charles I.—the Earl of Stirling.[3] His chief patron, however, was George, Viscount Dupplin,[4]

[3] We quote from his correspondence in the Advocates' Library, the two following letters to this distinguished nobleman:—

To my Lord Viscount of Streveling, Principall Secretary of Scotland.

My Lord,—I love your letters, becausse they bring with them still some matter of gladness. The retribution of your innumerable favors to me, are a few naked lynes, which, by the generosity of your noble mynd, are als much in esteeme with you as riches are to the most miserable world-mongers. According to your Lordship's command, I have, by my letters, humbly randred thanks to the Kingis Majestie, my master, altho ordnardly dayed in homely russett, yet doubled with the best tissew, and full of the strong desires of ane ardent affectione, quhilks, at the reiding, your goodnes will extend one word of unanimity with me, and sympathize with thir gratulations as a patrone of their master: Then sall your lordship find that your favors hes beine putt upone ane quho will ever be myndful of the least of them, and remaine a daily beadsman for the further increase of your health and honour. Fairweill, my lord.

Halyroodhouss, this 7 of March, 1631.

To the Same,

My werrey noble good Lord,—This bearir, my frind, as in a sure sanctuary, casts himselve in the bossame of your patrociney; a man every way worthy of your respect; by profession a lover of nobility; quhosse ingenious spirit and modest cariage betters his stock. If your lordship suspecte my recommendatione as partiall, hes obsequious cariage and worthy pairts, after your triall, will make all good: So wishing your lordship all happiness, heir and for ever, I will live and die, Your lordship,

Ja: Balfour.

Ed. 12 Maii, 1631.

[4] Afterwards created Earl of Kinnoul, on the occasion of the coronation of King Charles at Edinburgh in 1633. Sir James Balfour relates the following curious anecdote of his

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who held the high and almost vice-regal office of Chancellor of Scotland. By the recommendation of this nobleman, aided by his own excellent qualifications, he was created by Charles I., Lord Lion King at Arms, a dignified legal office in Scotland, in which resides the management of all matters connected with armorial honours, as also all public ceremonials. Sir Jerome Lyndsay having previously resigned the office, Balfour was crowned and installed at Holyroodhouse, June 15, 1630, having in the preceding month been invested with the necessary honour of knighthood by the king. On this occasion, Lord Dupplin officiated as Royal Commissioner.

Sir James Balfour now settled in Scotland, in the enjoyment of his office. On the 21st of October, he was married to Anna Aiton, daughter of Sir John Aiton of that Ilk, and in January, 1631, he obtained, in favour of himself and his spouse, a grant of the lands and barony of Kinnaird in Fife. In December, 1633, he was created a baronet by Charles I., probably in consequence of the able manner in which he marshalled the processions and managed the other ceremonials of the royal visit that year. At this period of peace and prosperity, a number of learned and ingenious men were beginning to exert themselves in Scotland. It was a blessed interval between the desolating civil wars of the minority of King James, and the equally unhappy contest which was soon after incited by religious and political dissentions. Like soldiers enjoying themselves during a truce, the people were beginning to seek for and cultivate various sources of amusement in the more elegant arts. This was the era of Jamieson, the painter—of Drummond, the poet—of the geographer Pont—and the historians Spottiswood, Calderwood, Johnston, and Hume.[5] Sir James Balfour, inspired with the common spirit of these men, commenced the writing of history, with as much zeal as could be expected in an age, when, the printing of a written work being a comparatively rare occurrence, literature might be said to want the greater part of its temptations.

Sir James, as already mentioned, had been bred a strict Presbyterian. In this profession he continued to the last, notwithstanding that, in politics, he was an equally firm royalist. In a letter to a young nobleman, [*Correspondence, Advocates' Library,*] he is found advising a perusal of "Calvine, Beza Parens, and Whittaker," as "orthodox writers." When the introduction of the liturgy imposed by Charles I. roused Scotland from one end to the other in a fit of righteous indignation, Sir James Balfour, notwithstanding his connection with the government, joined cordially with his countrymen, and wrote an account of the tumult of the 23rd of July, under the burlesque title of "Stoneyfield Day."[6]

lordship. The King, in 1626, had commanded, by a letter to his Privy Council, that the Archbishop of St Andrews should have precedence of the Chancellor. To this his lordship would never submit. "I remember," says Sir James, "that K. Charles sent me to the Lord Chancellor on the day of his coronation, in the morning, to show him that it was his will and pleasure, bot onlie for that day, that he wold ceed and give way to the archbishop; but he returned by me to his Majestie a wery bruske answer, which was that he was ready in all humility to lay his office doune at his Majestie's feet; bot since it was his royal will he should enjoy it with the knowen privileges of the same, never a priest in Scotland should sett a foot before him, so long as his blood was hote. Quhen I had related his answer to the kinge, he said, 'Weel, Lyone, letts goe to business: I will not medle farther with that olde cankered gootish man, at quhose hand ther is nothing to be gained bot soure words.'" What makes this anecdote the more expressively illustrative of the rancour with which the secular officers and nobility beheld the newly dignified clergy is, that the Lord Chancellor had just on the preceding afternoon been raised to the rank of Earl of Kinnoul.

[5] David Hume of Godscroft, author of the History of the House of Douglas.

[6] In a letter written on the 27th of July, to his friend Lord Elcho, he thus expresses himself regarding that extraordinary exertion of popular force:—

My Lord,—I know your suddain departure from this citey on Saturday was to see how they brought your light from darkness. Nather will I accuse you as privy to that OSANNA our grate-helded bishope had this bypast Saboth, from the tumultuous concors in welcom-

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But, though indignant, in common with all people of his own persuasion, at the religious innovations attempted by the government, Sir James appears to have very soon adopted different feelings. Like many moderate persons, who had equally condemned the ill advised conduct of the king, he afterwards began to fear that the opposition would produce greater mischiefs than the evil which was opposed. He conceived that the people, in their indignation at the royal measures, had put themselves under a more slavish subjection to a band of ambitious nobles, who appeared determined to press upon the royal prerogative till they should leave no trace of the ancient government in the land. Thus, so early as May 1639, less than two years after the publication of "Stoneyfield Day," and while the popular leaders enjoyed an unlimited power, he is found addressing the following letter "to a noble friend."

Altho, my lord, you think perhaps I might gaine muche by silence, for my part I will never make question in speaking, quhen I have aney thing in my head better than silence, and admonishe your lordship once again to bewarr of thosse men quho, furiously seeking to cry downe the present government, and to shake the fundamentall lawes of the kingdom, doe bot rather aim at ther owen particular advantages than redress of disorders, and since I have admonished your lordship quhat to eshew, I wold also gladly advysse you quhat were most fitting for your awen housse and the preservation of your awen family to follow. And to causse, if I could, good lawes to arysse out of evill maneris were not I think it more fitt to take tyme to deliberate upone a matter of such importance, and trewly, my lord, to speake heirin to purposse all the witt I have, joined to that of others, were no more than sufficient. In confidence of your lordship's pardon, and in assurance that ye will remaine constant to be my werrey good lord, I will heir subscribe myself,

Your lordship's most obliged servant.

Falkland, 9 May, 1639.

At a somewhat earlier date, he writes in the following terms to his friend Drummond, who, it will be recollected, was also a devoted loyalist:—

Sir,—By your letters, you aske how I live heir in winter, out of the capitall citey. I assure you, mured up within the royall walles, expecting the sessone of primrosses and anemonies. I am heir in a place of no curiosites. The sunne hath yet heat eneuche to dissolve our medow snowes, which all the winter fall upon the neighbouring mountains. If ye wold have me to conceill nothing from you, I must freely tell you that there is no place quhar verteu is so neir to vice as heir. Idleness in this place

ing home their new devised liturgie to old St Geilles: Bot our day here begane to darken ere twelffe o'clocke, (a verey short day in Julay indeid) and if we live to tell you, my lorde lykely to become a foule day, ver not our pryme churchmen had large breiches (happily) and nimble heiles to save them from a stoney tempest, which at two several tymes menacd, destructione to all, yet nibled the noddells of bot two or three. Nather could that luhardly monster with the satin goune defend himselve by hes swollwen hands and gressey belley, bot he had half a dissone neck fishes to a reckoninge, and Maxwell becam so affrighted that to have been safely gone I verely think that he wold have left Arminius house, and run under the keyes of the baticane—nay, he that first vented here Christ's locall discension to hell, if he might have been liberat of feare, wold have (before his tyme) gone thither himselve. Bot this day is fair wether, and ane indictione set on Edinburghe, for since the preceisse peopell will not sing ther prayers, our famous clergy will not suffer them to have aney in prosse. Our weyffes heir inveighss [envy] your lordships happines, quho may pray publickly as the primitive fathers did, and say *so be it*, quheras ther gressey bellied fathers wold have them to sing Amen, and to usse maney vantone curtisies, bobbings, noddings, and kneilings, which this roughe and uncivill multitude have not been accustomed nor acquanted with—a world of such trash and trumpries as your lordship may behold landeit in ther New Alcoran. God bless our prince and all thouse that gives him healthfull counsaill, and as to thesse men quho only ambitiously hunts ther commodity and honor, God gif them the reward of that honorles persone, quho after he had betrayed his maker and master, hanged himselve, and gif your lordship many happey dayes to be assured of the treuth, by which I own myselve to be,

Your lordships faithful friind and servant.

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being our honest mens ordinarey creatione, and debauches of all sortes the exercisses quherein they disscipline themselves. Notwithstanding if ye be yet yourselve, and by solemne vow have forsaken the world and the vanities thereof, assure yourselve that it is in this place quher felicitie doth attend you, and being once in this place, you will esteeme all thosse as banished persons quhom you have left in Edinburghe behind. Faire weill, and confidently love him quho sall ever bie,

Your treu friend and servant.

Falkland, Januáry 8, 1639.

It thus appears that, in some disgust at the bold measures taken against the government, he had now retired to the royal hunting-palace of Falkland, where, and at his seat of Kinnaird, he devoted himself to those studies by which the present may be forgotten in the past. His annals, however, show that he still occasionally appeared in public affairs in his capacity of Lord Lion. It is also clear that his political sentiments must have been of no obtrusive character, as he continued in his office during the whole term of the civil war, and was only at last deprived of it by Cromwell. During his rural retirement at Falkland and Kinnaird, he collected many manuscripts relative to heraldry, and wrote many others in his own language, of which some are preserved in the Advocates' Library, while others were either lost at the capture of Perth (1651), to which town he had conveyed them for safety, or have since been dispersed. Persevering with particular diligence in illustrating the History of Scotland, he had recourse to the ancient charters and diplomas of the kingdom, the archives of monasteries, and registers of cathedral churches, and in his library was a great number of chronicles of monasteries, both originals and the abridgments; but it is to be deeply regretted that many of these valuable manuscripts fell a prey to the sacrilegious and illiterate, and were shamefully destroyed by the hands of children, or perished in the flames during the civil wars. A few only were opportunely rescued from destruction by those who were acquainted with their value. The style of these monastic chronicles was, indeed, rude and barbarous; but they were remarkable for the industry, judgment, and fidelity to truth, with which they were compiled. For some time after the erection of monasteries in this kingdom, these writers were almost the only, and certainly the most respectable observers in literature, as scarcely any other persons preserved in writing the memory of the important occurrences of the times. In these registers and chronicles were to be found, an accurate record of transactions with foreign powers, whether in forming alliances, contracting marriages of state, or regulating commerce; letters and bulls of the holy see; answers, edicts, and statutes of kings; church rescripts; provincial constitutions; acts of parliament; battles; deaths of eminent persons; epitaphs and inscriptions; and sometimes the natural appearances of the seasons; the prevalent diseases; miracles and prodigies; the heresies that sprung up; with an account of the authors, and their punishments. In short, they committed to writing every important occurrence in church and state, that any question arising in after ages might be settled by their authority, and the unanimous confirmation of their faithful and accurate chronicles. In collecting and preserving these manuscripts, Balfour therefore raised a monument to his memory which the latest posterity must revere. For he did so from a conviction that these old and approved authors were the only guides to the knowledge of facts, as well as to correct evidence, and reasoning on the remote history of Scotland; and he considered them, not only of signal use to himself, but a valuable treasure to the literature of the country. He therefore persevered throughout life in collecting such manuscripts, without regard to either trouble or expense. The catalogue which he left is still extant,[8] although many, as al-

[8] Memoria Balfouriana, p. 19—33.

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ready mentioned, were lost by the depredations of the English and other causes. He formed with great industry, and at a considerable expense, a library of the most valuable books on every subject, particularly in the branches of Scottish history, antiquities, and heraldry. From these he extracted every assistance they could afford in the pursuit of his inquiries, and for further aid he established a correspondence with the most respectable living historians, such as Robert Maule, Henry Maule, David Buchanan, Gordon of Straloch, and, as has already been shown, Drummond of Hawthornden, all of whom he regarded through life with the warmest esteem, and with the greatest respect for their talents and accomplishments.

He endeavoured to elucidate our history (which was then involved in confusion) from the examination of ancient medals, coins, rings, bracelets, and other relics of antiquity, of which he formed a separate collection, as an appendage to his library. Observing also from historians, that the Romans had long been settled in Scotland, and had made desperate attempts to expel our ancestors, both Scots and Picts, he collected the inscriptions which they had left on certain stone buildings, and transcribed them among his notes. In compiling the work to which he gave the title of Annals, our author was more anxious to supply the deficiencies of other historians, and to bring to light obscure records, than to exhibit a continued and regular history of Scotland. He therefore carefully extracted, from old manuscripts, the names, dignities, and offices of distinguished public characters, the dates of remarkable transactions, and every other circumstance of importance, and arranged them in separate paragraphs. He was actuated by a generous disposition, to rescue from oblivion and the grave, the memory of illustrious men; for which purpose he visited all the cathedral, and the principal parish churches of the kingdom, and examined their sepulchres and other monuments, from which he copied the epitaphs and inscriptions, carefully preserving them in a volume. He deeply interested himself in some laudable attempts to improve the geography of Scotland. The ingenious Timothy Pont traversed the whole kingdom, (an attempt which had not been made before) and from personal surveys made plans and descriptions of the different counties and islands, which he was intending to publish, when carried off by a premature death. Sir John Scott of Scotstarvet put these papers into the hands of Straloch, by whom they were published, with corrections and additions, in the descriptions accompanying Bleau's maps. Sir James made also a survey of Fife, his native county, examining particularly ancient monuments, and the genealogies of the principal families. He afterwards compiled a description of the whole kingdom, of which the manuscript was so useful to Bleau, that he dedicated to our author the map of Lorne in his Theatrum Scotiæ, and embellished it with the arms of Balfour.

Zealous in the improvement and knowledge of heraldry, he carefully reviewed, not only the public acts and diplomas of nobility, but the contents of ancient edifices, temples, and palaces, shields and sepulchral monuments. When it had become proper, from his years, to allow the Prince of Wales a separate establishment, an inquiry was ordered concerning the revenues of the hereditary princes, as steward or lords marshall of Scotland, in which Balfour appears to have taken part, as we find among his manuscripts the following; "The true present state of the principality of Scotland, with the means how the same may be most conveniently increased and augmented; with which is joined ane survey, and brief notes from the public registers of the kingdoms, of certain infeftments and confirmations given to princes of Scotland; and by them to their vassals of diverse baronies and lands of the principalitie, since the fifteenth year of the reign of Robert III."

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In the history of this country, he displayed his uncommon industry in his numerous collection of manuscripts, in the great assemblage of historical works in his own library, and in his careful inspection of the various manuscripts dispersed over the kingdom, from which he generally extracted the substance, if he did not wholly transcribe them, forming a general index to such as were useful in Scottish history. He made several abridgments of the Registers of Scone, Cambuskenneth, and others, and from the works of Major, Boece, Leslie, and Buchanan, which, in proper order, formed parts of his chronological works, along with relations of important transactions throughout the world. Besides this, he wrote a remarkably concise yet comprehensive history of the kings of Scotland, from Fergus I. to Charles I. He also intended to have enlarged the annals of the Scottish kings from James I. to the beginning of Charles II., of which he had finished the two first Jamess, on a more diffuse and extensive scale. In other works, he wrote memoirs of James III., IV., V., of Queen Mary, and of James VI., and the transactions of Charles I., brought down to his death. In natural history, he wrote an alphabetical list of gems, with descriptions, their names and qualities, and the places where they are produced. Another work upon the same subject, written in Latin, exhibited from various authors, an account of ingenious inventions or frauds, practised in counterfeiting and imitating precious stones.

Sir James concluded an industrious, and, it would appear, a most blameless life, in February, 1657, when he must have been about sixty years of age. He had been four times married; 1st, to Anna Aiton, by whom he had three sons and six daughters, and who died August 26th, 1644; 2nd, to Jean Durham, daughter of the laird of Pitarrow, his own cousin, who died without issue only eleven months subsequent to the date of his first wife's death; 3d, to Margaret Arnot, only daughter of Sir James Arnot of Fernie, by whom he had three sons and three daughters; 4th, to Janet Auchinleck, daughter of Sir William Auchinleck of Balmanno, by whom he had two daughters. Yet his family is now extinct in the male line. The Annals and Short Passages of State, above alluded to, were, after nearly two centuries of manuscript obscurity, published, in 1824, in 4 volumes 8vo. by Mr James Haig of the Advocates' Library, in which receptacle nearly the whole of the collections of this great antiquary have found a secure resting-place.

BALFOUR, Robert, a distinguished philosopher of the seventeenth century, was principal of Guyenne college, Bourdeaux, and is mentioned by Morhof as a celebrated commentator on Aristotle. According to Dempster, he was "the Phœnix of his age; a philosopher profoundly skilled in the Greek and Latin languages; a mathematician worthy of being compared with the ancients: and to those qualifications he joined a wonderful suavity of manners, and the utmost warmth of affection towards his countrymen." This eminent personage appears to have been one of that numerous class of Scotsmen, who, having gained all their honours in climes more genial to science than Scotland was a few centuries ago, are to this day better known abroad than among their own countrymen. According to the fantastic Urquhart, who wrote in the reign of Charles I., "Most of the Scottish nation, never having astricted themselves so much to the proprieties of words as to the knowledge of things, where there was one preceptor of languages amongst them, there were above forty professors of philosophy: nay, to so high a pitch did the glory of the Scottish nation attain over all the parts of France, and for so long a time continue in that obtained height, by virtue of an ascendant the French conceived the Scots to have above all nations, in matter of their subtlety in philosophical disceptations, that there hath not been, till of late, for these several ages together, any lord, gentleman, or other, in all that

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country, who being desirous to have his son instructed in the principles of philosophy, would intrust him to the discipline of any other than a Scottish master; of whom they were no less proud than Philip was of Aristotle, or Tullius of Cratippus. And if it occurred (as very often it did,) that a pretender to a place in any French university, having, in his tenderer years, been subferulary to some other kind of schooling, should enter in competition with another aiming at the same charge and dignity, whose learning flowed from a Caledonian source, commonly the first was rejected and the other preferred." It nevertheless appears that Robert Balfour prosecuted the study of philology, as well as that of philosophy, with considerable success. His edition of Cleomedes, published at Bourdeaux, in 1605, "*Latine versa, et perpetuo commentario illustrata*," is spoken of in the highest terms of praise by the erudite Barthius. Other works by Balfour are, "Gelasii Cyziceni Commentarius Actorum Nicæni Concilii, Roberto Balforeo interprete, 1604, folio,"—"Commentarius R. Balforei in Organum Logicum Aristotelis, 1616, 4to,"—and, "R. Balforei Scoti Commentariorum in lib. Arist. de Philosophia, tomus secundus, 1620, 4to."

BALIOL, JOHN, king of Scotland, was the son of John de Baliol, of Bernard's Castle in the county of Durham, a man of great opulence, being possessed of thirty knights' fees, (equal to £12,000 of modern money,) and who was a steady adherent of Henry III., in all his civil wars. The mother of Baliol was Devorgilla, one of the three daughters and co-heiresses of Allan, Lord of Galloway, by Margaret, eldest daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother of Malcolm IV. and William the Lion, kings of Scotland. The first of the English family of Baliol was a Norman noble, proprietor of the manors of Baliol, Harcourt, Dampat, and Horne in France, and who, coming over with the Conqueror, left a son, Guy, whom William Rufus appointed to be Lord of the forest of Teesdale and Marwood, giving him at the same time the lands of Middleton and Guiseford in Northumberland. Guy was the father of Bernard, who built the strong castle on the Tees, called from him *Bernard's Castle*. Eustace, son of this noble, was the father of Hugh, who was the father of John de Baliol,[1] the father of the king of Scotland.

[1] John de Baliol has distinguished himself in English literary history, by founding one of the colleges of Oxford, which still bears his name. As this institution is connected in more ways than one with Scotland, the following account of its foundation, from Chalmers' History of Oxford, may be read with interest. "The wealth and political consequence of John de Baliol were dignified by a love of learning, and a benevolence of disposition, which, about the year 1263 (or 1268, as Wood thinks,) induced him to maintain certain poor scholars of Oxford, in number sixteen, by exhibitions, perhaps with a view to some more permanent establishment, when he should have leisure to mature a plan for that purpose. On his death, in 1269, which appears from this circumstance to have been sudden, he could only recommend the objects of his bounty to his lady and his executors, but left no written deed or authority: and as what he had formerly given was from his personal estate, now in other hands, the farther care of his scholars would in all probability have ceased, had not his lady been persuaded to fulfil his intention in the most honourable manner, by taking upon herself the future maintenance of them. * * * * The first step which the Lady Devorgilla took, in providing for the scholars, was to have a house in Horsemonger Lane, afterwards called Canditch (from Candida Fossa) in St Mary Magdalene's parish, and on the site where the present college stands; and being supported in his design by her husband's executors, continued the provision which he allotted. In 1282, she gave them statutes under her seal, and appointed Hugh de Hartipoll and William de Menyle as procurators or governors of her scholars. * * * * In 1284, the Lady Devorgilla purchased a tenement of a citizen of Oxford, called Mary's Hall, as a perpetual settlement for the principal and scholars of the House of Baliol. This edifice, after receiving suitable repairs and additions, was called New Baliol Hall, and their former residence then began to receive the name of Old Baliol Hall. The same year, she made over certain lands in the county of Northumberland, the greater part of which was afterwards lost. The foundation, however, was about this time confirmed by Oliver, bishop of Lincoln, and by the son of the founder, who was afterwards king of Scotland, and whose consent in this matter seems to entitle him to the veneration of the society. * * * * The revenues of the college were at first small, yielding only eight-pence *per week* to each scholar, or twenty-seven

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The circumstances which led to the appearance of John Baliol in Scottish history, may be thus briefly narrated. By the death of Alexander the third, the crown of Scotland devolved on the Maiden of Norway, Margaret, the only child of Alexander's daughter, late Queen of Norway. As she was only three years of age, and residing in foreign parts, the convention of estates made choice of six noblemen to be regents of the kingdom during her absence or minority; but dissensions soon arising among them, Eric, king of Norway, interposed, and sent plenipotentiaries to treat with Edward king of England, concerning the affairs of the infant Queen and her kingdom. Edward had already formed a scheme for uniting England and Scotland, by the marriage of his eldest son with Margaret, and, accordingly, after holding conferences at Salisbury, he sent an embassy to the parliament of Scotland, on the 18th of July, 1290, with full powers to treat of this projected alliance. The views of Edward were cheerfully met by the parliament of Scotland: a treaty was drawn out honourable to both parties, in which—to guard against any danger that might arise from so strict an alliance with such a powerful and ambitious neighbour—the freedom and independency of Scotland were fully acknowledged and secured; and commissioners were despatched to Norway to conduct the young Queen into her dominions. But this fair hope of lasting peace and union was at once overthrown by the death of the princess on her passage to Britain; and the crown of Scotland became a bone of contention between various competitors, the chief of whom were, John Baliol, lord of Galloway, Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale, and John Hastings, lord of Abergavenny. In order to understand the grounds of their several claims, it will be necessary to trace briefly their genealogy.

On the death of the Maiden of Norway, Alexander's grandchild, the crown of Scotland devolved upon the posterity of David, earl of Huntington, younger brother, as already mentioned, of the kings Malcolm and William. David left three daughters, Margaret, Isabella, and Ada. Margaret, the eldest daughter, married Allan, lord of Galloway, by whom she had an only daughter, Devorgilla, married to John Baliol, by whom she had John Baliol, the subject of this article, who, therefore, was great-grandson to David Earl of Huntington, by his eldest daughter. Isabella, the second daughter of David, married Robert Bruce, by whom she had Robert Bruce, the competitor—who, therefore, was grandson to the Earl of Huntington, by his second daughter. Ada, youngest daughter of David, married John Hastings, by whom she had John Hastings—who, therefore, was grandson to David, by his third daughter. Hastings could have no claim to the crown, while the posterity of David's elder daughters were in being; but he insisted that the kingdom should be divided into three parts, and that he should inherit one of them. As, however, the kingdom was declared indivisible, his pretensions were excluded, and the difficulty of the question lay between the two great competitors Baliol and Bruce,—whether the more remote by one degree, descended from the eldest daughter, or the nearer by one degree, descended from the second daughter, had the better title?

The divided state of the national mind as to the succession presented a favourable opportunity to the ambitious monarch of England for executing a design which he had long cherished against the independence of Scotland, by renewing the unfounded claim of the feudal superiority of England over it. It has been

pounds nine shillings and fourpence for the whole *per annum*, which was soon found insufficient. A number of benefactors, however, promoted the purposes of the founder, by enriching the establishment with gifts of land, money, and church-livings."

Mr Chalmers also mentions, that in 1340 a new set of statutes for the college, received, amongst other confirmatory seals, that of "Edward Baliol, king of Scotland," namely, the grandson of the founder. The seal attached by Devorgilla to the original statutes contains a portrait of her. She died in 1289.

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generally supposed, that he was chosen arbitrator by the regents and states of Scotland in the competition for the crown; but it appears that his interference was solicited by a few only of the Scottish nobles who were in his own interest. Assuming this, however, as the call of the nation, and collecting an army to support his iniquitous pretensions, he requested the nobility and clergy of Scotland, and the competitors for the crown, to meet him at Norham within the English territories. There, after many professions of good-will and affection to Scotland, he claimed a right of Lord Paramount over it, and required that this right should be immediately recognized. The Scots were struck with amazement at this unexpected demand; but, feeling themselves entirely in his power, could only request time for the consideration of his claim. Another meeting was fixed upon; and during the interval, he employed every method to strengthen his party in Scotland, and by threats and promises to bring as many as possible to acknowledge his superiority. His purpose was greatly forwarded by the mutual distrusts and jealousies that existed among the Scots, and by the time-serving ambition of the competitors, who were now multiplied to the number of thirteen—some, probably, stirred up to perplex the question, and others, perhaps, prompted by vanity. On the day appointed (2d June, 1291) in a plain opposite to the castle of Norham, the superiority of the crown of England over the crown of Scotland was fully acknowledged by all the competitors for the latter, as well as by many barons and prelates; and thus Edward gained the object on which his heart had been long set, by conduct disgraceful to himself as it was to those who had the government and guardianship of Scotland in keeping. All the royal castles and places of strength in the country were put into his hands, under the security that he should make full restitution in two months from the date of his award, and with the ostensible reason that he might have a kingdom to bestow on the person to whom it should be adjudged. Having thus obtained his wish, he proceeded to take some steps towards determining the claim of the competitors. Commissioners were appointed to meet at Berwick; and after various deliberations, the crown was finally adjudged to John Baliol, on the 19th of November, 1292, and next day Baliol swore fealty to Edward at Norham.

Baliol was crowned at Scone shortly after; but, that he might not forget his dependancy, Edward recalled him into England, immediately after his coronation, and made him renew his homage and fealty at Newcastle. He was soon loaded with fresh indignities. In the course of a year he received no fewer than six citations to appear before Edward in the English parliament, to answer private and unimportant complaints which were preferred against him by his subjects. Although led by an insidious policy, and his own ambition, into the most humiliating concessions, Baliol seems not to have been destitute of spirit, or to have received without resentment the indignities laid upon him. In one of the causes before the parliament of England, being asked for his defence—"I am king of Scotland," he said, "I dare not make answer *here* without the advice of my people." "What means this refusal," said Edward, "you are my liegeman; you have done homage to me; you are here in consequence of my summons!" Baliol replied with firmness, "In matters which respect my kingdom, I neither dare nor shall answer in this place, without the advice of my people." Edward requested that he would ask a delay for the consideration of the question; but Baliol, perceiving that his so doing would be construed into an acknowledgment of the jurisdiction of the English parliament, refused.

In the meantime, a war breaking out between France and England, Baliol seized upon it as a favourable opportunity for shaking off a yoke that had become intolerable. He negotiated a treaty with Philip, the French king, on the 23d October, 1295, by which it was agreed to assist one another against their

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common enemy the king of England, and not to conclude any separate peace. At the same time, Baliol solemnly renounced his allegiance to Edward, and received from the Pope an absolution from the oaths of fealty which he had sworn. The grounds of his renunciation were these—That Edward had wantonly and upon slight suggestions summoned him to his courts;—that he had seized his English estates, his goods, and the goods of his subjects;—that he had forcibly carried off and still retained certain natives of Scotland;—and that, when remonstrances were made, instead of redressing, he had continually aggravated these injuries. Edward is said to have received Baliol's renunciation with more contempt than anger. "The foolish traitor," he exclaimed, "since he will not come to us, we will go to him." He accordingly raised a large army; and, sending his brother into France, resolved himself, in person, to make a total conquest of Scotland.

While Edward advanced towards Berwick, a small army of Scots broke into Northumberland and Cumberland, and plundered the country. The castle of Werk was taken; and a thousand men, whom Edward sent to preserve it, falling into an ambush, were slain. An English squadron, also, which blocked up Berwick by sea, was defeated, and sixteen of their ships sunk. But these partial successes were followed by fatal losses. The king of England was a brave and skilful general; he conducted a powerful army against a weak and dispirited nation, headed by an unpopular prince, and distracted by party animosities. His eventual success was, therefore, as complete as might have been anticipated. He crossed the Tweed at Coldstream, took Berwick, and put all the garrison and inhabitants to the sword. The castle of Roxburgh was delivered into his hands; and he hastened Warenne Earl of Surrey forward to besiege Dunbar. Warenne was there met by the Scots army, who, abandoning the advantage of their situation, poured down tumultuously on the English, and were repulsed with terrible slaughter. After this defeat, the castles of Dunbar, Edinburgh, and Stirling, fell into Edward's hands, and he was soon in possession of the whole of the south of Scotland.

Baliol, who had retired beyond the river Tay, with the shattered remains of his army, despairing of making any effectual resistance, sent messengers to implore the mercy of Edward. The haughty Plantagenet communicated the hard terms upon which alone he might hope for what he asked; namely, an unqualified acknowledgment of his "unjust and wicked rebellion," and an unconditional surrender of himself and his kingdom into the hands of his master. Baliol, whose life presents a strange variety of magnanimous efforts and humiliating self-abasements, consented to these conditions; and the ceremony of his degradation accordingly took place, July 2, 1296, in the church-yard of Stracathro, a village near Montrose. Led by force and in fear of his life, into the presence of the Bishop of Durham and the English nobles, mounted on a sorry horse, he was first commanded to dismount; and his treason being proclaimed, they proceeded to strip him of his royal ornaments. The crown was snatched from his head; the ermine torn from his mantle, the sceptre wrested from his hand, and every thing removed from him belonging to the state and dignity of a king. Dressed only in his shirt and drawers, and holding a white rod in his hand, after the fashion of penitents, he confessed that, by evil and false counsel, and through his own simplicity, he had grievously offended his liege lord, recapitulated all the late transactions, and acknowledged himself to be deservedly deprived of his kingdom. He then absolved his people from their allegiance, and signed a deed resigning his sovereignty over them into the hands of king Edward, giving his eldest son as a hostage for his fidelity.

The acknowledgment of an English paramountcy has at all times been so dis-

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agreeable to the Scottish people, and the circumstances of this renunciation of the kingdom are so extremely humiliating to national pride, that John Baliol has been ever since held in hatred and contempt, and is scarcely allowed a place in the ordinary rolls of the Scottish monarchs. It must be said, however, in his defence, that his first acknowledgment of the paramountcy was no more than what his rival Bruce and the greater part of the nobles of the kingdom were also guilty of; while he is certainly entitled to some credit for his efforts to shake off the yoke, however inadequate his means were for doing so, or whatever ill fortune he experienced in the attempt. In his deposition, notwithstanding some equivocal circumstances in his subsequent history, he must be looked upon as only the victim of an overwhelming force.

The history of John Baliol after his deposition is not in general treated with much minuteness by the Scottish historians, all of whom seem to have wished to close their eyes as much as possible to the whole affair of the resignation, and endeavoured to forget that the principal personage concerned in it had ever been king of Scotland. This history, however, is curious. The discrowned monarch and his son were immediately transmitted, along with the stone of Scone, the records of the kingdom, and all other memorials of the national independence to London, where the two unfortunate princes were committed to a kind of honourable captivity in the Tower. Though the country was reduced by the English army, several insurrections which broke out in the subsequent year showed that the hearts of the people were as yet unsubdued. These insurgents invariably rose in the name of the deposed king John, and avowed a resolution to submit to no other authority. It is also worth remarking, as a circumstance favourable to the claims and character of Baliol, that he was still acknowledged by the Pope, the King of France, and other continental princes. When Wallace rose to unite all the discontented spirits of the kingdom in one grand effort against the English yoke, he avowed himself as only the governor of the kingdom in name of King John, and there is a charter still extant, to which the hero appended the seal of Baliol, which seems, by some chance, to have fallen into his hands. The illustrious knight of Elderslie, throughout the whole of his career, acknowledged no other sovereign than Baliol; and, what is perhaps more remarkable, the father of Robert Bruce, who had formerly asserted a superior title to the crown, and whose son afterwards displaced the Baliol dynasty, appeared in arms against Edward in favour of King John, and in his name concluded several truces with the English officers. There is extant a deed executed on the 13th of November, 1299, by William, Bishop of St Andrews, Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, and John Comyn the younger, styling themselves guardians of the kingdom of Scotland; in which they petition King Edward for a cessation of hostilities, in order, as they afterwards expressed themselves, that they might live as peaceable subjects under their sovereign King John.

There is, however, no reason to suppose, that these proceedings were in accordance with any secret instructions from Baliol, who, if not glad to get quit of his uneasy sovereignty, at the time he resigned it, at least seems to have afterwards entertained no wish for its recovery. A considerable time before his insurgent representatives made the above declaration in his behalf, he is found executing a deed of the following tenor: "In the name of God, Amen. In the year 1298, on the 1st of April, in the house of the reverend father, Anthony, Bishop of Durham, without London. The said Bishop discoursing of the state and condition of the kingdom of Scotland, and of the inhabitants of the said kingdom, before the noble lord John Baliol; the said John, of his own proper motion, in the presence of us, the Notary, and the subscribing witnesses, amongst other things, said and delivered in the French tongue to this effect, that

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is to say, that while he, the said realm of Scotland, as King and Lord thereof, held and governed, he had found in the people of the said kingdom so much malice, fraud, treason, and deceit, that, for their malignity, wickedness, treachery, and other detestable facts, and for that, as he had thoroughly understood, they had, while their prince, contrived to poison him, it was his intention never to go or enter into the said kingdom of Scotland for the future, or with the said kingdom or its concerns, either by himself or others, to intermeddle, nor for the reasons aforesaid, and many others, to have any thing to do with the Scots. At the same time, the said John desired the said Bishop of Durham, that he would acquaint the most magnificent prince, and his Lord, Edward, the most illustrious king of England, with his intention, will, and firm resolution in this respect. This act was signed and sealed by the public notary, in the presence of the Bishop of Durham aforesaid, and of Ralph de Sandwich, constable of the Tower of London, and others, who heard this discourse."[1]

We regret for the honour of Scotland, that, excepting the *date* of this shameful libel, there is no other reason for supposing it to be dictated in an insincere spirit. Baliol now appears to have really entertained no higher wish than to regain his personal liberty, and be permitted to spend the rest of his days in retirement. Accordingly, having at last convinced King Edward of his sincerity, he and his son were delivered, on the 20th of July, 1299, to the Pope's legate, the Bishop of Vicenza, by whom they were transported to France. The unfortunate Baliol lived there upon his ample estates, till the year 1314, when he died at his seat of Castle Galliard, aged about fifty-five years. Though thus by no means advanced in life, he is said to have been afflicted with many of the infirmities of old age, among which was an entire deprivation of sight.

Baliol, Edward. King John Baliol had two sons, Edward and Henry. The former seems entitled to some notice in this work, on account of his vigorous, though eventually unsuccessful attempt to regain the crown lost by his father. When King John entered into the treaty with the King of France, in 1295, it was stipulated in the first article that his son Edward should marry the daughter of Charles of Valois, niece to the French monarch, receiving with her twenty-five thousand livres de Tournois current money, and assigning to her, as a dowry, one thousand five hundred pounds sterling of yearly rent, of which one thousand should be paid out of King John's lands of Baliol, Dampier, Helicourt, and de Hornay, in France, and five hundred out of those of Lanark, Cadiou, Cunningham,[2] Haddington, and the Castle of Dundee, in Scotland. This young prince accompanied his father in his captivity in the Tower, and was subsequently carried with him to France. After the death of John Baliol, Edward quietly succeeded to the French family estates, upon which he lived unnoticed till 1324, when Edward II. commanded that he should be brought over to England, apparently for the purpose of being held up as a rival to Robert Bruce. Whether he now visited England or not is uncertain; but it would rather appear that he did not, as, in 1326, he was invited by Edward III. for the same purpose. At this time, the English monarch was endeavouring to secure a peace with the King of Scots, but at the same time held himself prepared for war by mustering his barons at Newcastle. He seems to have thought that a threat of taking Baliol under his patronage was apt to quicken the desires of the Scots for an accommodation. Nevertheless, in the summer of this

[1] Prynne's Collections, iii. 665.

[2] "John Baliol is known to have possessed in Cunningham the following lands: Largs, Noddesdale, Southannan, Dalry, Giffin, Cumsheuch, Dreghorn, the great barony of Kilmarnock, together with Bondinton and Hartshaw; extending in all to about L.9,900 Scots of valued rent, or about L.15,000 real rent at present."—*Robertson's Ayrshire Families.*

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year, the Scots made a bold and successful incursion into England, under Randolph and Douglas, and King Edward was obliged, April 1328, to consent to the treaty of Northampton, which acknowledged at once the independency of the Scottish crown, and the right of Robert Bruce to wear it. No more is heard of Edward Baliol, till after the death of Bruce, when he was tempted by the apparent weakness of Scotland under the minority of David II. to attempt the recovery of his birth-right. Two English barons, Henry de Beaumont and Thomas Lord Wake, claimed certain estates in Scotland, which had been declared their property by the treaty of Northampton; Randolph, the Scottish regent, distrusting the sincerity of the English in regard to other articles of this treaty, refused to restore those estates; and the two barons accordingly joined with Baliol in his design. That the English king might not be supposed accessory to so gross a breach of the treaty, he issued a proclamation against their expedition; but they easily contrived to ship four hundred men at arms and three thousand infantry at Holderness, all of whom were safely landed on the coast of Fife, July 31, 1332. Only eleven days before this event, the Scottish people had been bereft of their brave regent, Randolph Earl of Moray, who was almost the last of those worthies by whom the kingdom of Bruce had been won and maintained. The regency fell into the hands of Donald, Earl of Mar, in every respect a feebler man. Baliol, having beat back some forces which opposed his landing, moved forward to Forteviot, near Perth; where the Earl of Mar appeared with an army to dispute his farther progress. As the Scottish forces were much superior in number and position to the English, Baliol found himself in a situation of great jeopardy, and would willingly have retreated to his ships, had that been possible. Finding, however, no other resource than to fight, he led his forces at midnight across the Erne, surprised the Scottish camp in a state of the most disgraceful negligence, and put the whole to the route. This action, fought on the 12th of August, was called the battle of Dupplin. The conqueror entered Perth, and for some time found no resistance to his assumed authority. On the 24th of September, he was solemnly crowned at Scone. The friends of the line of Bruce, though unable to offer a formal opposition, appointed Andrew Moray of Bothwell to be regent in the room of the Earl of Mar, who had fallen at Dupplin. At Roxburgh, on the 23rd of November, Baliol solemnly acknowledged Edward of England for his *liege lord*, and surrendered to him the town and castle of Berwick, "on account of the great honour and emoluments which he had procured through the good will of the English king, and the powerful and acceptable aid contributed by his people." The two princes also engaged on this occasion to aid each other in all their respective wars. Many of the Scottish chiefs now submitted to Baliol, and it does not appear improbable that he might have altogether retrieved a kingdom which was certainly his by the laws of hereditary succession. But on the 15th of December, the adherents of the opposite dynasty surprised him in his turn at Annan, overpowered his host, and having slain his brother Henry, and many other distinguished men, obliged him to fly, almost naked, and with hardly a single attendant, to England. His subsequent efforts, though not so easily counteracted, were of the same desultory character. He returned into Scotland in March, and lay for some time at Roxburgh, with a small force. In May, 1333, he joined forces with King Edward, and reduced the town of Berwick. The Scottish regent being overthrown at Halidon Hill, July 19, for a time all resistance to the claims of Baliol ceased. In a parliament held at Edinburgh in February, he ratified the former treaty with King Edward, and soon after surrendered to that monarch the whole of the counties on the frontier, together with the province of Lothian, as part of the kingdom of England. His power,

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however, was solely supported by foreign influence, and, upon the rise of a few of the opposite hostile barons, in November, 1334, he again fled to England. In July, 1335, Edward III. enabled him to return under the protection of an army. But, notwithstanding the personal presence and exertions of no less a warrior than the victor of Cressy, the Scots never could altogether be brought under the sway of this vassal king. For two or three years, Edward Baliol held a nominal sway at Perth, while the greater part of the country was in a state of rebellion against him. The regent Andrew Moray, dying in July, 1338, was succeeded by Robert Stewart, the grandson of Bruce, and nephew of David II. who having threatened to besiege Baliol in Perth, obliged him to retreat once more to England. The greater part of the country speedily fell under the dominion of the regent, nor was Edward III. now able to retrieve it, being fully engaged in his French wars. The Scots having made an incursion, in 1344, into England, Baliol, with the forces of the northern counties, was appointed to oppose them. Two years after this period, when the fatal battle of Durham, and the capture of David II. had again reduced the strength of Scotland, Baliol raised an insurrection in Galloway, where his family connections gave him great influence, and speedily penetrated to the central parts of the kingdom. He gained, however, no permanent footing. For some years after this period, Scotland maintained a noble struggle, under its regent Robert Stewart, against both the pretensions of this adventurer, and the power of the King of England, till at length, in 1355-6, wearied out with an unavailing contest, and feeling the approach of old age, Baliol resigned all his claims into the hands of Edward III. for the consideration of five thousand merks, and a yearly pension of two thousand pounds. After this surrender, which was transacted at Roxburgh, and included his personal estates, as well as his kingdom, this unfortunate prince retired to England. "The fate of Edward Baliol," says Lord Hailes, "was singular. In his invasion of Scotland during the minority of David Bruce, he displayed a bold spirit of enterprise, and a courage superior to all difficulties. By the victory at Dupplin, he won a crown; some few weeks after, he was surprised at Annan and lost it. The overthrow of the Scots at Halidon, to which he signally contributed, availed not to his re-establishment. Year after year, he saw his partisans fall away, and range themselves under the banner of his competitor. He became the pensioner of Edward III. and the tool of his policy, assumed or laid aside at pleasure: and, at last, by his surrender at Roxburgh, he did what in him lay to entail the calamities of war upon the Scottish nation, a nation already miserable through the consequences of a regal succession disputed for threescore years. The remainder of his days was spent in obscurity; and the historians of that kingdom where he once reigned, know not the time of his death." It may further be mentioned, that neither these historians nor the Scottish people at large, ever acknowledged Edward Baliol as one of the line of Scottish monarchs. The right of the family of Bruce, though inferior in a hereditary point of view, having been confirmed by parliament on account of the merit of King Robert, this shadowy intruder, though occasionally dominant through the sword, could never be considered the legitimate monarch, more especially as he degraded himself and his country by a professed surrender of its independence, and even of a part of its territory, to a foreign enemy. He died childless, and, it would also appear, unmarried, in 1363, when he must have been advanced to at least the age of seventy.

BALLANTYNE, John. Of all the remarkable men, by whom this name, in its various orthographical appearances, has been borne, not the least worthy of notice is John Ballantyne, who died on the 16th of June, 1821, about the age of forty-five years. This gentleman was the son of a merchant at Kelso, where he

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was born and educated. In his youth, he displayed such an extraordinary quickness of mind, as sufficiently betokened the general ability by which he was to be distinguished in after life. While still a young man, his mind was turned to literary concerns by the establishment of a provincial newspaper, the *Kelso Mail*, which was begun by his elder brother James. The distinction acquired by his brother in consequence of some improvements in printing, by which there issued from a Scottish provincial press a series of books rivalling, in elegance and accurate taste, the productions of a Bensley or a Baskerville, caused the removal of both to Edinburgh about the beginning of the present century. But the active intellect of John Ballantyne was not to be confined to the dusky shades of the printing-house. He embarked largely in the bookselling trade, and subsequently in the profession of an auctioneer of works of art, libraries, &c. The connection which he and his brother had established at Kelso with Sir Walter Scott, whose Border Minstrelsy was printed by them, continued in this more extensive scene, and accordingly during the earlier and more interesting years of the career of the author of Waverley, John Ballantyne acted as the confidant of that mysterious writer, and managed all the business of the communication of his works to the public. Some of these works were published by John Ballantyne, who also issued two different periodical works, written chiefly by Sir Walter Scott, entitled respectively the Visionary and the Sale-room, of which the latter had a reference to one branch of Mr Ballantyne's trade. It is also worthy of notice, that the large edition of the works of Beaumont and Fletcher, which appeared under the name of Sir Walter Scott as editor, and which, we may presume to say, reflects no inconsiderable credit upon the Scottish press, was an enenterprise undertaken at the suggestion and risk of this spirited publisher. Mr Ballantyne himself made one incursion into the field of letters: he was the author of a tolerably sprightly novel in two thin duodecimos, styled, "The Widow's Lodgings," which reached a second edition, and by which, as he used to boast in a jocular manner, he made no less a sum than *thirty pounds!* It was not, however, as an author that Mr Ballantyne chiefly shone—his forte was story-telling. As a *conteur*, he was allowed to be unrivalled by any known contemporary. Possessing an infinite fund of ludicrous and characteristic anecdote, which he could set off with a humour endless in the variety of its shades and tones, he was entirely one of those beings who seem to have been designed by nature for the task, now abrogated, of enlivening the formalities and alleviating the cares of a court: he was Yorick revived. After pursuing a laborious and successful business for several years, declining health obliged him to travel upon the continent, and finally to retire to a seat in the neighbourhood of Melrose. He had been married, at an early age, to Miss Parker, a beautiful young lady, a relative of Dr Rutherford, author of the View of Ancient History and other esteemed works. This union was not blessed with any children. In his Melrose rustication, he started the publication of a large and beautiful edition of the British Novelists, as an easy occupation to divert the languor of illness, and fill up those vacancies in time, which were apt to contrast disagreeably with the former habits of busy life. The works of the various novelists were here amassed into large volumes, to which Sir Walter Scott furnished biographical prefaces. But the trial was brief. While flattering himself with the hope that his frame was invigorated by change of air and exercise, death stepped in, and reft the world of as joyous a spirit as ever brightened its sphere. The Novelist's Library has since been completed by the friendly attention of Sir Walter Scott.

BALLENTYNE, (or Bellenden,) John,—otherwise spelt Ballanden and Ballentyn—an eminent poet of the reign of James V., and the translator of Boece's

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Latin History, and of the first five books of Livy, into the vernacular language of his time, was a native of Lothian, and appears to have been born towards the close of the 15th century. He studied at the university of St Andrews, where his name is thus entered in the records: "1506, *Jo. Balletyn nac. Lau[donie]*." It is probable that he remained there for several years, which was necessary before he could be laureated. His education was afterwards completed at the university of Paris, where he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity; and as has been remarked by his biographer, [*Works of Bellenden*, I., xxxvii,] "the effects of his residence upon the continent may be traced both in his idiom and language."

He returned to Scotland during the minority of James V., and became attached to the establishment of that monarch as "Clerk of his Comptis." This appears from "the Proheme of the Cosmographe," prefixed to his translation of Boece, in which he says:—

> And first occurrit to my remembering,
> How that I wes in service with the king;
> But to his grace in yeris tenderest,
> Clerk of his compts, thoucht I wes indign [unworthy,]
> With hart and hand and every other thing
> That micht him pleis in my maner best;
> Quhill hie invy me from his service kest,
> Be thame that had the court in governing,
> As bird but plumes heryit of the nest.

The biographer of Ballentyne, above quoted, supposes that he must have been the "Maister Johnne Ballentyne," who, in 1528, was "secretar and servitour" to Archibald Earl of Angus, and in that capacity appeared before parliament to state his master's reasons for not answering the summons of treason which had been issued against him. We can scarcely, however, reconcile the circumstance of his being then a "Douglas's man," with the favour he is found to have enjoyed a few years after with James V., whose antipathy to that family was so great as probably to extend to all its connections. However this may be, Ballentyne is thus celebrated, in 1530, as a court poet, by Sir David Lyndsay, who had been in youth his fellow-student at St Andrews, and was afterwards his fellow-servant in the household of the king:

> But now of late has start up heastily
> A cunning clerk that writeth craftily;
> A plant of poets, called *Ballanten*,
> Whose ornat writs my wit cannot defyne;
> Get he into the court authority,
> He will precel Quintin and Kenedy.

In 1530 and 1531, Ballentyne was employed, by command of the king, in translating Boece's History, which had been published at Paris in 1526. The object of this translation was to introduce the king and others who had "missed their Latin," to a knowledge of the history of their country. In the epistle to the king at the conclusion of this work, Ballenden passes a deserved compliment upon his majesty, for having "dantit this region and brocht the same to sicken rest, gud peace and tranquillity; howbeit the same could nocht be done be your gret baronis during your tender age;" and also says, without much flattery, "Your nobill and worthy deidis proceeds mair be naturall inclination and active curage, than ony gudly persuasioun of assisteris." He also attests his own sincerity, by a lecture to the king on the difference between tyrannical and just government; which, as a curious specimen of the prose composition of that time,

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and also a testimony to the enlightened and upright character of Ballentyne, we shall extract into these pages:

"As Seneca says in his tragedeis, all ar nocht kingis that bene clothit with purpure and dredoure, but only they that sekis na singulare proffet, in dammage of the commonweill; and sa vigilant that the life of their subdetis is mair deir and precious to them than thair awin life. Ane tyrane sekis riches; ane king sekis honour, conquest be virtew. Ane tyrane governis his realmis be slauchter, dredoure, and falset; ane king gidis his realme be prudence, integrite, and favour. Ane tyrane suspeckis all them that hes riches, gret dominioun, auctorite, or gret rentis; ane king haldis sic men for his maist helply friendis. Ane tyrane luffis nane bot vane fleschouris, vicious and wicket lymmaris, be quhais counsall he rages in slauchter and tyranny; ane king luffis men of wisdom, gravite, and science; knawing weill that his gret materis maybe weill dressit be thair prudence. Treuth is that kingis and tyrannis hes mony handis, mony ene, and mony mo memberis. Ane tyrane sets him to be dred; ane king to be luffet. Ane tyrane rejoises to mak his pepill pure; ane king to mak thame riche. Ane tyrane draws his pepill to sindry factiones, discord, and hatrent; ane king maks peace, tranquillite, and concord; knawing nothing sa dammagious as division amang his subdittis. Ane tyrane confounds all divine and hummane lawis; ane king observis thaime, and rejoises in equite and justice. All thir properteis sal be patent, in reding the livis of gud and evil kingis, in the history precedent."

To have spoken in this way to an absolute prince shows Ballentyne to have been not altogether a courtier.

He afterwards adds, in a finely impassioned strain:—"Quhat thing maybe mair plesand than to se in this present volume, as in ane cleir mirroure all the variance of tyme bygane; the sindry chancis of fourtoun; the bludy fechting and terrible berganis sa mony years continuit, in the defence of your realm and liberte; quhilk is fallen to your hieness with gret felicite, howbeit the samin has aftimes been ransomit with maist nobill blude of your antecessoris. Quhat is he that wil nocht rejoise to heir the knychtly afaris of thay forcy campions, King Robert Bruce and William Wallace? The first, be innative desyre to recover his realme, wes brocht to sic calamite, that mony dayis he durst nocht appeir in sicht of pepill; but amang desertis, levand on rutes and herbis, in esperance of better fortoun; bot at last, be his singulare manheid, he come to sic preeminent glore, that now he is reput the maist valyeant prince that was eftir or before his empire. This other, of small beginning, be feris curage and corporall strength, not only put Englishmen out of Scotland, but als, be feir of his awful visage, put Edward king of England to flicht; and held all the borders fornence Scotland waist."

Ballentyne delivered a manuscript copy of his work to the king, in the summer of 1533, and about the same time he appears to have been engaged in a translation of Livy. The following entries in the treasurer's book give a curious view of the prices of literary labour, in the court of a king of those days.

"To Maister John Ballentyne, be the kingis precept, for his translating of the Chronykill, £30.

"1531, Oct. 4th. To Maister John Ballantyne, be the kingis precept, for his translating of the Chroniclis, £30.

"Item, Thairefter to the said Maister Johne, be the kingis command, £6.

"1533, July 26. To Maister John Ballentyne, for ane new Chronikle gevin to the kingis grace, £12.

"Item, To him in part payment of the translation of Titus Livius, £8.

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"——Aug. 24. To Maister John Ballentyne, in part payment of the second buke of Titus Livius, £8.

"——Nov. 30. To Maister John Ballentyne, be the kingis precept, for his laboris dune in translating of Livie, £20.

The literary labours of Ballentyne were still further rewarded by his royal master, with an appointment to the archdeanery of Moray, and the escheated property and rents of two individuals, who became subject to the pains of treason for having used influence with the Pope to obtain the same benefice, against the king's privilege. He subsequently got a vacant prebendaryship in the cathedral of Ross. His translation of Boece was printed in 1536, by Thomas Davidson, and had become in later times almost unique, till a new edition was published in a remarkably elegant style, in 1821, by Messrs Tait, Edinburgh. At the same time appeared the translation of the first two books of Livy, which had never before been printed. The latter work seems to have been carried no further by the translator.

Ballentyne seems to have lived happily in the sunshine of court favour during the remainder of the reign of James V. The opposition which he afterwards presented to the reformation, brought him into such odium, that he retired from his country in disgust, and died at Rome, about the year 1550.

The translations of Ballentyne are characterised by a striking felicity of language, and also by a freedom that shows his profound acquaintance with the learned language upon which he wrought. His Chronicle, which closes with the reign of James I., is rather a paraphrase than a literal translation of Boece, and possesses in several respects the character of an original work. Many of the historical errors of the latter are corrected—not a few of his redundancies retrenched—and his more glaring omissions supplied. Several passages in the work are highly elegant, and some descriptions of particular incidents reach to something nearly akin to the sublime. Many of the works of Ballenden are lost—among others a tract on the Pythagoric letter, and a discourse upon Virtue and Pleasure. He also wrote many political pieces, the most of which are lost. Those which have reached us are principally *Proems* prefixed to his prose works, a species of composition not apt to bring out the better qualities of a poet; yet they exhibit the workings of a rich and luxuriant fancy, and abound in lively sallies of the imagination. They are generally allegorical, and distinguished rather by incidental beauties, than by the skilful structure of the fable. The story, indeed, is often dull, the allusions obscure, and the general scope of the piece unintelligible. These faults, however, are pretty general characteristics of allegorical poets, and they are atoned for, in him, by the striking thoughts and the charming descriptions in which he abounds, and which, "like threds of gold, the rich arras, beautify his works quite thorow."

BALNAVES, Henry, of Halhill, an eminent lay reformer, and also a prose-writer of some eminence, was born of poor parents in the town of Kirkaldy. After an academical course at St Andrews, he travelled to the continent, and, hearing of a free school in Cologne, procured admission to it, and received a liberal education, together with instruction in protestant principles. Returning to his native country, he applied himself to the study of law, and acted for some time as a procurator at St Andrews. In the year 1538, he was appointed by James V. a senator of the college of Justice, a court only instituted five years before. Notwithstanding the jealousy of the clergy, who hated him on account of his religious sentiments, he was employed on important embassies by James V., and subsequently by the governor Arran, during the first part of whose regency he acted as secretary of state. Having at length made an open profession of the Protestant religion, he was, at the instigation of Arran's brother, the Abbot of

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Paisley, dismissed from that situation. He now appears to have entered into the interests of the English party against the governor, and accordingly, with the Earl of Rothes and Lord Gray, was thrown into Blacknes Castle, (November 1543), where he probably remained till relieved next year, on the appearance of the English fleet in the Firth of Forth. There is much reason to believe that this sincere and pious man was privy to the conspiracy formed against the life of Cardinal Beaton; an action certainly not the brightest in the page of Scottish history, but of which it is not too much to say, that it might have been less defensible if its motive had not been an irregular kind of patriotism. Balnaves, though he did not appear among the actual perpetrators of the assassination, soon after joined them in the castle of St Andrews, which they held out against the governor. He was consequently declared a traitor and excommunicated. His principal employment in the service of the conspirators seems to have been that of an ambassador to the English court. In February 1546-7, he obtained from Henry VIII. a subsidy of £1180, besides a quantity of provisions, for his compatriots, and a pension of £135 to himself, which was to run from the 25th of March. On the 15th of this latter month, he had become bound along with his friends, to deliver up Queen Mary, and also the castle of St Andrews into the hands of the English; and, in May, he obtained a further sum of £300. While residing in the castle, he was instrumental, along with Mr John Rough and Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, in prevailing upon John Knox to preach publicly in St Andrews—the first regular ministration in the reformed religion in Scotland.

When the defenders of the castle surrendered in August, Balnaves shared in their fate, along with Knox, and many other eminent persons. He was conveyed to the castle of Rouen in France, and there committed to close confinement. Yet he still found occasional opportunities to communicate with his friend Knox. Having employed himself, during his solitary hours, in composing a Treatise on Justification, he conveyed it to the reformer, who was so much pleased with it, that he divided it into chapters, added some marginal notes and a concise epitome of its contents, and prefixed a commendatory dedication, intending that it should be published in Scotland as soon as opportunity offered. This work fell aside for some years, but, after Knox's death, was discovered in the house of Ormiston by Richard Bannatyne, and was published at Edinburgh, in 1584, under the title of "The Confession of Faith, containing, how the troubled man should seek refuge at his God, thereto led by Faith; &c., Compiled by M. Henrie Balnaves of Halhill, one of the Lords of Session and counsell of Scotland, being as prisoner within the old pallaice of Roane, in the year of our Lord, 1548. Direct to his faithful brethren being in like trouble or more, and to all true professors and favourers of the syncere worde of God." Dr M'Crie has given some extracts from this work in his Life of John Knox. After his return from banishment, Balnaves took a bold and conspicuous part in the contest carried on by the lords of the congregation against the Regent Mary. He was one of the commissioners, who, in February, 1559-60, settled the treaty at Berwick, between the former insurgent body and the Queen of England, in consequence of which the Scottish reformation was finally established, through aid from a country always heretofore the bitterest enemy of Scotland. In 1563, he was re-appointed to the bench, and also nominated as one of the commissioners for revising the Book of Discipline. He acted some years later, along with Buchanan and others, as counsellors to the Earl of Murray, in the celebrated inquiry by English and Scottish commissioners into the alleged guilt of Queen Mary. He died, according to Mackenzie, in 1579.

"In his Treatise upon Justification," says the latter authority, "he affirms that

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the justification spoken of by St James is different from that spoken of by St Paul: For the justification by good works, which St James speaks of, only justifies us before man; but the justification by faith, which St Paul speaks of, justifies us before God: And that all, yea even the best of our good works, are but sins before God."

"And," adds Mackenzie, with true Jacobite sarcasm, "whatever may be in this doctrine of our author's, I think we may grant to him that the most of all his actions which he valued himself upon, and reckoned good works, *were really great and heinous sins before God*, for no good man will justify rebellion and murder."

Without entering into the controversies involved by this proposition, either as to the death of Cardinal Beaton, or the accusations against Queen Mary, we may content ourselves with quoting the opinion entertained of Balnaves by the good and moderate Melville; he was, according to this writer, "a godly, learned, wise, and long experimented counsellor." 'A poem' by Balnaves, entitled, "An advice to headstrong Youth," is selected from Bannatyne's manuscript into the Evergreen.

BANNATYNE, GEORGE, takes his title to a place in this work from a source of fame participated by no other individual within the range of Scottish biography; it is to this person that we are indebted for the preservation of nearly all the productions of the Scottish poets of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Though the services he has thus rendered to his country were in some measure the result of accident, yet it is also evident that, if he had not been a person of eminent literary taste, and also partly a poet himself, we should never have had to celebrate him as a collector of poetry. The compound claim which he has thus established to our notice, and the curious antique picture which is presented to our eye by even the little that is known regarding his character and pursuits, will, it is hoped, amply justify his admission into this gallery of eminent Scotsmen.

George Bannatyne was born in an elevated rank of society. His father, James Bannatyne, of the Kirktown of Newtyle, in the county of Forfar, was a writer in Edinburgh, at a time when that profession must have been one of some distinction and rarity; and he was probably the person alluded to by Robert Semple, in "The Defens of Grissell Sandylands:"—

> "For men of law I wait not quhair to luke:
> James Bannatyne was anis a man of skill."

It also appears that James Bannatyne held the office of TABULAR to the Lords of Session, in which office his eldest son (afterwards a Lord of Council and Session) was conjoined with him as successor, by royal precept dated May 2, 1583. James Bannatyne is further ascertained to have been connected with the very ancient and respectable family of Bannachtyne, or Bannatyne of Camys, [now Kames] in the island of Bute. He was the father, by his wife Katharine Tailliefer, of twenty-three children, nine of whom, who survived at the time of his death, in 1583, were "weill, and sufficiently provydit be him, under God."

George Bannatyne, the seventh child of his parents, was born on the 22nd day of February, 1545, and was bred up to trade.[1] It is, however, quite uncer-

[1] In a memoir of George Pannatyne, by Sir Walter Scott, prefixed to a collection of memorabilia regarding him, which has been printed for the Bannatyne Club, it is supposed that he was not early engaged in business. But this supposition seems only to rest on an uncertain inference from a passage in George Bannatyne's "Memoriall Buik," where it is mentioned that Katharine Tailliefer, at her death in 1570, left behind her eleven children, of whom eight were as yet "unput to proffeit." On a careful inspection of the family notices in this "memoriall buik," it appears as likely that George himself was one of those already "put to proffeit" as otherwise, more especially considering that he was then twenty-five years of age.

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tain at what time he began to be engaged in business on his own account, or whether he spent his youth in business or not. Judging, however, as the world is apt to judge, we should suppose, from his taste for poetry, and his having been a writer of verses himself, that he was at least no zealous applicant to any commercial pursuit. Two poems of his, written before the age of twenty-three, are full of ardent though conceited affection towards some fair mistress, whom he describes in the most extravagantly complimentary terms. It is also to be supposed that, at this age, even though obliged to seek some amusement during a time of necessary seclusion, he could not have found the means to collect, or the taste to execute, such a mass of poetry as that which bears his name, if he had not previously been almost entirely abandoned to this particular pursuit. At the same time, there is some reason to suppose that he was not altogether an idle young man, given up to vain fancies, from the two first lines of his valedictory address at the end of his collection:

> "Heir endis this Buik writtin in tyme of pest,
> Quhen we *fra labor* was compel'd to rest."

Of the transaction on which the whole fame of George Bannatyne rests, we give the following interesting account from the Memoir just quoted:—

"It is seldom that the toils of the amanuensis are in themselves interesting, or that, even while enjoying the advantages of the poor scribe's labour, we are disposed to allow him the merit of more than mere mechanical drudgery. But in the compilation of George Bannatyne's manuscript, there are particulars which rivet our attention on the writer, and raise him from a humble copyist into a national benefactor.

"Bannatyne's Manuscript is in a folio form, containing upwards of eight hundred pages, very neatly and closely written, and designed, as has been supposed, to be sent to the press. The labour of compiling so rich a collection was undertaken by the author during the time of pestilence, in the year 1568, when the dread of infection compelled men to forsake their usual employments, which could not be conducted without admitting the ordinary promiscuous intercourse between man and his kindred men.

"In this dreadful period, when hundreds, finding themselves surrounded by danger and death, renounced all care save that of selfish precaution for their own safety, and all thoughts save apprehensions of infection, George Bannatyne had the courageous energy to form and execute the plan of saving the literature of a whole nation; and, undisturbed by the universal mourning for the dead, and general fears of the living, to devote himself to the task of collecting and recording the triumphs of human genius;—thus, amid the wreck of all that was mortal, employing himself in preserving the lays by which immortality is at once given to others, and obtained for the writer himself. His task, he informs us, had its difficulties; for he complains that he had, even in his time, to contend with the disadvantage of copies old, maimed, and mutilated, and which long before our day must, but for this faithful transcriber, have perished entirely. The very labour of procuring the originals of the works which he transcribed, must have been attended with much trouble and some risk, at a time when all the usual intercourse of life was suspended, and when we can conceive that even so simple a circumstance as the borrowing and lending a book of ballads, was accompanied with some doubt and apprehension, and that probably the suspected volume was subjected to fumigation, and the precautions used in quarantine.[2]

[2] With deference to Sir Walter, we would suggest that the suspicion under which books are always held at a time of pestilence, as a means of conveying the infection, gives great reason to suppose that George Bannatyne had previously collected his original manuscripts, and only took this opportunity of transcribing them. The writing of eight hundred folio

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"In the reign of James IV. and V., the fine arts, as they awakened in other countries, made some progress in Scotland also. Architecture and music were encouraged by both of those accomplished sovereigns; and poetry above all, seems to have been highly valued at the Scottish court. The King of Scotland, who, in point of power, seems to have been little more than the first baron of his kingdom, held a free and merry court, in which poetry and satire seem to have had unlimited range, even where their shafts glanced on royalty itself. The consequence of this general encouragement was the production of much poetry of various kinds, and concerning various persons, which the narrow exertions of the Scottish press could not convey to the public, or which, if printed at all, existed only in limited editions, which soon sunk to the rarity of manuscripts. There was therefore an ample mine out of which Bannatyne made his compilation, with the intention, doubtless, of putting the Lays of the Makers out of the reach of oblivion, by subjecting the collection to the press. But the bloody wars of Queen Mary's time[3] made that no period for literary adventure; and the tendency of the subsequent age to polemical discussion, discouraged lighter and gayer studies. There is, therefore, little doubt, that had Bannatyne lived later than he did, or had he been a man of less taste in selecting his materials, a great proportion of the poetry contained in his volume must have been lost to posterity; and, if the stock of northern literature had been diminished only by the loss of such of Dunbar's pieces as Bannatyne's Manuscript contains, the damage to posterity would have been infinite."

The pestilence which caused Bannatyne to go into retirement, commenced at Edinburgh upon the 8th of September, 1568, being introduced by a merchant of the name of Dalgleish. We have, however, no evidence to prove that Bannatyne resided at this time in the capital. We know, from his own information, that he wrote his manuscript during the subsequent months of October, November, and December; which might almost seem to imply that he had lived in some other town, to which the pestilence only extended at the end of the month in which it appeared in Edinburgh. Leaving this in uncertainty, it is not perhaps too much to suppose that he might have adopted this means of spending his time of seclusion, from the fictitious example held out by Boccacio, who represents the tales of his Decameron as having been told for mutual amusement, by a company of persons who had retired to the country to escape the plague. A person so eminently acquainted with the poetry of his own country, might well be familiar with the kindred work of that illustrious Italian.

The few remaining facts of George Bannatyne's life, which have been gathered up by the industry of Sir Walter Scott, may be briefly related. In 1572, he was provided with a tenement in the town of Leith, by a gift from his father. This would seem to imply that he was henceforward, at least, engaged in business, and resided either in Edinburgh or at its neighbouring port. It was not, however, till the 27th of October, 1587, that, being then in his forty-third year, he was admitted in due and competent form to the privileges of a merchant and guild-brother of the city of Edinburgh. "We have no means of knowing what branch of traffic George Bannatyne chiefly exercised; it is probable that, as usual in a Scottish burgh, his commerce was general and miscellaneous. We

pages in the careful and intricate style of caligraphy then practised, appears a sufficient task in itself for three months, without supposing that any part of the time was spent in collecting manuscripts. And hence we see the greater reason for supposing that a great part of the attention of George Bannatyne before his twenty-third year was devoted to Scottish poetry.

[3] The accomplished writer should rather have said, the minority of James VI., whose reign had commenced before the manuscript was written.

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have reason to know that it was successful, as we find him in a few years possessed of a considerable capital, the time being considered, which he employed to advantage in various money-lending transactions. It must not be forgot that the penal laws of the Catholic period pronounced all direct taking of interest upon money, to be usurious and illegal. These denunciations did not decrease the desire of the wealthy to derive some profit from their capital, or diminish the necessity of the embarrassed land-holder who wished to borrow money. The mutual interest of the parties suggested various evasions of the law, of which the most common was, that the capitalist advanced to his debtor the sum wanted, as the price of a corresponding annuity, payable out of the lands and tenements of the debtor, which annuity was rendered redeemable upon the said debtor repaying the sum advanced. The moneyed man of those days, therefore, imitated the conduct imputed to the Jewish patriarch by Shylock. They did not take

> —— interest—not as you would say
> Directly interest,

but they retained payment of an annuity as long as the debtor retained the use of their capital, which came to much the same thing. A species of transaction was contrived, as affording a convenient mode of securing the lender's money. Our researches have discovered that George Bannatyne had sufficient funds to enter into various transactions of this kind, in the capacity of lender; and, as we have no reason to suppose that he profited unfairly by the necessities of the other party, he cannot be blamed for having recourse to the ordinary expedients, to avoid the penalty of an absurd law, and accomplish a fair transaction, dictated by mutual expediency."

Bannatyne, about the same time that he became a burgess of Edinburgh, appears to have married his spouse, Isobel Mawchan [apparently identical with the modern name *Maughan*], who was the relict of Bailie William Nisbett, and must have been about forty years of age at the time of her second nuptials, supposing 1586 to be the date of that event, which is only probable from the succeeding year having produced her first child by Bannatyne. This child was a daughter, by name Janet, or Jonet; she was born on the 3rd of May, 1587. A son, James, born on the 6th of September, 1589, and who died young, completes the sum of Bannatyne's family. The father of Bannatyne died in the year 1583, and was succeeded in his estate of Newtyle, by his eldest living son, Thomas, who became one of the Lords of Session by that designation, an appointment which forms an additional voucher for the general respectability of the family. George Bannatyne was, on the 27th of August, 1603, deprived of his affectionate helpmate, Isobel Mawchan, at the age of fifty-seven, She had lived, according to her husband's "Memoriall," "a godly, honourable, and virtuous life; was a wise, honest, and true matron, and departed in the Lord, in a peaceful and godly manner."

George Bannatyne himself deceased previous to the year 1608, leaving only one child, Janet, who had, in 1603, been married to George Foulis of Woodhall and Ravelstone, second son of James Foulis of Colingtoun. His valuable collection of Scottish poetry was preserved in his daughter's family till 1712, when his great-grandson, William Foulis of Woodhall, bestowed it upon the Honourable William Carmichael of Skirling, advocate, brother to the Earl of Hyndford, a gentleman who appears to have had an eminent taste for such monuments of antiquity. While in the possession of Mr Carmichael, it was borrowed by Allan Ramsay, who selected from its pages the materials of his popular collection, styled, "The Evergreen." Lord Hailes, in 1770, published a second and more correct selection from the Bannatyne Manuscript; and the venerable tome was

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in 1772, by the liberality of John, third Earl of Hyndford, deposited in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, where it still remains.

We have already alluded to George Bannatyne as a poet; and it remains to be shown in what degree he was entitled to that designation. To tell the truth, his verses display little, in thought or imagery, that could be expected to interest the present generation; neither was he perhaps a versifier of great repute, even in his own time. He seems to have belonged to a class very numerous in private life, who are eminently capable of enjoying poetry, and possess, to appearance, all the sensibilities which are necessary to its production; but, wanting the active or creative power, rarely yield to the temptation of writing verse, without a signal defeat. Such persons, of whom George Bannatyne was certainly one, may be said to have negative, but not positive poetry. As it seems but fair, however, that he who has done so much to bring the poetry of others before the world, should not have his own altogether confined to the solitude of manuscript, or the unobvious print of his own biblio-maniacal society, we subjoin a specimen from one of the very few pieces which have come down to our own time. The verses which follow are the quaint, but characteristic conclusion of a sonnet to his mistress' eyebrow. It is ludicrous to observe theology pressed by the venerable rhymester into the service of love.

"Na thing of rycht I ask, my Lady fair,
Bot of fre will and mercy me to saif;
Your will is your awin, as ressoun wald it ware,
Thairfoir of grace, and nocht of rycht I craif
Of you mercy, as ye wald mercy haif
Off God our Lord, quhois mercyis infeneit
Gois befoire all his workis, we may persaif,
To thame quhois handis with mercy ar repleit.

Now to conclude with wordis compendious;
Wald God my tong wald to my will respond,
And eik my speich was so facuudious,
That I was full of rethore termys jocond!
Than suld my lufe at moir length be exponed,
Than my cunnying can to you heir declair;
For this my style inornetly compond,
Eschangs my pen your eiris to truble mair.

Go to my deir with hummill reverence,
Thou bony bill, both rude and imperfeyte;
Go, nocht will forgit flattery to her presence,
As is of falset the custome use and ryte;
Causs me nocht Ban that evir I the indyte.
Na tyne my travell, turning all in vane;
Bot with ane faithfull hairt, in word and wryte,
Declair my mind and bring me joy agane.

My name quha list to knaw, let him tak tent,
Vnto this littill verse nixt presedent."

It only remains to be mentioned that the name of George Bannatyne has been appropriately adopted by a company of Scottish literary antiquaries, interested, like him, in the preservation of such curious memorials of the taste of past ages, as well as such monuments of history, as might otherwise run the hazard of total perdition.

BARBOUR, John, a name of which Scotland has just occasion to be proud, was Archdeacon of Aberdeen in the later part of the fourteenth century. There

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has been much idle controversy as to the date of his birth; while all that is known with historic certainty, may be related in a single sentence. As he was an archdeacon in 1357, and as, by the canon law, no man, without a dispensation, can attain that rank under the age of twenty-five, he was probably born before the year 1332. There is considerable probability that he was above the age of twenty-five in 1357, for not only is that date not mentioned as the year of his *attaining* the rank of archdeacon, but in the same year he is found exercising a very important political trust, which we can scarcely suppose to have been confided to a man of slender age, or scanty experience. This was the duty of a commissioner from the Bishop of Aberdeen, to meet with other commissioners at Edinburgh, concerning the ransom of David II., who was then a prisoner in England.

As to the parentage or birth-place of Barbour, we have only similar conjectures. Besides the probability of his having been a native of the district in which he afterwards obtained high clerical rank, it can be shown that there were individuals of his name, in and about the town of Aberdeen, who might have been his father. Thus, in 1309, Robert Bruce granted a charter to *Robert Barbour*, "of the lands of Craigie, within the shirefdom of Forfar, quhilk sumtyme were Joannis de Baliolo." There is also mention, in the Index of Charters, of a tenement in the Castle-street of Aberdeen, which, at a period remotely antecedent to 1360, belonged to *Andrew Barbour*. The name, which appears to have been one of that numerous class derived from trades, is also found in persons of the same era, who were connected with the southern parts of Scotland.

In attempting the biography of an individual who lived four or five centuries ago, and whose life was commemorated by no contemporary, all that can be expected is a few unconnected, and perhaps not very interesting facts. It is already established that Barbour, in 1357, was Archdeacon of the cathedral of Aberdeen, and fulfilled a high trust imposed upon him by his bishop. It is equally ascertained that, in the same year, he travelled, with three scholars in his company, to Oxford, for purposes connected with study. A safe-conduct granted to him by Edward III., August 23d, at the request of David II., conveys this information in the following terms: "Veniendo, cum tribus scholaribus in comitiva sua, in regnum nostrum Angliæ, causa studendi in universitate Oxoniæ et ibidem actus scholasticos exercendo, morando, exinde in Scotiam ad propria redeundo." It might have been supposed that Barbour only officiated in this expedition as tutor to the three scholars; but that he was himself bent on study at the university, is proved by a second safe-conduct, granted by the same monarch, November 6th, 1364, in the following terms: "To Master John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, with four knights (*equites*), coming from Scotland, by land or sea, into England, to study at Oxford, or elsewhere, as *he* may think proper." As also from a third, bearing date Novembor 30th, 1368, "To Master John Barbour, with two valets and two horses, to come into England, and travel through the same, to the other dominions of the king, versus Franciam, *causa studiendi*, and of returning again." It would thus appear that Barbour, even after that he had attained a high ecclesiastical dignity, found it agreeable or necessary to spend several winters at Oxford in study. When we recollect that at this time there was no university in Scotland, and that a man of such literary habits as Barbour could not fail to find himself at a loss even for the use of a library in his native country, we are not to wonder at his occasional pilgrimages to the illustrious shrine of learning on the banks of the Isis. On the 16th of October, 1635, he received another safe-conduct from Edward III., permitting him "to come into England and travel throughout that kingdom, cum sex sociis suis equitibus, usque Sanctum Dionisium;" *i. e.* with six knights

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in company, to St Denis in France. Such slight notices suggest curious and interesting views of the manners of that early time. We are to understand from them, that Barbour always travelled in a very dignified manner, being sometimes attended by four knights and sometimes by no fewer than six, or at least, by two mounted servants. A man accustomed to such state might be the better able to compose a chivalrous epic like "the Bruce."

There is no other authentic document regarding Barbour till the year 1373, when his name appears in the list of Auditors of Exchequer for that year, being then described as "Clericus Probationis domus domini nostri Regis;" *i. e.* apparently—Auditor of the comptroller's accounts for the royal household. This, however, is too obscure and solitary an authority to enable us to conclude that he bore an office under the king. Hume of Godscroft, speaking of "the Bruce's book," says: "As I am informed, the book was penned by a man of good knowledge and learning, named Master John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeene, for which work he had a yearly pension out of the exchequer during his life, which he gave to the hospitall of that towne, and to which it is allowed and paid still in our dayes."[1] This fact, that a pension was given him for writing his book, is authenticated by an unquestionable document. In the Rotuli Ballivorum Burgi de Aberdonia for 1471, the entry of the discharge for this royal donation bears that it was expressly given "for the compilation of the book of the Deeds of King Robert the First," referring to a prior statement of this circumstance in the more ancient rolls:—"Et Decano et Capitulo Abirdonensi percipienti annuatim viginti solidos pro anniversario quondam Magistri Johannis Barberi, pro compilatione libri gestorum Regis Roberti primi, ut patet in antiquis Rotulis de anno Compoti, xx. s." The first notice we have of Barbour receiving a pension is dated February 18th, 1390; and although this period was only about two months before the death of Robert the Second, it appears from the rolls that to that monarch the poet was indebted for the favour. In the roll for April 26th, 1398, this language occurs:—"Quam recolendie memorie quondam dominus Robertus secundus, rex Scottorum, dedit, concessit, et carta sua confirmavit quondam Johanni Barbere archediacono Aberdonensi," &c.—In the roll dated June 2d, 1424, the words are these:—"Decano et capitulo ecclesiæ cathedralis Aberdonensis percipientibus annuatim viginti solidos de firmis dicti burgi pro anniversario quondam magistri Johannis Barbar pro compilacione libri de gestis Regis Roberti Brwise, ex concessione regis Roberti secundi, in plenam solucionem dicte pensionis," &c. Barbour's pension consisted of £10 Scots from the customs of Aberdeen, and of 20 shillings from the rents or burrow-mails of the same city. The first sum was limited to "the life of Barbour;" the other to "his assignees whomsoever, although he should have assigned it in the way of mortification." Hume of Godscroft and others are in a mistake in supposing that he appropriated this sum to an hospital (for it appears from the accounts of the great chamberlain that he left it to the chapter of the cathedral church of Aberdeen, for the express purpose of having mass said for his soul annually after his decease: "That the dean and canons of Aberdeen, for the time being, also the chapter and other ministers officiating at the same time in the said church, shall annually for ever solemnly celebrate once in the year an anniversary for the soul of the said umquhile John." Barbour's anniversary, it is supposed continued till the reformation; and then the sum allowed for it reverted to the crown.

All that is further known of Barbour is, that he died towards the close of 1395. This appears from the Chartulary of Aberdeen, and it is the last year in which the payment of his pension of £10 stands on the record.

[1] History of the Douglasses.

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"The Bruce," which Barbour himself informs us he wrote in the year 1375, is a metrical history of Robert the First—his exertions and achievements for the recovery of the independence of Scotland, and the principal transactions of his reign. As Barbour flourished in the age immediately following that of his hero, he must have enjoyed the advantage of hearing from eye-witnesses narratives of the war of liberty. As a history, his work is of good authority; he himself boasts of its *soothfastness;* and the simple and straight-forward way in which the story is told goes to indicate its general veracity. Although, however, the object of the author was mainly to give a *soothfast* history of the life and transactions of Robert the Bruce, the work is far from being destitute of poetical feeling or rhythmical sweetness and harmony. The lofty sentiments and vivid descriptions with which it abounds, prove the author to have been fitted by feeling and by principle, as well as by situation, for the task which he undertook. His genius has lent truth all the charms that are usually supposed to belong to fiction. The horrors of war are softened by strokes of tenderness that make us equally in love with the hero and the poet. In battle painting, Barbour is eminent: the battle of Bannockburn is described with a minuteness, spirit, and fervency, worthy of the day. The following is a part of the description of that noble engagement, and presents a striking picture of a mortal combat before the introduction of gunpowder made warfare less a matter of brute force.

—— with wapynys stalwart of stele
They dang upon, with all thair mycht.
Their fayis resawyt wele, lk hycht,
With swerdis, speris, and with mase
The battaill thair sa feloun was,
And swa rycht spilling of blud,
That on the erd the sloussis stud.
The Scottsmen sa weill thaim bar,
And swa gret slauchter maid thai thar,
And fra sa fele the lyvis rewyt,
That all the feld bludy was lewyt.
That tyme thir thre bataills wer,
All syd be syd, fechtand weill ner,
Thar mycht men her mony dint,
And wapynys apon armurs stynt,
And se tumble knychts and steds,
And mony rych and reale weds.
Defoullyt foully undre fete,
Sum held on loft; sum tynt the smet.
A lang quhill thus fechtand thai war;
That men na noyis mycht her thair;
Men hard noucht, but granys, and dynts
That flew fyr, as men flayis on flynts.
Thai faucht ilkane sa egrely,
That thai maid na noyis na cry,
But dang on othyr at thair mycht,
With wapnys that war burnyst brycht

* * *

Whar mycht men se men felly fycht,
And men, that worthy war and wychtt
Do mony worthy wassellage.
Whai faucht as thai war in a rage.
For quhen the Scotts archery
Saw thair fayis sa sturdely

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Stand into bataill them agayne;
With all thair mycht, and all thair mayne,
Thai layid on, as men out off wyt.
And quhar thai, with full strak, mycht hyt,
Thar mycht na armur stynt thair strak.
Thai to fruchyt that thai mycht ourtak.
And with axys such dusches gave,
That thai helmys, and heds, clave.
And thair fayis rycht bardely
Met thaim, and dung on them douchtely,
With wapyngs that war styth off stele.
Thar wes the bataill strekyt weill.
Sa gret dyn that wes off dynts,
As wapyngs apon armur stynts;
And off spers sa gret bresting;
And sic thrang, and sic thrysting;
Sic gyrning, granyng; and sa gret
A noyis, as thai gan othyr beit:
And ensenyeys on ilka sid:
Gewand, and takand, wounds wid;
That it wes hidwyss for to her.—*Book* xiii. *l.* 14 & 138.

The apostrophe to Freedom, after the painful description of the slavery to which Scotland was reduced by Edward, is in a style of poetical feeling very uncommon in that and many subsequent ages, and has been quoted with high praise by the most distinguished Scottish historians and critics:—

A! fredome is a nobill thing!
Fredome mayse man to haiff liking!
Fredome all solace to man giffis:
He levys at ese that frely levys!
A noble hart may haiff nane ese,
Na ellys nocht that may him plese,
Gyff fredome failythe: for fre liking
Is yearnyt our all othir thing
Na he, that ay hase levyt fre,
May nocht knaw weill the propyrte,
The angyr, na the wrechyt dome,
That is cowplyt to foule thyridome.
Bot gyff he had assayit it,
Than all perquer he suld it wyt;
And suld think fredome mar to pryse
Than all the gold in warld that is.[1]—*Book* i. *l.* 225.

[1] Some readers may perhaps arrive at the sense of this fine passage more readily through the medium of the following paraphrase:—

Ah, Freedom is a noble thing,
And can to life a relish bring.
Freedom all solace to man gives;
He lives at ease that freely lives.
A noble heart may have no ease,
Nor aught beside that may it please,
If freedom fail—for 'tis the choice,
More than the chosen, man enjoys.
Ah, he that ne'er yet lived in thrall,
Knows not the weary pains which gall
The limbs, the soul, of him who 'plains
In slavery's foul and festering chains!
If these he knew, I ween right soon
He would seek back the precious boon
Of freedom, which he then would prize
More than all wealth beneath the skies.

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"Barbour," says an eminent critic in Scottish poetical literature, "was evidently skilled in such branches of knowledge as were then cultivated, and his learning was so well regulated as to conduce to the real improvement of his mind: the liberality of his views, and the humanity of his sentiments, appear occasionally to have been unconfined by the narrow boundaries of his own age. He has drawn various illustrations from ancient history, and from the stories of romance, but has rarely displayed his erudition by decking his verses with the names of ancient authors: the distichs of Cato,[2] and the spurious productions of Dares Phrygius, and Dictys Cretensis, are the only profane books to which he formally refers. He has borrowed more than one illustration from Statius, who was the favourite classic of those times, and who likewise appears to have been the favourite of Barbour: the more chaste and elegant style of Virgil and Horace were not so well adapted to the prevalent taste as the strained thoughts and gorgeous diction of Statius and Claudian. The manner in which he has incidentally discussed the subject of astrology and necromancy, may be specified as not a little creditable to his good sense. It is well known that these branches of divination were assiduously cultivated during the ages of intellectual darkness. The absurdity of astrology and necromancy he has not openly attempted to expose; for as the opinions of the many, however unfounded in reason, must not be too rashly stigmatized, this might have been too bold and decided a step. Of the possibility of predicting events he speaks with the caution of a philosopher; but the following passage may be considered as a sufficient indication of his deliberate sentiments:

> And sen thai ar in sic wenyng,
> For owtyne certante off witting,
> Me think quha sayis he knawis thingis
> To cum, he makys great gabingis.

To form such an estimate, required a mind capable of resisting a strong torrent of prejudice; nor is it superfluous to remark, that in an age of much higher refinement, Dryden suffered himself to be deluded by the prognostications of judicial astrology. It was not, however, to be expected that Barbour should on every occasion evince a decided superiority to the general spirit of the age to which he belonged. His terrible imprecation on the person who betrayed Sir Christopher Seton, "In hell condampnyt mot he be!" ought not to have been uttered by a Christian priest. His detestation of the treacherous and cruel King Edward, induced him to lend a credulous ear to the report of his consulting an infernal spirit. The misfortunes which attended Bruce at almost every step of his early progress, he attributes to his sacrilegious act of slaying Comyn at the high altar. He supposes that the women and children who assisted in supplying the brave defenders of Berwick with arrows and stones, were protected from injury by a miraculous interposition. Such instances of superstition or uncharitable zeal are not to be viewed as marking the individual: gross superstition, with its usual concomitants, was the general spirit of the time; and the deviations from the ordinary track are to be traced in examples of liberal feeling or enlightened judgment."[3]

One further quotation from the Scottish contemporary and rival of Chaucer may perhaps be admitted by the reader. As the former refer, one to a lofty incident, the other to a beautiful sentiment, the following is one of the slight and minute stories with which the poet fills up his narrative:—

[2] And Catone sayis us in his wryt
To fenyhe foly quhile is wyt.—*The Bruce*, 4to, *p*, 13.

[3] Article Barbour, written by Dr Irving, in Encyclopedia Britannica, 7th edition.

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The king has hard a woman cry;
He askyt quhat that wes in hy.
" It is the layndar, Schyr," said ane,
" That her child-ill rycht now has tane,
" And mon leve now behind ws her;
" Tharfor scho makys yone iwill cher."
The king said, " Certis it war pite
" That scho in that poynt left suld be;
" For certis I trow thar is na man
" That be ne will rew a woman than."
Hiss ost all thar arestyt he,
And gert a tent sone stentit be,
And gert hyr gang in hastily,
And othyr wemen to be hyr by,
Quhill scho wes delier, he bad,
And syne furth on his wayis raid:
And how scho furth suld cary it be,
Or eulr he furth fur, ordanyt he.
This wes a full gret curtasy,
That swilk a king, and sa mighty,
Gert his men duell on this maner
Bot for a pouir lauender.

No one can fail to remark that, while the incident is in the highest degree honourable to Bruce, showing that the gentle heart may still be known by gentle deed, so also is Barbour entitled to the credit of humane feelings, from the way in which he had detailed and commented upon the transaction.

Barbour was the author of another considerable work, which has unfortunately perished. This was a chronicle of Scottish history, probably in the manner of that by Andrew Winton.

BARCLAY, Alexander, a distinguished writer of the English tongue at the beginning of the sixteenth century, is known to have been a native of Scotland only by very obscure evidence. He spent some of his earliest years at Croydon, in Surrey, and it is conjectured that he received his education at one of the English Universities. In the year 1508, he was a prebendary of the collegiate church of St Mary, at Ottery, in Devonshire. He was afterwards a Monk, first of the order of St Benedict at Ely, and latterly of the order of St Francis at Canterbury. While in this situation, and having the degree of Doctor of Divinity, he published an English translation of the "Mirrour of Good Manners," (a treatise compiled in Latin by Dominyke Mancyn,) for the use of the "juvent of England." After the Reformation, Barclay accepted a ministerial charge under the new religion, as vicar of Much-Badew in Essex. In 1546, he was vicar of Wokey in Somersetshire, and in 1552 he was presented by the Dean and Chapter of London to the rectory of Allhallows in Lombard Street. Having reached an advanced age, he died in June this year, at Croydon in Surrey, where he was buried.

Barclay published a great number of books, original and translated, and is allowed by the most intelligent enquirers into early English literature to have done more for the improvement of the language than any of his contemporaries. His chief poetical work is "The Ship of Forles," which was written in imitation of a Dutch work entitled, "*Das Narren Schiff*," published in 1494. "The Ship of Fooles," which was first printed in 1509, describes a vessel laden with all sorts of absurd persons, though there seems to have been no end in view but to bring them into one place, so that they might be described, as the beasts were brought before Adam in order to be named. We shall transcribe one passage

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from this work, as a specimen of the English style of Barclay: it is curious, a contemporary character of King James IV. of Scotland.

And, ye Christen princes, whosoever ye be,
If ye be destitute of a noble captayne,
Take James of Scotland for his audacitie
And proved manhode, if ye will laude attaine:
Let him have the forwarde: have ye no disdayne
Nor indignation; for never king was borne
That of ought of waure can shaw the uncorne.

For if that once he take the speare in hand
Agaynst these Turkes strongly with it to ride,
None shall be able his stroke for to withstande
Nor before his face so hardy to abide.
Yet this his manhode increaseth not his pride;
But ever sheweth meeknes and humilitie,
In worde or dede to hye and lowe degree.

Barclay also made a translation of Sallust's History of the Jugurthine war, which was published in 1557, five years after his death, and is one of the earliest specimens of English translation from the classics.

BARCLAY, JOHN, A.M. was the founder of a religious sect in Scotland, generally named Bereans, but sometimes called from the name of this individual, Barclayans. The former title derived its origin from the habit of Mr Barclay, in always making an appeal to the Scriptures, in vindication of any doctrine he advanced from the pulpit, or which was contained in his writings. The perfection of the Scriptures, or of the Book of divine revelation, was the fundamental article of his system; at least this was what he himself publicly declared upon all occasions, and the same sentiments are still entertained by his followers. In the Acts of the Apostles, xvii. 10. the Bereans are thus mentioned, "These were more noble than those in Thessalonica, in that they received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the Scriptures daily, whether those things were so." These words were frequently quoted by Mr Barclay. It ought to be observed, however, that originally it was not a name of reproach invented by the malevolent part of the public, with the design of holding up Mr Barclay and his associates to contempt, but was voluntarily assumed by them, to distinguish them from other sects of professed Christians.

Mr Barclay was born in 1734. His father, Mr Ludovic Barclay, was a farmer in the parish of Muthill, in the county of Perth. Being at an early age designed by his parents for the church, he was sent to school, and received the best education which that part of the country could afford. The name of his master is now forgotten, but if we are to judge from the eminent proficiency of the pupil, we must infer, that he was a good scholar and an excellent teacher, and was well aware of the absolute necessity and advantages of being well grounded in the elements of classical learning. Respectable farmers, such as Mr Barclay's father, had a laudable ambition in affording to their sons an opportunity of being instructed in the learned languages, and to do the parish schoolmasters justice, many of them were eminently qualified for performing the task which they had undertaken.

Young Barclay was sent by his father to St Andrews, and was enrolled as a student in that University; where he regularly attended the literary and philosophical classes, and having submitted to the usual examinations, he took the degree of A.M. At the commencement of the subsequent session, he entered the New Divinity, or St Mary's College, a seminary in which theology alone is taught. Nothing very particular occurred during his attendance at the Hall, as it is generally

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called. He was uniformly regular in his private conduct, and though constitutionally of very impetuous passions, and a fervid imagination, at no time of his life was he ever seduced into the practice of what was immoral or vicious. The Christian principles, with which he seems to have been impressed very early in life, afforded him sufficient protection against the allurements or snares to which he was exposed. He prosecuted his studies with the most unremitted industry, and with great care prepared the discourses prescribed by the professor, and publicly delivered in the Hall.

While he attended the lectures on divinity, the University of St Andrews, and indeed the Church of Scotland in general, were placed in a very unpleasant situation, by the agitation of a question which originated with Dr Archibald Campbell, professor of Church History in St Mary's College. He maintained "that the knowledge of the existence of God was derived from Revelation, not from Nature." This was long reckoned one of the errors of Socinus, and no one in Scotland, before Dr Campbell's time, had ever disputed the opinion that was generally current, and consequently esteemed orthodox. It was well known that the Doctor was not a Socinian, and did not favour any of the other dogmas of that sect. The constitutional tendency of his mind was metaphysical, and he certainly had an original fund of acute remark, which enabled him to perceive on what point his opponents were most vulnerable, and where they laid themselves open to attack. He published his sentiments without the least reserve, and was equally ready to enter upon a vindication of them. He considered his view of the subject as a foundation necessary to be laid in order to demonstrate the necessity of revelation. A whole host of opponents volunteered their services to strangle in the birth such dangerous sentiments. Innumerable pamphlets rapidly made their appearance, and the hue and cry was so loud, and certain persons so clamorous, that the ecclesiastical courts thought that they could no longer remain silent. Dr Campbell was publicly prosecuted on account of his heretical opinions, but after long litigation the matter was compromised, and the only effect it produced was, that the students at St Andrews in general became more zealous defenders of the Doctor's system, though they durst not avow it so openly. Among others, Mr Barclay with his accustomed zeal, and with all the energies of his juvenile but ardent mind, had warmly espoused Dr Campbell's system. Long before he left College he was noted as one of his most open and avowed partizans. These principles he never deserted, and in his view of Christianity it formed an important part of the system of revealed truth. It must not be imagined, however, that Mr Barclay slavishly followed, or adopted all Dr Campbell's sentiments. Though they were both agreed that a knowledge of the true God was derived from revelation and not from nature, yet they differed upon almost every other point of systematic divinity. Mr Barclay was early, and continued through life to be a high predestinarian, or what is technically denominated a supralapsarian, while Dr Campbell, if one may draw an inference from some of his illustrations, leaned to Arminianism, and doubtless was not a decided Calvinist.

Mr Barclay having delivered the prescribed discourses with the approbation of the professor of Divinity, he now directed his views to obtain license as a preacher in the establishment, and took the requisite steps. Having delivered the usual series of exercises with the entire approbation of his judges, he was, on the 27th September, 1759, licensed by the presbytery of Auchterarder as a preacher of the gospel. He was not long without employment. Mr Jobson, then minister of Errol, near Perth, was advanced in years, in an infirm state of health, and required an assistant. Mr Barclay, from his popularity as a preacher, and the reputation he enjoyed through a great part of Perthshire, as well as of Angus and

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Mearns, easily obtained this situation. Here he remained for three or four years, until a rupture with his principal obliged him to leave it. Mr Jobson was what may be called, of the old school. He was drenched (as a great many clergymen of the Church of Scotland in those days were) in the system of the Marrow of Modern Divinity, a book written by Edward Fisher, an English dissenter, about the middle of the seventeenth century. This work had a vast circulation throughout Scotland. The celebrated Mr Thomas Boston of Ettrick, when visiting his parish ministerially, casually found it in the house of one of his parishioners. He carried it home, was a warm admirer of the system of divinity it contained, and was at the labour of writing notes upon it. Boston's name secured its success among a numerous class of readers. For many years this book occasioned a most serious commotion in the Church of Scotland, which is generally called, "The Marrow Controversy." It was, indeed, the remote cause of that great division, which has since been styled the *Secession*.

But there was another cause for the widening of this unfortunate breach. The well known Mr John Glass, minister of Tealing, near Dundee, had published in 1727, a work entitled, "The Testimony of the King of Martyrs." With the exception of the Cameronians, this gentleman was the first dissenter from the Church of Scotland since the Revolution, and it is worthy of remark that the founders of the principal sects were all originally cast out of the church. Mr Glass was an admirer of the writings of the most celebrated English Independents, (of Dr John Owen in particular) and of their form of church government. Mr Barclay, who was no independent, heartily approved of many of his sentiments respecting the doctrines of the Gospel, and as decidedly disapproved of others, as shall be mentioned in the sequel. At no time were disputes carried on with greater violence between Christians of different denominations. Mr Barclay had a system of his own, and agreed with none of the parties; but this, if possible, rendered him more obnoxious to Mr Jobson. Much altercation took place between them in private. Mr Barclay publicly declared his sentiments from the pulpit, Mr Jobson did the same in defence of himself, so that a rupture became unavoidable.

About the time of his leaving Errol, Mr Anthony Dow, the clergyman of the parish of Fettercairn, in the presbytery of Fordoun, found himself unfit for the full discharge of his duties. He desired his son, the Rev. David Dow, then minister of the parish of Dron, in the presbytery of Perth, to use his endeavour to procure him an assistant. Mr Dow, who, we believe, was a fellow student with Mr Barclay at St Andrews, was perfectly well acquainted with his talents and character, and the cause of his leaving Errol, immediately made offer to him of being assistant to his father. This he accepted, and he commenced his labours in the beginning of June, 1763. What were Mr Anthony Dow's peculiar theological sentiments we do not know, but those of Mr David Dow were not very different from Mr Barclay's. Here he remained for nine years, which he often declared to have been the most happy, and considered to have been the most useful period of his life.

Mr Barclay was of a fair, and in his youth, of a very florid complexion. He then looked younger than he really was. The people of Fettercairn were at first greatly prejudiced against him on account of his youthful appearance. But this was soon forgotten. His fervid manner, in prayer especially, and at different parts of almost every sermon, rivetted the attention, and impressed the minds of his audience to such a degree, that it was almost impossible to lose the memory of it. His popularity as a preacher became so great at Fettercairn, that hardly any thing of the like kind is to be met with in the history of the Church of Scotland. The parish church being an old fashioned building, had rafters

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across; these were crowded with hearers;—the sashes of the windows were taken out to accommodate the multitude who could not gain admittance. During the whole period of his settlement at Fettercairn, he had regular hearers who flocked to him from ten or twelve of the neighbouring parishes. If an opinion could be formed of what his manner had been in his youth, and at his prime, from what it was a year or two before he died, it must have been vehement, passionate, and impetuous to an uncommon degree. At the time to which we allude, we heard him deliver in his own chapel at Edinburgh, a prayer immediately after the sermon, in which he had alluded to some of the corruptions of the Church of Rome; the impression it made upon our mind was of the most vivid nature; and, we are persuaded, was alike in every other member of the congregation. The following sentence we distinctly remember, "We pray, we plead, we cry, O Lord, that thou wouldst dash out of the hand of Antichrist, that cup of abominations, wherewith she hath poisoned the nations, and give unto her, and unto them, the cup of salvation, by drinking whereof they may inherit everlasting life." But the words themselves are nothing unless they were pronounced with his own tone and manner.

During his residence at Fettercairn he did not confine his labours to his public ministrations in the pulpit, but visited from house to house, was the friend and adviser of all who were at the head of a family, and entered warmly into whatever regarded their interests. He showed the most marked attention to children and to youth—and when any of the household were seized with sickness or disease, he spared no pains in giving tokens of his sympathy and tenderness, and administered consolation to the afflicted. He was very assiduous in discharging those necessary and important duties, which he thought were peculiarly incumbent upon a country clergyman. Such long continued and uninterrupted exertions were accompanied with the most happy effects. A taste for religious knowledge, or what is the same, the reading and study of the Bible, began to prevail to a great extent; the morals of the people were improved, and vice and profaneness, as ashamed, were made to hide their heads. Temperance, sobriety, and regularity of behaviour, sensibly discovered themselves throughout all ranks.

Mr Barclay had a most luxuriant fancy, a great taste for poetry, and possessed considerable facility of versification. His taste, however, was far from being correct or chaste, and his imagination was little under the management of a sound judgment. Many of his pieces are exceedingly desultory in their nature, but occasionally discover scintillations of genius. The truth probably is, that he corrected, or bestowed little pains on any of his productions, either in prose or verse. From the ardour of his mind, they were generally the result of a single effort. At least this appears particularly the case in his shorter poems. He does not seem to have perceived or known that good writing, whether in prose or verse, is an art, and not to be acquired without much labour and practice, as well as a long and repeated revisal of what may have been written. Mr Barclay's compositions in both styles, with two or three exceptions, appear to have merely been thrown forth upon the spur of the moment. As soon as written, they were deposited among his manuscripts, and, instead of being attentively examined by him, and with a critical eye, were shortly after submitted to the public. Besides his works in prose, he published a great many thousand verses on religious subjects.

He had composed a Paraphrase of the whole book of Psalms, part of which was published in 1766. To this was prefixed, "A Dissertation on the best means of interpreting that portion of the canon of Scripture." His views upon this subject were peculiar. He was of opinion that, in all the Psalms which are

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in the first person, the speaker is Christ, and not David nor any other mere man, and that the other Psalms describe the situation of the Church of God, sometimes in prosperity, sometimes in adversity, and finally triumphing over all its enemies. This essay is characterized by uncommon vigour of expression, yet in some places with considerable acrimony. The presbytery of Fordoun took great offence at this publication, and summoned Mr Barclay to appear at their bar. He did so, and defended himself with spirit and intrepidity. His opinions were not contrary to any doctrine contained in the Confession of Faith, so that he could not even be censured by them. The truth was, that they had taken great offence at the popularity of Mr Barclay as a preacher, and it was only in this way that they could avenge his superiority over themselves. Being disappointed in establishing heresy, their rancour became more violent, and they determined to give him as much annoyance as they possibly could. Even the names of the members of the presbytery of Fordoun are now forgotten. None of them were distinguished for remarkable talents of any kind, and they have long lain mute and inglorious. But at this time they possessed an authority, which they resolved to exercise to the utmost stretch. Having engaged in the invidious and ignoble employment of heresy hunting, they seem to have been aware, that it was necessary to proceed with caution. The presbytery have the charge of the spiritual concerns of all the individuals within its bounds. They have a right to inspect the orthodoxy of the doctrine taught, as well as the moral conduct of clergymen and laymen. It is their especial business to examine narrowly into the behaviour of the former class. Having pounced upon Mr Barclay, they made the most they could of his supposed offence, which at the worst, was only a venial error.

Mr Barclay, who being naturally of a frank, open, and ingenuous disposition, had no idea of concealing his opinions, not only continued to preach the same doctrines which were esteemed heretical by the presbytery, but published them in a small work, entitled, "Rejoice evermore, or Christ All in All." This obstinacy, as they considered it, irritated them to a very high degree. They drew up a warning against the dangerous doctrines that he preached, and ordered it to be read publicly in the church of Fettercairn after sermon, and before pronouncing the blessing, by one of their own members, expressly appointed for that purpose on a specified day, which was accordingly done. This attempt to ruin Mr Barclay's character and usefulness, and deprive him of the means of obtaining daily bread, contained an enumeration of his supposed errors, which they were cautioned to avoid, and strictly enjoined not to receive. Mr Barclay viewed their conduct with indifference mingled with contempt. At a former meeting of presbytery, the points of difference had been argued in public at great length, and he is generally allowed to have come off victorious. He was, it is confessed, too keen in his temper to listen, with sedate composure, to the arguments of an opponent, when engaged in a private debate. But his talents for controversy were of a superior order. He had a clear understanding, a tenacious memory, and a ready elocution; and at no time of his life did he decline an argument. No effect of any kind resulted from the warning to the people of Fettercairn, who were unanimous in their approbation of Mr Barclay's doctrine. He continued during Mr Dow's life-time to instruct the people of his parish, and conducted his weekly examinations to the great profit of those who gave attendance.

In 1769, he published one of the largest of his treatises, entitled, "Without Faith without God, or an appeal to God concerning his own existence." This was a defence of similar sentiments respecting the evidence in favour of the existence of God, which were entertained by Dr Campbell already mentioned. The

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illustrations are entirely Calvinistical. This essay is not very methodical. It contains, however, a great many acute observations, and sarcastic remarks upon the systems of those who have adopted the generally current notions respecting natural religion. The author repeatedly and solemnly declares, that he attacks doctrines and not men—that he has no quarrel with any man, nor means to hurt any one. The metaphysical arguments in favour of his side of the question, as well as what may not improperly be called the historical proofs, he has left to others, esteeming such kind of evidence as of small value in regard to settling the point at issue. His object is to prove from the Scriptures, that the knowledge of God comes not by nature, innate ideas, intuition, reason, &c. but only by Revelation. But we must refer to the treatise itself, it being impossible in this place to give even an abridgment of his reasoning. It may be observed, however, that he exposes in the most unreserved language, and denies, that the merely holding that there is a first, original, unoriginated cause of all things, &c. is the same with the knowledge of God, whose character and works are revealed in Scripture.

In the course of the same year, 1769, he addressed a letter on the "Eternal Generation of the Son of God," to Messrs Smith and Ferrier. These two gentlemen had been clergymen in the church of Scotland. They published their reasons of separation from the established church. They had adopted all the sentiments of Mr Glass, who was a most strict independent, and both of them died in the Glassite communion. The late Dr Dalgliesh of Peebles had, about the time of their leaving the church, published a new theory respecting the sonship of Christ, and what is not a little singular, it had the merit of originality, and had never before occurred to any theologian. He held the tri-personality of Deity, but denied the eternal Sonship of the second person of the Godhead, and was of opinion that this *filiation* only took place when the divine nature was united to the human, in the person of Christ, Immanuel, God with us. Novel as this doctrine was, all the Scottish Independents, with a very few exceptions, embraced it. The difference between Dalgliesh and the Arians consists in this, that the second person of the Trinity, according to him, is God, equal with the Father, whilst the latter maintain in a certain sense his supreme exaltation, yet they consider him as subordinate to the Father. Mr Barclay's letter states very clearly the Scriptural arguments usually adduced in favour of the Eternal generation of the Son of God. It is written with great moderation, and in an excellent spirit.

In 1771, he published a letter, "On the Assurance of Faith," addressed to a gentleman who was a member of Mr Cudworth's congregation in London. Cudworth was the person who made a distinguished figure in defending the celebrated Mr Hervey against the acrimonious attack of Mr Robert Sandeman, who was a Glassite. Excepting in some peculiar forms of expression, Cudworth's views of the assurance of faith did not materially differ from Mr Barclay's. There appeared also in the same year, "A Letter on Prayer," addressed to an Independent congregation in Scotland.

The Rev. Anthony Dow, minister of Fettercairn, died in 1772. The presbytery of Fordoun seized this opportunity of gratifying their spleen; they prohibited Mr Barclay from preaching in the kirk of Fettercairn, and used all their influence to prevent him from being employed, not only within their bounds, which lies in what is called the Mearns, but they studied to defame him in all quarters. The clergy of the neighbouring district, that is, in Angus, were much more friendly. They were ready to admit him into their pulpits, and he generally preached every Lord's day, during the subsequent autumn, winter, and spring. Multitudes from all parts of the country crowded to hear him.

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The law of patronage was not then acted upon in the church courts with the same firmness and decision by which they have been distinguished for the last fifty years. Parishes often opposed the introduction of presentees to their livings, and thus, as far as they could, set the law of the land at defiance. This gave occasion to the most painful and unavailing litigations. The question is now set at rest. If an unpopular clergyman be inducted to any living in the Church of Scotland, the people have for many years been convinced of the folly of opposing it. The only effect it produces is, that in populous parishes a meeting house is erected, and the dissatisfied are admitted with open arms into communion with some one of the great bodies of dissenters.

The patronage of Fettercairn is in the gift of the crown. Government, however, are generally disposed to consult the inclinations of the heritors. The parish almost unanimously favoured Mr Barclay. A call was made out, signed by the inhabitants, and presented to the heritors, to use their influence with the crown. Meanwhile, the presbytery of Fordoun did not relax their endeavours to prevent the parishioners from being gratified. They declared, that they would not consent to Mr Barclay being settled among them, and had by this means gained over the heritors. The latter appear to have been desirous, at the first stage of the business, to conciliate the people if possible. They called a meeting of the parishioners to be held on a week day, and proposed to give them a trial of six young men as candidates, but Mr Barclay was not to be one of the number. The people would listen to no such proposal; their minds being made up, they wished for no trial of any other. They, therefore, were not permitted to have any choice, and the Rev. Robert Foote, then minister of Eskdale Muir, was presented. At the moderation of the call, as it is named, only three signed in favour of Mr Foote. The parishioners protested to the Synod, and from the Synod to the General Assembly, who ordered Mr Foote to be inducted according to the laws of the church.

The presbytery carried their spite against Mr Barclay so far, as to refuse him a certificate of character, which is always done, as a matter of course, when a preacher leaves their bounds. He appealed to the Synod, and afterwards to the Assembly, who found (though he was in no instance accused of any immorality) that the presbytery were justified in withholding the certificate. He had no alternative, and therefore left the communion of the Church of Scotland.

While attending the assembly, he had frequent opportunities of preaching in Edinburgh, and, as usual, was very popular. A great many friends, who had adopted his peculiar sentiments, joined him, and formed themselves into a church, and urged him to become their pastor. The people of Fettercairn, however, had strong claims upon him; and he resolved first to visit them. He went thither about the beginning of July, 1773, and preached in the open air, to many thousands. He was warmly solicited by his friends in this place to remain; but as they had not yet erected a place of worship, and having left those who favoured him in Edinburgh rather abruptly, he returned to the metropolis about the middle of September. It is likely that he had in view also to be ordained; for he was only as yet what is technically called a preacher.

For this purpose he visited Newcastle, and was ordained there on 12th October, 1773. The certificate of ordination is signed by the celebrated James Murray of Newcastle, the author of that well known work entitled "Sermons to Asses;" which contains a rich vein of poignant satire, not unworthy of Swift. It was also signed by Robert Somerville of Weardale, and James Somerville of Swalwell, and Robert Green, clerk.

His friends at Fettercairn were exceedingly anxious to have him for their pastor; and a place of worship was speedily erected at Sauchyburn, in the

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immediate neighbourhood. But Mr Barclay, conceiving that his sphere of usefulness would be more extended, were he to reside in Edinburgh, gave the preference to the latter. A Mr James M'Rae, having joined Mr Barclay, was ordained minister at Sauchyburn in spring, 1774. The congregation there, at this time, consisted of from one thousand to twelve hundred members.

He remained in Edinburgh at this time about three years; and he was attended by a numerous congregation, who had adopted his views of religious truth. Mr Barclay having a strong desire to disseminate his opinions and make them better known, left the church at Edinburgh under the care of his elders and deacons, and repaired to London. For nearly two years he preached there, as well as at Bristol, and other places in England. A church was formed in the capital. He also established there a debating society, which met weekly in the evening, for the purpose of disputing with any who might be disposed to call his doctrines in question. One of those who went with the design of impugning Mr Barclay's opinions, was Mr William Nelson, who eventually became a convert. This gentleman had been educated in the Church of England, but, when Mr Barclay came first to London, had joined the Whitefieldian or Calvinistic Methodists. He afterwards came to Scotland; was connected with Mr Barclay; practised as a surgeon in Edinburgh, and delivered lectures on chemistry there, for about ten years. He was a man of considerable abilities; amiable in private life, and of the most unblemished character. He was cut off by apoplexy in 1800. The original of the following letter, written by Mr Barclay, and addressed to Mr Nelson in Scotland, is now before us. It is dated—London, 10th January, 1777. We introduce it as a fair specimen of the rapid and impressive kind of eloquence of which Mr Barclay was so great a master. It ought to be remembered, that it was never intended for publication.

"Go on and prosper, my Brother, good soldier of Jesus Christ; glory, as you do, in enduring hardness for his name's sake. The armour, the whole armour of God, which you have clothed upon you, is more than proof against all the artillery of Hell; and we shall be more than conquerors, through him who loved us and washed us in his own blood. A glorious scar in such a glorious war, will be a crown of glory and a diadem of beauty evermore, before the Lord of Hosts and all his hosts around. I trust it is out of Satan's power to throw a single dart behind you; for, through the grace of God, I doubt not you will be enabled to the end, to fight him, front him every where, and to overcome by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of his testimony and patience. Fear not, fear not! fellow-soldier and companion in tribulation, the great God and our Saviour has surmounted the opposing rocks; the enemies are fallen before him, and his armour-bearers behind him shall reap the spoil. What, is not this gospel of our salvation the power of God, and the wisdom of God to those who believe it, and mighty to the pulling down of strongholds, and every opposing imagination, that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God?" &c. The remaining part of the letter, which is very long, is in a similar tone

At Edinburgh Mr Barclay published an edition of his works in three volumes, including a pretty large treatise on the sin against the Holy Ghost, which according to him, is merely unbelief or discrediting the Scripture. In 1783 he published a small work for the use of the Berean Churches, "The Epistle to the Hebrews Paraphrased," with a collection of psalms and songs from his other works, accompanied with "A close examination into the truth of several received principles."

The Bereans promised at one time to become pretty numerous. There are churches in that connection in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Crief, Kirkcaldy, Dundee, Arbroath, Montrose, Brechin, Fettercairn, and a few other places.

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Mr Barclay died on the 29th of July, 1798. Being Sunday, when on his road to preach, he felt himself rather unwell; he took a circuitous road to the meeting house, but finding himself no better, he called at the house of one of the members of his congregation. In a few minutes after he entered the house, while kneeling in prayer beside a chair, he expired without a groan, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and thirty-ninth of his professional career. His nephew, Dr John Barclay, was immediately sent for, who declared his death to have been occasioned by apoplexy. Mr Barclay was a very uncommon character, and he made a great impression upon his contemporaries. He was interred in the Calton old burying-ground, Edinburgh, where a monument has been erected to his memory.[1]

BARCLAY John, M. D. an eminent lecturer on anatomy, was the nephew of John Barclay, the Berean, after whom he was named. This gentleman, for the long period of thirty years, contributed essentially to support the reputation of Edinburgh as a medical school, by affording to a numerous body of the youth who repaired to the university, an opportunity of being instructed in anatomy, without a knowledge of which no eminence can be attained either in the theory or practice of medicine. He had the art of inspiring his pupils with an ardent love of that science, of which he himself was so great a master, and he lost no fit season of stimulating them to exertion, both by precept and example.

Dr Barclay was born in 1759 or 1760, at Cairn near to Drummaquhance in the county of Perth. His father was a respectable farmer in that part of the country, and was a man of great natural shrewdness and vivacity. He afterwards removed to Strageath, a farm on the property of Lord Gwydir, also in Perthshire, and which is still occupied by the doctor's sister and her husband, Mr M'Crosty. The doctor was educated at the parish school of Muthill, and at a very early period of life, was distinguished among his fellow-scholars, not only by the superiority of his powers, but by his indefatigable application. Being destined for the church, he, in 1776, repaired to the university of St Andrews. In Scotland access is more easily obtained to the seminaries of learning than in England. Thus, persons of moderate circumstances, if they are disposed, have it in their power to give the youth the best opportunity of improvement which the country can afford. It was determined that he should be a candidate for what, in the academical language of Scotland, is called a burse. The definition of the word bursar by Johnson may have misled many. He seems to have supposed, that it was solely the prerogative of the presbytery to give a title to these exhibitions or petty pensions. This, however, is a great mistake. No presbytery of the seventy-eight in Scotland possesses any such prerogative. The small sums of money thus bestowed upon young men are quite inadequate to support them while at college, without some other pecuniary aid, the value of money having fallen very much, since the funds were originally established, from which the greater number of burses are paid. The average value at St Andrews may be considered as stated too high at five pounds sterling per annum. At the competition Barclay gained a burse, and was placed at the head of the list of four candidates.

At St Andrews, as in all the other universities in Scotland, and in the most of the European seminaries of learning, the course of education is still hampered by arrangements referable to their original purpose, which was chiefly the education of the clergy. Barclay, being a bursar, found it was absolutely necessary that he should attend the different classes in the order prescribed by the statutes

[1] For this article, and that which follows, I am indebted to a gentleman who was the contemporary of both the parties.—*Ed.*

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of the university, otherwise he would be deprived of his bursе; and could not apply for the degree of master of arts. He particularly distinguished himself at the Greek class, then taught by the late principal George Hill. Dr Barclay always expressed himself in terms of the highest commendation of the manner in which this gentleman acquitted himself as professor of Greek. The pains he took in grounding his students thoroughly in the elements of the language, and the taste and critical skill which he displayed in its explication, impressed them with a high idea of his abilities.

At this time Barclay discovered great partiality to mathematics. Professor Vilant had for a considerable number of years taught this class with reputation. But Barclay does not appear to have cultivated this interesting branch of science for any considerable length of time, though his powers of abstraction were not incompetent to have distinguished him as a mathematician. To be distinguished for proficiency in any science is no small praise. Mathematicians have very generally been supposed to possess powers superior to those of any other denomination of philosophers; yet it may at least be asked, if it does not require as great abilities and as indefatigable application, to become a thorough master of a dead language, for example, as to be an eminent algebraist or geometrician. Barclay certainly made very considerable progress, and those who were his contemporaries represent him to have been at this time excessively diligent. At St Andrews, all the students are familiar with each other; their peculiar habits, and the progress they have made in literature and science, become the subject of observation, and speedily circulate through the society. The openness and candour of his disposition, and the unsuspecting character of his temper were well known to his associates. He was through life very ardent in all his pursuits, of great good humour, and remarkably fond of anecdote, of which he possessed an ample store, and was no churl in its display; this he did with a *naïveté* and interest, that rendered his conversation very fascinating. Some singular instances of absence of mind are told of him, but whether he was subject to this infirmity when a youth, we have had no opportunities of being informed. Were we to judge from our own knowledge of him, when considerably advanced in life, we should imagine that he had at all times a slight tendency to such habits. Though unconscious himself of the inference others would draw, we have heard him relate circumstances in his private history, which lead to the same conclusion.

After having attended the requisite classes at the united college of St Salvador and St Leonard, he entered the New Divinity or St Mary's college, where theology alone is taught. What his theological opinions were, we know not, having never conversed with him particularly upon that subject. But they were certainly very different from those of his uncle, who was a high Calvinist. It is not improbable that he was at first taught to lean to this doctrine in its sternest form; for such was the doctrine which then prevailed in almost every cottage in the kingdom. Afterwards, however, he seems to have preferred moderate Calvinism, for in conversation he was wont to speak in terms of high approbation of the late Dr George Hill, his old master, of Dr Thomas Hardie, and Dr James Finlayson of Edinburgh, whose sentiments are known to have been of that description. His associates among the clergy, after he came to reside in Edinburgh, were chiefly of the same class.

The publication of a Hebrew grammar by the Rev. Dr Wilson, professor of oriental languages at St Andrews, in which the Masoretic punctuation was condemned, communicated new energies to the students of divinity, and to those who cultivated Hebrew literature, throughout the different Scottish universities. This was especially the case at St Andrews. The incumbrance of reading with

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the points disgusted, and the labour necessary to overcome the difficulty terrified the most of students. But when the plan of reading without the points was rendered plausible by Dr Wilson, a new era might be said to commence in the history of the clerical literature of Scotland. Barclay, with his wonted ardour, entered on the popular study, and with a perseverance much to be commended, read with care the whole of the Hebrew Scriptures in the original.

He was engaged at St Andrews in the study of divinity under the professor Dr Spence, for two or perhaps for three sessions, but having engaged to teach a school, he found it more convenient to repair to Edinburgh and deliver the prescribed exercises before the professor there. On one of these occasions there took place a very singular occurrence, which the Doctor himself used to relate. Having come to Edinburgh for the express purpose of delivering a discourse in the hall, he waited upon his uncle, who was an excellent scholar. It was what is called, "An Exercise and Addition," or a discourse, in which the words of the original are criticised—the doctrines they contain illustrated—and it is concluded by a brief paraphrase. He proposed to read it to his uncle before he delivered it—and when he was in the act of doing so, his respected relative objected to a criticism which he had introduced, and endeavoured to show, that it was contrary to several passages in the writings of the Apostle Paul. The doctor had prepared the exercise with great care, and had quoted the authority of Xenophon in regard to the meaning of the word. The old man got into a violent passion at his nephew's obstinacy, and seizing a huge folio that lay on the table, hurled it at the recusant's head, which it fortunately missed. Barclay, who really had a great esteem for his uncle, related the anecdote to a clergyman a few days after it happened, and laughed very heartily at it.

Barclay wrote about this time, "A History of all Religions," but of this no trace was to be found among his manuscripts. Having delivered, with the approbation of the professors, the usual number of discourses (which by the laws of the church are prescribed to be five) he applied for licence to the presbytery of Dunkeld. After undergoing an examination on his knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, divinity, and church history, he obtained licence as a preacher in the church of Scotland. Meanwhile he had become tutor in the family of Charles Campbell Esq. of Loch Dochart, and afterwards performed the same duty to Sir James Campbell of Aberuchill, whose daughter, Eleonora Campbell, in 1811, became his wife. In 1789, he repaired to Edinburgh with his pupils, and preached occasionally for his friends.

How early in life he had entertained the idea of turning his attention to medical science, it is impossible to say. Resolutions of this kind often proceed from causes very trifling in their nature, but which have ultimately produced the most mighty effects upon the destinies of man. Many instances might be mentioned of a predilection being formed for cultivating certain sciences by men of the most distinguished genius, which was originally occasioned by circumstances in their history that appeared to be casual. Barclay came better prepared than young men generally are when they enter upon the study of medicine. The university of Edinburgh was then in the zenith of its reputation. Cullen's splendid career was about drawing to a close. He was succeeded by the celebrated Dr Gregory. Dr Black was still able to deliver lectures. The anatomical class, which appears principally to have attracted his attention, was taught by Dr Monro, Secundus, one of the most accurate and profound anatomists of that or any other age. This gentleman's prelections on the structure and functions of the human body, seem to have made him direct his attention, with peculiar ardour, to the study of anatomy, to which his future life was consecrated.

Barclay took the degree of M.D. at Edinburgh, in 1796. The subject of

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his thesis was, *De Anima, seu Principio Vitali*, and was dedicated to Dr Gregory, and to Mr John Bell, whose assistant he had been for some time. The vital principle had been long contemplated, and meditated on by him, and was always with him a favourite speculation.

He continued to prosecute his medical studies with the most ardent zeal. The sources from which he could derive benefit, besides the lectures of the eminent professors of the university, were those of private lecturers, the public library of the college, and other institutions connected with it. The medical school of the university of Edinburgh is comparatively of very late origin, and a good many years had elapsed before students enjoyed facilities, that could in any degree be compared with what they now possess. Dr Monro, Primus, may be considered as its founder in 1722. In 1726, the town council, who are the patrons, associated with him some members of the Royal college of Physicians, men of eminence in their profession, and who delivered lectures on the other branches of medical science. By the charter of foundation of the university, power was granted to confer degrees in all the different faculties. In the greater number of British universities, no lectures are delivered on many very important branches of medicine, though the form of graduation be still retained. The same was the case at Edinburgh till 1726, when taking a degree was not a mere form, but the students who made application went through a formal judicial trial of their proficiency before they could be graduated. In the course of time private individuals were induced to deliver lectures upon different departments of that science, and in the long-run found it their interest to do so. One of the most useful and popular private lecturers was Dr Barclay.[1]

[1] As this part of the history of the Edinburgh medical school is but little or only partially known, it will not, it is hoped, be unacceptable to some to introduce in this place a very short account of it, more especially as it has contributed so much to render Edinburgh what it has been for many years, the first seminary in Europe for acquiring medical instruction.

Dr George Martin, formerly a physician at St Andrews, was the first private lecturer at Edinburgh. His acquirements were very miscellaneous, and his reputation as a man of science was considerable. His attempt produced an extraordinary sensation in Edinburgh. The novelty of the scheme excited very different and opposite feelings in the minds of the people. Men, whose views were narrow and contracted, looked upon him as a rival to the college, and augured the most fatal consequences to that establishment. They also described the injury and injustice that were thereby offered to the professors, who were more immediately concerned. The town council, the patrons of the college, were reproached for not taking more active measures to check, and if possible to put a stop to such encroachments. They were represented as guilty of a breach of the trust confided in them by the public, when they allowed the medical school to be strangled in the birth, which promised to be of so essential service to the city in particular, to the medical youth, and even to the Scottish nation. But the first Dr Monro entertained very different sentiments. With a liberality which showed the great superiority of his mind, and the enlarged ideas he had respecting medicine, even though opposed to what seemed to be his own private interest, he justly thought that the fame of the school of medicine at Edinburgh would be increased in proportion to the number of able teachers it brought into public view, whether their lessons were delivered within the walls of a college or not. He rejoiced that Dr Martin's lectures afforded to medical students another opportunity of acquiring useful knowledge. Upon the death of Dr Martin, this good man and illustrious philosopher sincerely lamented the untimely fate of youthful genius, and held him up as an example worthy of imitation. He superintended the publication of his posthumous works, and was anxious, that his anatomical labours in particular (Dr Martin did not confine himself to one department of medicine) might appear before the public with every possible advantage. Such uncommon generosity of nature deserves the highest commendation, and it is to be regretted that it has been so seldom imitated.

The next private lecturer was Dr Andrew Duncan. He commenced delivering lectures in 1770. He never gave a course of anatomy, but in November he generally began his lectures on the theory and practice of medicine—and on the first Wednesday of May he annually commenced a similar course on the materia medica. Having succeeded in founding a dispensary, he, in 1776, began to give lectures on such cases as occurred at that institution. All these were regularly delivered by him until, on the 30th December, 1789, he was elected by the patrons professor of the institutions of medicine in the university of Edin-

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After graduation, the subject of this memoir repaired to London, and attended the anatomical lectures of Dr Marshall of Theaves Inn, who is represented to have been an excellent teacher. He commenced his lectures on anatomy in 1797. His anatomical preparations were partly purchased, partly dissected by himself, and partly presented to him by Mr George Bell, then a young man, and now an eminent surgeon in Edinburgh. Having had in view to deliver a course of anatomy for a considerable number of years, he therefore directed the whole force of his attention towards the attainment of qualifications which would fit him for the discharge of its arduous duties. He had to contend with very formidable difficulties. The popularity of the second Monro, and of the late John Bell, was very great among the students. Dr Barclay, therefore, had few students at first. He resolved, how-

burgh. No man was ever more zealous and indefatigable in cultivating medical science in all its branches, than Dr Duncan. His works, and in particular his medical commentaries, a periodical work which was published annually for thirty-one years, rendered his name, (with the exception of that of Dr Cullen) better known in England and on the Continent, as well as in America, than any other of his colleagues.

Dr Charles Webster, a Scottish episcopal clergyman, had also studied medicine, and delivered lectures on chemistry. He was closely connected with Dr Duncan. The same suit of rooms afforded convenient apartments for both. Their advertisements respecting the time of meeting &c. of their different classes generally appeared together in the same newspaper, and they were also associated in the management of, and in delivering case lectures at the Dispensary. For how many years this union lasted, we cannot state with accuracy. It was somewhat more than ten years, and if not by Dr Webster's death, it was dissolved by his declining to lecture. He was at no time a popular lecturer. His course continued for three months, and was repeated thrice every year, beginning in February, May, and November. In 1780, Dr Duncan published an account of the life and writings of the first Monro, which had been delivered as the Harveian oration at Edinburgh for that year. We are told in the advertisement, that it was delivered as a public annual discourse which was instituted some years ago, with a view of paying honour to the memory of the dead, and of encouraging the industry of the living. To this account is subjoined an address to the students of medicine, by Dr Webster, on delivering the Harveian prize for 1780, to Dr Arthur Broughton of Bristol. This prize was annual, and had been gained by Dr Stevens, and the celebrated Dr Darwin, author of Zoonomia. The next prize was announced to be on the nature and ingredients of the serum. The prize consisted of a medal, and the works of some illustrious medical author, such as Harvey, &c.

Dr Webster was succeeded by Mr William Nelson, a native of England. He was a man of very uncommon abilities, and an excellent chemist. His chemical course was of six months' duration, and he delivered the same lecture twice a-day to two different sets of students. He also gave lectures during summer. The first course he delivered was in 1790, and he died in 1800.

Dr John Brown was also a private lecturer in Edinburgh. He was one of the most extraordinary men of his day, and made a great impression on the medical students, (See the article BROWN, JOHN), as well as occasioned a considerable revolution in medical practice. He was author of what is called after him, the Brownonian System of Medicine.

The professors of anatomy in Edinburgh have always allowed, or rather encouraged those who were their dissectors to instruct their students, by giving a private course of anatomy, at an evening hour, within the college. Two very eminent anatomists were reared in this school: 1, Mr John Innes who was for many years dissector to the second Monro, and died in 1778. He was the author of a Dissertation on the Muscles—Anatomical Tables, &c. 2, Mr Andrew Fyfe, whose System of Anatomy has gone through various editions. Both these gentlemen were not only eminent anatomists, but also excellent draftsmen.

Dr John Aitken, a member of the corporation of surgeons also gave a course of anatomy. He published engravings of the bones, muscles, &c. accompanied with tables. He was well attended, and he was generally esteemed as a good lecturer.

The late celebrated Mr John Bell was also a private lecturer. (See the article BELL, JOHN). Messrs Latta and Ramsay also made an attempt to teach anatomy, but were not successful. It was from them that Dr Barclay purchased his class-room.

These were the principal private lecturers on medical science before Dr Barclay's time. Since that time, the case is greatly altered. The number of students of every description has increased, and so have the means or opportunities of being instructed. There are at present about twenty private lecturers in Edinburgh, and there is no department of medicine which is not taught privately, as well as in the university. The competition among the teachers as well as the scholars is very great, and an ardour in the pursuit of valuable learning is to be observed in Edinburgh among the medical students, which cannot fail to be of advantage to themselves, and to render them skillful practitioners of the art they profess.

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ever, to persevere. The introductory lectures (which, since his death, have been published by his esteemed friend, Sir George Ballingall, M.D. professor of military surgery in the university of Edinburgh,) were prepared with the utmost care. He was very sensible, that a good deal depended upon the manner in which he acquitted himself in his *debut*. This naturally produced a great degree of anxiety. Placed in a novel situation, he was not accustomed to the visage of such an assembly. Though diffident, he by degrees acquired courage, and before the introductory part of the course was finished, his most zealous friends, who took active concern in his success, saw, or thought they saw, that the issue would be favourable. The luminous view of the subject, and the philosophical delineation of the plan he proposed to follow, made a deep impression on his audience; and as the course advanced in its progress, they found themselves amply compensated for their pains. Dr Barclay was conscientiously desirous to benefit his pupils, and spared no labour to convey a clear idea of the matter treated of in the lecture. He studied to express himself in plain and perspicuous language, which he justly esteemed to be the chief quality of style. His reputation was very soon established on a firm basis. What materially contributed to his success, besides his unquestionable talents, were his extensive acquaintance among the clergy, and the patronage of the Royal College of Surgeons. This last he received in 1804. It was moved by Mr Law, and seconded by Dr Kellie, that attendance on his lectures should qualify for passing at Surgeon's Hall. He was admitted a licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians in 1805, and a resident fellow in 1806.

All the works, which he is known to have published, were strictly anatomical, and they are enumerated here in the order of publication. The article Physiology was contributed by him to that well known work, the Encyclopædia Britannica. When the third edition was brought to a conclusion in 1797, the editor, Dr Gleig of Stirling, stated, in the preface, the names of the contributors to the last six volumes. Among these Dr Barclay is thus mentioned; "Physiology was furnished by John Barclay, M. D. of Edinburgh, whose merits, if the editor be not partial to his friend, it will raise high in the estimation of men of science." Dr Barclay published in 1803, a new anatomical nomenclature. This had been long the subject of his meditation, and was a great desideratum in anatomy. The vagueness or indefinite nature of the terms of anatomy has been perceived and regretted by all anatomists. They have produced much ambiguity and confusion in anatomical descriptions, and their influence has been strongly felt, particularly by those who have just entered upon the study. Barclay was the first, who, fully aware of the obstacles that were thus thrown in the way of students, set about inventing a new nomenclature. The vagueness of the terms principally referred to those implying position, aspect, and direction. Thus, what is superior in one position of the body, becomes anterior in another, posterior in a third, and even inferior in a fourth. What is external in one position is internal in another, &c. These terms become much more ambiguous in comparative anatomy. His object was to contrive a nomenclature, in which the same terms should universally apply to the same organ, in all positions of the body, and in all animals. It is the opinion of very candid judges, that he has succeeded in his endeavour, and that, were his nomenclature adopted, the greatest advantages would accrue to the study of the science. The proposal is delivered with singular modesty, and discovers both a most accurate knowledge of anatomy and great ingenuity.

In 1808, appeared his work on the muscular motions of the human body, and in 1812, a description of the arteries of the human body—both of which contain a most complete account of those parts of the system. The last work which he lived

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to publish was an inquiry into the opinions, ancient and modern, concerning life and organization. This, as we have mentioned, formed the subject of his Thesis.

He also delivered a course of lectures on comparative anatomy. At one time he proposed to the town council, the patrons of the University of Edinburgh, to be created professor of that department of the science; how the proposal was received is not known. He purposed to write the lives of Aristotle and of Harvey, of both of whom he was a great admirer; these were left unfinished at the time of his death. He was the means of establishing, under the auspices of the Highland Society, a veterinary school in Edinburgh. Barclay might be called an enthusiast in his profession,—there was no branch of anatomy, whether practical or theoretical, that he had not cultivated with the utmost care; he had studied the works of the ancient and modern, foreign and British anatomists, with astonishing diligence. Whatever related to natural science was certain of interesting him. The benevolence and generosity of his temper was also unbounded.

It is a very curious circumstance, that Dr Barclay often declared that he had neither the sense of taste nor smell.

Feeling his health rapidly declining, in 1825 he entered into copartnership with Dr Robert Knox, conservator of the Museum of the Royal College of surgeons. His last appearance in the lecture room was in 1825, when he delivered the introductory lecture. Some time before his death, his speech was materially affected by palsy. He died 21st August 1826, and was buried at Restalrig, near Edinburgh, formerly the burying ground of what is now called the parish of South Leith. His funeral was attended by many of his friends, and by the Royal College of surgeons in a body.

There is a bust of him by Joseph, presented to the College of Surgeons, to whom he bequeathed his museum,—a valuable collection of specimens, particularly in comparative anatomy, which is to retain his name. His design in this legacy was to prevent it from being broken up, and scattered after his death.

BARCLAY, Robert, the celebrated Apologist for the Quakers, was born on the 23rd of December, 1648, at Gordonstoun, in Moray. His father, Colonel David Barclay of Ury, was the son of David Barclay of Mathers, the representative of an old Scoto-Norman family, which traced itself, through fifteen intervening generations, to Theobald de Berkeley, who acquired a settlement in Scotland at the beginning of the twelfth century. The mother of the Apologist was Catharine Gordon, daughter of Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstown, the premier baronet of Nova-Scotia, and well known historian of the house of Sutherland.

The ancient family of de Berkeley became possessed of the estate of Mathers, by marriage, in the year 1351. Alexander de Berkeley, who flourished in the fifteenth century, is said to have been the first laird of Mathers who changed the name to Barclay; a change which says little for his taste, however recommended by that principle of literal and syllabic economy which seems to have flourished at all periods in a greater or less degree, though chiefly at the present era. This laird, however, is reputed to have been a scholar, and to him are attributed the excellent verses known by the title of the Laird of Mathers' Testament, which, for their piety and good sense, cannot be too widely disseminated, or too warmly recommended. These verses are subjoined in the modified form under which they have come down traditionally to our time:

Gif thou desire thy house lang stand,
And thy successors bruik thy land,
Abuve all things, lief God in fear,
Intromit nocht with wrangous gear;
Nor conquess[1] nothing wrangously
With thy neighbour keep charity.

[1] Acquire.

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See that that thou pass not thy estate;
Obey duly thy magistrate;
Oppress not but support the puire;
To help the commonweill take cuire.
Use no deceit; meil[2] not with treason;
And to all men do richt and reason.
Both unto word and deid be true;
All kinds of wickedness eschew.
Slay no man; nor thereto consent;
Be nocht cruel, but patient.
Ally ay in some gude place,
With noble, honest, godly, race.
Hate huredom, and all vices flee;
Be humble; haunt gude companye.
Help thy friend, and do nae wrang,
And God shall make thy house stand lang.

David, the grandfather of the Apologist, from neglect of some part of his ancestor's advice, was reduced to such difficulties as to be obliged to sell the estate of Mathers, after it had been between two and three hundred years in the family, as also the more ancient inheritance, which had been the property of the family from its first settlement in Scotland in the days of King David I. His son, David, the father of the Apologist, was consequently obliged to seek his fortune as a volunteer in the Scottish brigades in the service of Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden. This gentleman, like many others of his countrymen and fellow-soldiers, returned home on the breaking out of the religious troubles in Scotland, and received the command of a troop of horse. Having joined the army raised by the Duke of Hamilton in 1648 for the relief of Charles I., he was subsequently deprived of his command, at the instance of Oliver Cromwell; and he never afterwards appeared in any military transactions. During the protectorate, he was several times sent as a representative from Scotland to Cromwell's parliaments, and, in this capacity, is said to have uniformly exerted himself to repress the ambitious designs of the Protector. After the restoration, David Barclay was committed prisoner to Edinburgh Castle, upon some groundless charge of hostility to the government. He was soon after liberated, through the interest of the Earl of Middleton, with whom he had served in the civil war. But during this imprisonment, a change of the highest importance both to himself and his son, had come over his mind. In the same prison was confined the celebrated Laird of Swinton, who, after figuring under the protectorate as a lord of session, and a zealous instrument for the support of Cromwell's interest in Scotland, had, during a short residence in England before the Restoration, adopted the principles of Quakerism, then recently promulgated for the first time by George Fox, and was now more anxious to gain proselytes to that body than to defend his life against the prosecution meditated against him. When this extraordinary person was placed on trial before parliament, he might have easily eluded justice by pleading that the parliamentary attainder upon which he was now charged, had become null by the rescissory act. But he scorned to take advantage of any plea suggested by worldly lawyers. He answered, in the spirit of his sect, that when he committed the crimes laid to his charge, he was in the gall of bitterness and bond of iniquity, but that God having since called him to the light, he saw and acknowledged his past errors, and did not refuse to pay the forfeit of them, even though in their judgment this should extend to his life. His speech was, though modest, so majestic, and, though expressive of the most perfect patience, so pa-

[2] Meddle.

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thetic, that it appeared to melt the hearts of his judges, and, to the surprise of all who remembered his past deeds, he was recommended to the royal mercy, while many others, far less obnoxious, were treated with unrelenting severity. Such was the man who inoculated David Barclay with those principles, of which his son was destined to be the most distinguished advocate.

Robert Barclay, the subject of the present article, received the rudiments of learning in his native country, and was afterwards sent to the Scots college at Paris, of which his uncle Robert (son to the last Barclay of Mathers,) was Rector. Here he made such rapid advances in his studies, as to gain the notice and praise of the masters of the college; and he also became so great a favourite with his uncle, as to receive the offer of being made his heir, if he would remain in France. But his father, fearing that he might be induced to embrace the catholic faith, went, in compliance with his mother's dying request, to Paris to bring him home, when he was not much more than sixteen years of age. The uncle still endeavoured to prevent his return, and proposed to purchase for him, and present to him immediately, an estate greater than his paternal one. Robert replied, "He is my father, and must be obeyed." Thus, even at a very early age, he showed how far he could prefer a sacred principle to any view of private interest, however dazzling. His uncle is said to have felt much chagrin at his refusal, and to have consequently left his property to the college, and to other religious houses in France.

The return of Robert Barclay to his native country took place in 1664, about two years before his father made open profession of the principles of the *Society of Friends*. He was now, even at the early age of sixteen, perfectly skilled in the French and Latin languages, the latter of which he could write and speak with wonderful fluency and correctness; he had also a competent knowledge of the sciences. With regard to the state of his feelings on the subject of religion at this early period of life, he says, in his Treatise on Universal Love: "My first education, from my infancy fell amongst the strictest sort of Calvinists; those of our country being generally acknowledged to be the severest of that sect; in the heat of zeal surpassing not only Geneva, from whence they derive their pedigree, but all other the reformed churches abroad, so called. I had scarce got out of my childhood, when I was, by the permission of Divine Providence, cast among the company of papists; and my tender years and immature capacity not being able to withstand and resist the insinuations that were used to proselyte me to that way, I became quickly defiled with the pollutions thereof, and continued therein for a time, until it pleased God, through his rich love and mercy, to deliver me out of those snares, and to give me a clear understanding of the evil of that way. In both these sects I had abundant occasion to receive impressions contrary to this principle of *love:* seeing the straitness of several of their doctrines, as well as their practice of persecution, do abundantly declare how opposite they are to universal love. The time that intervened betwixt my forsaking the church of Rome, and joining those with whom I now stand engaged, I kept myself free from joining with any sort of people, though I took liberty to hear several; and my converse was most with those that inveigh much against *judging*, and such kind of severity; which latitude may perhaps be esteemed the other extreme, opposite to the preciseness of these other sects; whereby I also received an opportunity to know what usually is *pretended* on that side likewise. As for those I am now joined to, I justly esteem them to be the true followers and servants of Jesus Christ."

In his Apology, he communicates the following account of his conversion to the principles previously embraced by his father. "It was not," he says, "by strength of argument, or by a particular disquisition of each doctrine, and con-

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vincement of my understanding thereby, that I came to receive and bear witness of the truth, but by being secretly reached by this Life. For when I came into the silent assemblies of God's people, I felt a secret power amongst them which touched my heart; and as I gave way unto it, I found the evil weakening in me, and the good raised up; and so I became thus knit and united unto them, hungering more and more after the increase of this power and life, whereby I might find myself perfectly redeemed." According to his friend William Penn, it was in the year 1667, when only nineteen years of age that he fully became "convinced, and publicly owned the testimony of the true light, enlightening every man." "This writer," says he, "came early forth a zealous and fervent witness for it [the true light], enduring the cross and despising the shame that attended his discipleship, and received the gift of the ministry as his greatest honour, in which he laboured to bring others to God, and his labour was not in vain in the Lord." The testimony of another of his brethren, Andrew Jaffray, is to the same effect: "Having occasion, through his worthy father, to be in the meetings of God's chosen people, who worship him in his own name, spirit, and power, and not in the words of man's wisdom and preparation, he was, by the virtue and efficacious life of this blessed power, shortly after reached, and that in a time of silence, a mystery to the world, and came so fast to grow therein, through his great love and watchfulness to the inward appearance thereof, that, not long after, he was called out to the public ministry, and declaring abroad that his eyes had seen and his hands had handled of the pure word of life. Yea the Lord, who loved him, counted him worthy so early to call him to some weighty and hard services for his truth in our nation, that, a little after his coming out of the age of minority, as it is called, he was made willing, in the day of God's power, to give up his body as a sign and wonder to this generation, and to deny himself and all in him as a man so far as to become a fool, for his sake whom he loved, in going in sackcloth and ashes through the chief streets of the city of Aberdeen, besides some services at several steeple-houses and some sufferings in prison for the truth's sake."

The true grounds of Barclay's predilection for the meek principles of the Friends, is perhaps to be found in his physical temperament. On arriving in Scotland, in 1664, with a heart open to every generous impulse, his mild nature appears, from one of the above extracts of his own writings, to have been shocked by the mutual hostility which existed between the adherents of the established and the dis-established churches. While these bodies *judged* of each other in the severest spirit, they joined in one point alone—a sense of the propriety of persecuting the new and strange sect called Quakers, from whom both might rather have learned a lesson of forbearance and toleration. Barclay, who, from his French education, was totally free of all prejudices on either side, seems to have deliberately preferred that sect which alone, of all others in his native country, professed to regard every denomination of fellow-Christians with an equal feeling of kindness.

In February, 1669-70, Robert Barclay married Christian Mollison, daughter of Gilbert Mollison, merchant in Aberdeen; and on his marriage settled at Urié with his father. The issue of this marriage was three sons and four daughters, all of whom survived him, and were living fifty years after his death. In the life of John Gratton, there is an agreeable and instructive account of this excellent mother's solicitude to imbue the tender minds of her children with pious and good principles. The passage is as follows: "I observed (1694, her husband being then dead,) that when her children were up in the morning and dressed, she sat down with them, before breakfast, and in a religious manner waited upon the Lord: which pious care, and motherly instruction of her chil-

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dren when young, doubtless had its desired effect upon them, for as they grew in years, they also grew in the knowledge of the blessed truth; and since that time, some of them have become public preachers thereof." Believing it to be her duty to appear a preacher of righteousness, she was very solicitous that her example might, in all respects, correspond with her station. The following extracts from the testimony of the monthly meeting at Urie, as they exhibit some striking traits of the character of this amiable and pious woman, will doubtless be acceptable to the reader: "She was religiously inclined from her youth, and publicly embraced the testimony of the truth, in the love of it, in early years, viz. about the sixteenth year of her age, and that through many hardships and sufferings; in which she walked all along suitably to what she professed. Her travail was great for the prosperity of the blessed truth, and for all who professed it, that they might witness possession, which is far beyond profession. She laid herself out to assist and give advice to sick people, especially the poor, many of whom came ten, twenty, thirty, and some forty miles, and upwards, receiving great benefit; for her success was wonderful; and great is the lamentation made for her removal among the poor and sick. She was a well-accomplished woman every way, and of singular virtues, which she improved, to the praise of the Lord. When we call to mind the solidity, the soundness, the seriousness that attended her; the care and concern she was under, that no slackness or unconcernedness might be in the church, but that diligence might be used to make our calling and election sure; the great and daily concern, which was attended with a good effect, for the preservation of her children and grand-children, of whom she commonly had eight or ten in the family with her; and how exemplarily she walked before them; we cannot avoid lamenting the loss of her."[1]

Robert Barclay, after his marriage, lived about sixteen years with his father; in which time he wrote most of those works by which his fame has been established. All his time, however, was not passed in endeavouring to serve the cause of religion with his pen. He both acted and suffered for it. His whole existence, indeed, seems to have been henceforth devoted to the interests of that profession of religion which he had adopted. In prosecution of his purpose, he made a number of excursions into England, Holland, and particular parts of Germany, teaching, as he went along, the universal and saving light of Christ, sometimes vocally, but as often, we may suppose, by what he seems to have considered the far more powerful manner, expressive silence. In these peregrinations, the details of which, had they been preserved, would have been deeply interesting, he was on some occasions accompanied by the famous William Penn, and probably also by others of the brethren, but as we have met with no memorials of these personal labours further than merely general notices, we must take our estimate of his exertions in the cause from his publications, which were numerous, and followed one another in rapid succession.

The first of these in the order of time was, "Truth cleared of Calumnies, occasioned by a Book entitled, A Dialogue between a Quaker and a Stable Christian, written by the Rev. William Mitchell, a minister or preacher in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen." "The Quakers," says a defender of the Scottish church, "were at this time only newly risen up; they were, like every new sect, obtrusively forward; some of their tenets were of a startling, and some of them of an incomprehensible kind, and to the rigid presbyterians especially, they were exceedingly offensive. Hearing these novel opinions, not as simply stated and held by the Quakers, who were, generally speaking, no great logicians, but in their remote consequences, they regarded them with horror, and in the heat of their zeal, it must

[1] This excellent woman died December 14th, 1720, in the seventy-sixth year of her age.

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be confessed, often lost sight both of charity and truth. They thus gave their generally passive opponents great advantages over them. Barclay, who was a man of great talents, was certainly in this instance successful in refuting many false charges, and rectifying many forced constructions that had been put upon parts of their practice, and upon the whole, setting the character of his silent brethren in a more favourable light than formerly, though he was far from having demonstrated, as these brethren fondly imagined, 'the soundness and scripture verity of their principles.'" This publication was dated at Urie, the 19th of the second Month, 1670, and in the eleventh month of the same year he added to it by way of appendix, "Some things of weighty concernment proposed in meekness and love, by way of queries, to the serious consideration of the inhabitants of Aberdeen, which also may be of use to such as are of the same mind with them elsewhere in this nation." These queries, twenty in number, were more particularly directed to Messrs David Lyal, George Meldrum, and John Menzies, the ministers, or, as Barclay denominates them, the three priests of Aberdeen, who, in the true spirit of the inquisition, had not only from the pulpit forbidden their people to read the aforesaid treatise, but had applied to the magistrates of Aberdeen to suppress it. The queries are ingeniously put, and we apprehend have never to this day received any thing like a satisfactory answer. Mitchell wrote a reply to "Truth cleared of calumnies," and on the 24th day of the tenth month, 1671, Barclay finished a rejoinder at Urie, under the title of, "William Mitchell unmasked, or the staggering instability of the pretended stable Christian discovered; his omissions observed, and weakness unvailed," &c. This goes over the same ground with the former treatise, and is seasoned with several severe strokes of sarcasm against these Aberdonians, who, "notwithstanding they had sworn to avoid a *destestable neuterality*, could now preach under the bishop, dispense with the doxology, forbear lecturing and other parts of the Directorial discipline, at the bishop's order, and yet keep a reserve for presbytery in case it came again in fashion." He also turns some of William Mitchell's arguments against himself with great ingenuity, though still he comes far short of establishing his own theory. It is worthy of remark, that, in this treatise he has frequent recourse to Richard Baxter's aphorisms on justification, whose new law scheme of the gospel seems to have been very much to the taste of the quaker. It appears to have been on the appearance of this publication that, "for a sign and wonder to the generation," he walked through the chief streets of the city of Aberdeen, clothed in sackcloth and ashes, on which occasion he published the following "Seasonable warning and serious exhortation to, and expostulation with, the inhabitants of Aberdeen, concerning this present dispensation and day of God's living visitation towards them," which as a curious document strikingly characteristic of the author and of the sect of which he was the advocate, we give entire.

"Great, unutterably great, O ye inhabitants, is the love of God which flows in my heart towards you, and in bowels of unspeakable compassion am I opened, am I enlarged unto you in the sight and sense of your condition, which the Lord hath discovered and revealed unto me. O that your eyes were opened, that ye might see and behold this day of the Lord, and that your ears were unstopped to hear his voice, that crieth aloud and calleth one and all of you to repentance, and that your hearts were softened and inclined to discern and perceive this blessed hour of his present visitation which is come unto you. He hath lifted up a standard in the midst of you, and among your brethren. He hath called already a remnant, and inrolled them under his banner, and he is calling all to come. He hath not left one without a witness. Blessed are they that receive him, and hear him in this

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day of his appearance. He hath sent forth, and is daily sending forth his servants and messengers to invite you to come and partake with him of the supper of the feast which he hath prepared. And among many others whom at sundry times he hath caused to sound forth his testimony, I also have, in the name, and power, and authority of God, proclaimed his everlasting gospel among you, and preached and held forth the glad tidings of this glorious dispensation, which is Christ manifesting and revealing himself in and by his light and spirit, in the hearts of all men, to lead them out of all unrighteousness and filthiness both of flesh and spirit, unto all righteousness, truth, holiness, peace, and joy, in the Holy Ghost, but because many of you have despised this day, and as ye have made merry over God's witness in your hearts, not liking there to entertain him in his meek, lowly, yet lovely appearance, so have ye despised, mocked, and rejected that which testifieth to this witness without you. Therefore was I commanded of the Lord God to pass through your streets covered with sackcloth and ashes, calling you to repentance, that ye might yet be more awakened and alarmed to take notice of the Lord's voice unto you, and not to despise these things which belong to your peace while your day lasteth, lest hereafter they be hid from your eyes. And the command of the Lord came unto me that very morning as I awakened, and the burden thereof was very great, yea, seemed almost insupportable unto me, for such a thing until that very moment had never entered me before, not in the most remote consideration. And some whom I called to declare to them this thing can bear witness how great was the agony of my spirit, how I besought the Lord with tears that this cup might pass away from me. Yea, how the pillars of my tabernacle were shaken, and how exceedingly my bones trembled until I freely gave up unto the Lord's will. And this was the end and tendency of my testimony, to call you to repentance by this signal and singular step, which, as to my own will and inclination, I was as unwilling to be found in as the worst and the wickedest of you can be averse from receiving or laying it to heart. Let all and every one of you in whom there is yet alive the least regard to God or his fear, consider and weigh this matter in the presence of God, and by the spirit of Jesus Christ in your hearts, which makes all things manifest, search and examine every one his own soul, how far this warning and voice of the Lord is applicable unto them, and how great need they have to be truly humbled in their spirits?—returning to the Lord in their inward parts with such true and unfeigned repentance, as answers to the outward clothing of sackcloth, and being covered with ashes. And in the fear and name of the Lord, I charge all upon this occasion to beware of a slight, frothy, jeering, mocking spirit, for though such may be permitted to insult for a season, yet God will turn their laughter into howling, and will laugh when their calamity cometh, and such as seem to be in one spirit with those who spat in the face of the Lord Jesus, and buffeting him, bid him prophesy who smote him. Therefore consider, O ye inhabitants, and be serious, standing in fear. Where are ye who are called Christians, among whom it is become a wonder, a stone of stumbling, or matter of mockery, or a ground of reproach for one in the name of the Lord to invite you to repentance in sackcloth and ashes? Would not the heathen condemn you in this thing? And will not Nineveh stand up in judgment against you? How is it that ye who are called Christians can willingly give room to every idle mountebank, and can suffer your mind to be drawn out to behold these sinful divertisements, which, indeed, divert the mind from the serious sense of God's fear? The people can be gathered there, and neither the magistrates complain of tumult, nor yet preacher or professor cry out against it as delusion or madness. O, my friends, consider, can these be any more strongly deluded, than for people daily to acknowledge and confess they are

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sinners and sinning in words, and to startle at that which did so lively represent unto them what they own to be their condition? Were it in good earnest, or were it from a true sense of your sins that you so frequently seem to acknowledge them, ye would not despise nor overlook that which calleth you to repentance for it. How is it that you can so confidently array yourselves in all manner of gaudy and superfluous apparel, and exceed in lustful powderings and perfumes, and yet are ashamed and amazed at sackcloth and ashes, which, according to your own acknowledgment, is so suitable to your states? Is not this to glory in your shame, and to be ashamed of that which ought to be, and would be, your greatest glory, *viz.* true and unfeigned repentance? I shall add that which upon this occasion I declared unto you, I was for a sign from the Lord unto you. I desire ye may not be among those that wonder and perish, but rather repent and be saved. And this is my testimony unto you, whether you will hear or forbear, I have peace with my God in what I have done, and am satisfied that his requirings I have answered in this thing. I have not sought yours but you. I have not coveted your gold, nor silver, or any thing else, nor do I retain or entertain the least hatred, grudge, or evil will towards any within or without your gates, but continue in pure and unfeigned love towards all and every one of you, even those who do most despise or reject me and my testimony, being ready to bless those that curse, and to do good to those that dispitefully use me, and to be spent in the will of the Lord for your sakes, that your souls may be saved, and God over all may be glorified, for which I travail and cry before the throne of grace as becometh a servant of the Lord Jesus Christ.—Robert Barclay. This came before me to signify unto you by writing at Urie, the 12th of the first month, 1672."

This singular address affords abundant scope for remarks, but our limits are so narrow that we must leave the reader to make them for himself, more especially as we have his great work, "The Apology," still before us. His next performance was, "A Catechism and Confession of Faith, approved of and agreed unto by the General Assembly of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles, Christ himself chief speaker in and among them: which containeth a true and faithful account of the principles and doctrines which are most surely believed by the churches of Christ in Great Britain and Ireland, who are reproachfully called by the name of Quakers, yet are found in the one faith with the primitive church and saints," &c. &c. This is a very ingenious performance, the answers to the questions being all in the express words of Scripture, and the preface to it is dated, "From Urie, the place of my Being, in my native country of Scotland, the 11th of the sixth month, 1673." This was followed by, "The Anarchy of the Ranters and other Libertines, the Hierarchy of the Romish and other pretended Churches equally refused and refuted," &c. &c. The preface to this is simply dated the 17th of the eighth month, 1674. Of this treatise he afterwards wrote a vindication by way of postcript, dated from Aberdeen prison, the 16th day of the first month, 1679.

We now come to his great work, "An Apology for the true Christian Divinity, as the same is held forth and preached by the people called in scorn, Quakers: Being a full explanation and vindication of their principles and doctrines, by many arguments deduced from Scripture and right reason, and the testimonies of famous authors, both ancient and modern; with a full answer to the strongest objections usually made against them. Presented to the King. Written and published in Latin for the information of strangers, by Robert Barclay, and now put into our own language for the benefit of his countrymen." The epistle to the king prefixed to this elaborate work is dated, "From Urie, the place of my pilgrimage, in my native country of Scotland, the 25th

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of the month called November, 1675." This epistle is not a little curious, among other things, for the ardent anticipations which the writer indulges with regard to the increase and future prevalence of the doctrines of the quakers, which he calls, "The Gospel now again revealed after a long and dark night of apostasy, and commanded to be preached to all nations." After some paragraphs sufficiently complimentary to the peaceable habits of his silence-loving brethren, he tells his majesty that, "generations to come will not more admire that singular step of Divine Providence, in restoring thee to thy throne without bloodshed, than they shall admire the increase and progress of this truth without all outward help, and against so great opposition, which shall be none of the least things rendering thy memory remarkable." In looking back upon the atrocities that marked the reign of Charles II., the growth of quakerism is scarcely ever thought of, and the sufferings of its professors are nearly invisible, by reason of the far greater sufferings of one branch of their persecutors. Though led by his enthusiasm in his own cause to overrate it, Barclay certainly had no intention of flattering the king. "God," he goes on to tell him, "hath done great things for thee; he hath sufficiently shown thee that it is by him princes rule, and that he can pull down and set up at his pleasure.—Thou hast tasted of prosperity and adversity; thou knowest what it is to be banished thy native country, to be overruled as well as to rule, and sit upon the throne, and being oppressed thou hast reason to know how hateful the oppressor is, both to God and man. If after all these warnings and advertisements, thou dost not turn unto the Lord with all thy heart, but forget him who remembered thee in thy distress, and give up thyself to lust and vanity, surely great will be thy condemnation."

The Apology is a most elaborate work, indicating no small portion of both talent and learning. It contains, indeed, the sum of the author's thoughts in those treatises we have already mentioned, as well as in those which he afterwards published, digested into fifteen propositions, in which are included all the peculiar notions of the sect—Immediate Revelation; the Universal Spiritual light; Silent worship; Perfection; the Rejection of the Sabbath and the Sacraments, &c. &c. This is done with great apparent simplicity, and many plausible reasons, a number of excellent thoughts being struck out by the way; yet they are far from being satisfactory, and never will be so to any who are not already strongly possessed with an idea of the internal light in man, to which the author holds even the Scriptures themselves to be subordinate. There are, indeed, in the book, many sophisms, many flat contradictions, and many assertions that are incapable of any proof. The appeals which he makes to his own experience for the proof of his doctrines are often not a little curious, and strongly illustrative of his character, as well as of the principles he had espoused. In demonstrating the Scriptures to be only a secondary standard, or rule, after having urged against them the mistakes of transcribers; the imperfection of language itself; the dubiety that hangs over translations; and the war of commentators, &c. he concludes, "that Jesus Christ who promised to be always with his children to lead them into all truth, and to establish their faith upon an immovable rock, left them not to be principally ruled by that which was subject in itself to so many uncertainties, and therefore he gave them his Spirit as their principal guide, which neither moths nor time can wear out, nor transcribers nor translators corrupt, which none are so young, none so illiterate, none in so remote a place, but they may come to be reached and rightly informed by it. Through, and by the clearness which that spirit gives us, it is, that we are only best rid of those difficulties that occur to us concerning the Scriptures, the real and undoubted experience whereof I myself have been a witness of with great

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admiration of the love of God to his children in these latter days, for I have known some of my friends who profess the same faith with me, faithful servants of the most High God, and full of the divine knowledge of his truth, as it was immediately and inwardly revealed to them by the spirit, from a true and living experience, who not only were ignorant of the Greek and Hebrew, but even some of them could not read their own vulgar language, who, being pressed by the adversaries with some citations out of the English translation, and finding them to disagree with the manifestation of truth in their hearts, have boldly affirmed the Spirit of God never said so, and that it was certainly wrong, for they did not believe that any of the holy prophets or apostles had ever written so, which when I on this account seriously examined, I really found to be errors and corruptions of the translators." Who does not see that this argument, if it proves any thing, proves too much, and renders the Bible a hinderance rather than a help to the believer? Of the amazing virtue of the public assembling of the quakers, and the sympathetic power of silence in their assemblies, he gives large illustrations. We quote the following, because he confirms it by his own experience.

"If it fall out that several met together be straying in their minds, though outwardly silent, and so wandering from the measure of grace in themselves, which through the working of the enemy and negligence of some, may fall out; if either one come in, or may be in, who is watchful, and in whom the life is raised in a great measure, as that one keeps his place, he will feel a secret travel for the rest in a sympathy with the seed which is oppressed in the others, and kept from arising by their thoughts and wanderings, and as such a faithful one waits in the light, and keeps in this divine work, God oftentimes answers the secret travail and breathings of his own seed through such an one, so that the rest will find themselves secretly smitten without words, and that one will be as a midwife through the secret travail of his soul, to bring forth the life in them, just as a little water thrown into a pump brings up the rest, whereby life will come to be raised in all, and the vain imaginations brought down, and such a one is felt to minister life unto them without words. Yea, sometimes when there is not a word in the meeting, but all are silently waiting, if one come in that is rude and wicked, and in whom the power of darkness prevaileth much, perhaps with an intention to mock or do mischief, if the whole meeting be gathered into the life, and it be raised in a good measure, it will strike terror into such an one, and he will feel himself unable to resist, but by the secret strength and virtue thereof, the power of darkness in him will be chained down, and if the day of his visitation be not expired, it will reach to the measure of grace in him, and raise it up to the redeeming of his soul. And this we often bear witness of, so as we had hereby frequent occasion in this respect, since God hath gathered us to be a people to renew this old saying of many,—Is Saul also among the prophets? For not a few have come to be convinced after this manner, of which I myself in part am a true witness, who, not by strength of arguments, or by a particular disquisition of each doctrine and convincement of my understanding, thereby came to receive and bear witness of the truth, but by being secretly reached by this life. For when I came into the silent assemblies of God's people, I felt a secret power among them that touched my heart, and as I gave way unto it, I found the evil weakening in me, and the good raised, and so I became thus knit and arched to them, hungering more and more after the increase and power of this life, whereby I might feel myself perfectly redeemed. And, indeed, this is the surest way to become a Christian, to whom afterwards the knowledge and understanding of principles will not be awanting, but will grow up so much as is needful as the natural fruit of this good root, and such a knowledge will not be barren nor unfruitful."

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From his fourteenth proposition, which is on the power of the civil magistrate, did our limits permit, we could willingly present our readers with some valuable extracts. We have no doubt but that the opinions of the author have been highly influential in producing those liberal views that are now so generally held upon the subject, but we refer the reader to the work itself, which no intelligent man can read without finding both pleasure and instruction, though he may not admit every one of the author's conclusions.

The same year in which he published the Apology, he published an account of a dispute with the students of Aberdeen, which touches little besides the folly of such attempts to establish truth or confute error. The following year, in conjunction with George Keith, he put forth a kind of second part to the foregoing article, which they entitled, "Quakerism Confirmed, being an answer to a pamphlet by the Aberdeen Students, entitled, Quakerism Canvassed." This treats only of matters to be found in a better form in the Apology. In the first month of the year 1677, from Aberdeen prison, he wrote his treatise of "Universal Love," and in the end of the same year, he wrote from his house at Urie, "An Epistle of Love and Friendly Advice to the Ambassadors of the several princes of Europe met at Nimeguen, to consult the peace of Christendom so far as they are concerned; wherein the true cause of the present war is discovered, and the right remedy and means for a firm and settled peace is proposed." This last was written in Latin, but published also in English for the benefit of his countrymen. Both of the above tracts deserve serious perusal. In 1679, he published a vindication of his Apology, and in 1686, his last work, "The possibility and necessity of the inward and immediate revelation of the Spirit of God towards the foundation and ground of true faith, in a letter to a person of quality in Holland," published both in Latin and English. In neither of these, in our opinion, has he added any thing to his Apology, which, as we have already said, contains the sum of all that he has written or published.

In the latter part of his life, Barclay obtained, by the influence of his talents and the sincere innocence of his character and professions, an exemption from that persecution which marked his early years. He had also contributed in no small degree, by the eloquence of his writings in defence of the Friends, to procure for them a considerable share of public respect. He is even found, strangely enough, to have latterly possessed some influence at the dissolute court of Charles II. In 1679, he obtained a charter from this monarch, under the great seal, erecting his lands of Urie[1] into a free barony, with civil and criminal jurisdiction to him and his heirs. This charter was afterwards ratified by an act of parliament, the preamble of which states it to be "for the many services done by Colonel David Barclay, and his son, the said Robert Barclay, to the king and his most royal progenitors in times past." Perhaps it may seem inconsistent with his profession, that he thus permitted himself to be invested with the administration of civil and criminal justice; but it is probable that this was either for form's sake, or in order that he might prevent, in some instances, the reference of causes to the decision of less upright judges. Another and more distinguished mark of court favour was conferred upon him in 1682, when he received the nominal appointment of governor of East Jersey, in North America, from the proprietors of that province, of whom his friend the Earl of Perth was one. He was also himself made a proprietor, and had allotted to him five thousand acres of land above his proprietory share, as inducements for his acceptance of the dignity, which, at the same time, he was permitted to depute. The royal commission confirming this grant, states, that such are his known fidelity and capacity, that he has the government during life, but that no other governor

[1] His father had died in 1676, leaving him in possession of this estate.

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after him shall have it for more than three years. One of his brothers settled in the province, but he never visited it himself. In this year we find him assisting the Laird of Swinton with his interest and purse at Edinburgh; thus answering practically and freely the apostolic expostulation (1 Cor. ix. 11.), by permitting Swinton to reap carnal things, who had sown spiritual things to his family.

The remainder of his life is not marked with many instances of public action. Much of it appears to have been passed in tranquillity, and in the bosom of his family; yet he occasionally undertook journeys to promote his private concerns, to serve his relations and neighbours, or to maintain the cause of his brethren in religious profession. He was in London in 1685, and had frequent access to King James II., who had all along evinced a warm friendship towards him. Barclay, on the other hand, thinking James sincere in his faith, and perhaps influenced a little by the flattery of a prince's favour, appears to have conceived a real regard for this misguided and imprudent monarch. Liberty of conscience having been conceded to the Friends on the accession of James II., Barclay exerted his influence to procure some parliamentary arrangement, by which they might be exempted from the harsh and ruinous prosecutions to which they were exposed, in consequence of their peculiar notions as to the exercise of the law. He was again in London, on this business, in 1686, on which occasion he visited the seven bishops, then confined in the Tower, for having refused to distribute in their respective dioceses the king's declaration for liberty of conscience, and for having represented to the king the grounds of their objection to the measure. The popular opinion was in favour of the bishops; yet the former severities of some of the episcopal order against dissenters, particularly against the Friends, occasioned some reflections on them. This having come to the knowledge of the imprisoned bishops, they declared that, "the Quakers had belied them, by reporting that they had been the death of some." Robert Barclay, being informed of this declaration, went to the Tower, and gave their lordships a well-substantiated account of some persons having been detained in prison till death, by order of bishops, though they had been apprized of the danger by physicians who were not Quakers. He, however, observed to the bishops, that it was by no means the intention of the Friends to publish such events, and thereby give the king, and their other adversaries, any advantage against them. Barclay was in London, for the last time, in the memorable year 1688. He visited James II., and being with him near a window, the king looked out, and observed that, "the wind was then fair for the prince of Orange to come over." Robert Barclay replied, "it was hard that no expedient could be found to satisfy the people." The king declared, "he would do any thing becoming a gentleman, except parting with liberty of conscience, which he never would whilst he lived." At that time Barclay took a final leave of the unfortunate king, for whose disasters he was much concerned, and with whom he had been several times engaged in serious discourse at that time.

Robert Barclay "laid down the body," says Andrew Jaffray, "in the holy and honourable truth, wherein he had served it about three and twenty years, upon the 3rd day of the eighth month, 1690, near the forty and second year of his age, at his own house of Urie, in Scotland, and it was laid in his own burial ground there, upon the 6th day of the same month, before many friends and other people." His character has been thus drawn by another of the amicable fraternity to which he belonged:—[2]

"He was distinguished by strong mental powers, particularly by great penetration, and a sound and accurate judgment. His talents were much improved

[2] A short account of the Life and Writings of Robert Barclay, London, 1802.

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by a regular and classical education. It does not, however, appear that his superior qualifications produced that elation of mind, which is too often their attendant: he was meek, humble, and ready to allow to others the merit they possessed. All his passions were under the most excellent government. Two of his intimate friends, in their character of him, declare that they never knew him to be angry. He had the happiness of early perceiving the infinite superiority of religion to every other attainment; and the Divine grace enabled him to dedicate his life, and all that he possessed, to promote the cause of piety and virtue. For the welfare of his friends he was sincerely and warmly concerned: and he travelled and wrote much, as well as suffered cheerfully, in support of the society and the principles to which he had conscientiously attached himself. But this was not a blind and bigoted attachment. His zeal was tempered with charity; and he loved and respected goodness wherever he found it. His uncorrupted integrity and liberality of sentiment, his great abilities and suavity of disposition, gave him much interest with persons of rank and influence, and he employed it in a manner that marked the benevolence of his heart. He loved peace, and was often instrumental in settling disputes, and in producing reconciliations between contending parties.

"In support and pursuit of what he believed to be right, he possessed great firmness of mind; which was early evinced in the pious and dutiful sentiment he expressed to his uncle, who tempted him with great offers to remain in France, against the desire of his father: 'He is my father,' said he, 'and he must be obeyed.' All the virtues harmonize, and are connected with one another: this firm and resolute spirit in the prosecution of duty, was united with great sympathy and compassion towards persons in affliction and distress. They were consoled by his tenderness, assisted by his advice, and occasionally relieved by his bounty. His spiritual discernment and religious experience, directed by that Divine influence which he valued above all things, eminently qualified him to instruct the ignorant, to reprove the irreligious, to strengthen the feeble-minded, and to animate the advanced Christian to still greater degrees of virtue and holiness.

"In private life he was equally amiable. His conversation was cheerful, guarded, and instructive. He was a dutiful son, an affectionate and faithful husband, a tender and careful father, a kind and considerate master. Without exaggeration, it may be said, that piety and virtue were recommended by his example; and that, though the period of his life was short, he had, by the aid of Divine grace, most wisely and happily improved it. He lived long enough to manifest, in an eminent degree, the temper and conduct of a Christian, and the virtues and qualifications of a true minister of the gospel."

BARCLAY, William, an eminent civilian, and father of the still more celebrated author of the *Argenis*, was descended from one of the best families in Scotland under the rank of nobility, and was born in Aberdeenshire, in 1541. He spent his early years in the court of Queen Mary, with whom he was in high favour. After her captivity in England, disgusted with the turbulent state of his native country, which promised no advantage to a man of learning, he removed to France (1573), and began to study the law at Bourges. Having in time qualified himself to teach the civil law, he was appointed by the Duke of Lorrain, through the recommendation of his relation Edmund Hay, the Jesuit, to be a professor of that science in the university of Pontamousson, being at the same time counsellor of state and master of requests to his princely patron. In 1581, he married Anne de Maleville, a young lady of Lorrain, by whom he had his son John, the subject of the following article. This youth showed tokens of genius at an early period, and was sought from his father by the Jesuits, that he might enter

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their society. The father, thinking proper to refuse the request, became an object of such wrath to that learned and unscrupulous fraternity, that he was compelled to abandon all his preferments, and seek refuge in England. This was in 1603, just at the time when his native sovereign had acceded to the throne of England. James I. offered him a pension, and a place in his councils, on condition that he would embrace the protestant faith; but though indignant at the intrigues of the Jesuits, he would not desert their religion. In 1604, he returned to France, and became professor of civil law at Angers, where he taught for a considerable time with high reputation. It is said that he entertained a very high sense of the dignity of his situation. He used to "go to school every day, attended by a servant who went before him, himself having a rich robe lined with ermine, the train of which was supported by two servants, and his son upon his right hand; and there hung about his neck a great chain of gold, with a medal of gold, with his own picture." Such was, in those days, the pomp and circumstance of the profession of civil law. He did not long enjoy this situation, dying towards the close of 1605. He is allowed to have been very learned, not only in the civil and canon law, but in the classical languages, and in ecclesiastical history. But his prejudices were of so violent a nature as to obscure both his genius and erudition. He zealously maintained the absolute power of monarchs, and had an illiberal antipathy to the protestant religion. His works are, 1, a controversial treatise on the royal power, against Buchanan and other king-killers, Paris, 1600; 2, a treatise on the power of the Pope, showing that he has no right of rule over secular princes, 1609; 3, a commentary on the title of the pandects *de rebis creditis*, &c; 4, a commentary on Tacitus's Life of Agricola. All these works, as well as their titles, are in Latin.

Barclay, John, son of William Barclay, was born at Pontamousson in France, January 28, 1582, and was educated under the care of Jesuits. When only nineteen years old, he published notes on the Thebais of Statius. He was, as above stated, the innocent cause of a quarrel between his father and the Jesuits, in consequence of which the family removed to England, in 1603. At the beginning of 1604, young Barclay presented a poetical panegyric to the king, under the title of *Kalendæ Januariæ*. To this monarch he soon after dedicated the first part of his celebrated Latin satire entitled, Euphormion. John Barclay, like many young men of genius, was anxious for distinction, *quocunque modo*, and, having an abundant conceit of his own abilities, and looking upon all other men as only fit to furnish him with matter of ridicule, he launched at the very first into the dangerous field of general satire. He confesses in the apology which he afterwards published for his Euphormion, that, "as soon as he left school, a juvenile desire of fame incited him to *attack the whole world*, rather with a view of promoting his own reputation, than of dishonouring individuals." We must confess that this grievous early fault of Barclay was only the transgression of a very spirited character. He says, in his dedication of Euphormion to King James, written when he was two-and-twenty, that he was ready, in the service of his Majesty, to convert his pen into a sword, or his sword into a pen. His prospects at this court were unfortunately blighted, like those of his father, by the religious prejudices of the time; and in 1604 the family returned to France. John, however, appears to have spent the next year chiefly in England, probably upon some renewal of his prospects at the court of King James. In 1606, after the death of his father, he returned to France, and at Paris married Louisa Debonnaire, with whom he soon after settled at London. Here he published the second part of his *Euphormion*, dedicating it to the Earl of Salisbury, a minister in whom he could find no fault but his *excess of virtue*. Lord Hailes remarks, as a surprising circumstance, that the writer who could discover no faults

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in Salisbury, aimed the shafts of ridicule at Sully; but nothing can be less surprising in such a person as Barclay. A man who satirized only for the sake of personal *eclat*, would as easily flatter in gratitude for the least notice. It should also be recollected, that many minds do not, till the approach of middle life, acquire the power of judging accurately regarding virtue and vice, or merit and demerit: all principles, in such minds, are jumbled like the elements of the earth in chaos, and are only at length reduced to a firmament by the overmastering influence of the understanding. In the disposition which seems to have characterised Barclay, for flattering those who patronised him, he endeavoured to please King James, in the second part of the Euphormion, by satirizing tobacco and the puritans. In this year he also published an account of the gun-powder plot, a work remarked to be singularly impartial considering the religion of the writer. During the course of three years residence in England, Barclay received no token of the royal liberality. Sunk in indigence, with an increasing family calling for support, he only wished to be indemnified for his English journeys, and to have his charges defrayed into France. At length he was relieved from his distresses by his patron Salisbury. Of these circumstances, so familiar and so discouraging to men of letters, we are informed by some allegorical and obscure verses written by Barclay at that sad season. Having removed to France in 1609, he next year published his Apology for the Euphormion. This denotes that he came to see the folly of a general contempt for mankind at the age of twenty-eight. How he supported himself at this time, does not appear; but he is found, in 1614, publishing his *Icon Animarum*, which is declared by a competent critic to be the best, though not the most celebrated of his works. It is a delineation of the genius and manners of the European nations, with remarks, moral and philosophical, on the various tempers of men. It is pleasant to observe that in this work he does justice to the Scottish people. In 1615, Barclay is said to have been invited by Pope Paul V. to Rome. He had previously lashed the holy court in no measured terms; but so marked a homage from this quarter to his distinction in letters, as usual, softened his feelings, and he now accordingly shifted his family thither, and lived the rest of his life under the protection of the pontiff. In 1617, he published at Rome his "Paranesis ad Sectarios, Libri Duo;" a work in which he seems to have aimed at atoning for his former sarcasms at the Pope, by lashing those whom his holiness called heretics. Barclay seems to have been honoured with many marks of kindness, not only from the Pope, but also from Cardinal Barberini; yet it does not appear that he obtained much emolument. Incumbered with a wife and family, and having a spirit above his fortune, he was left at full leisure to pursue his studies. It was at that time that he composed his Latin romance called *Argenis*. He employed his vacant hours in cultivating a flower garden; and Rossi relates, in his turgid Italian style, that Barclay cared not for those bulbous roots which produce flowers of a sweet scent, but cultivated such as produced flowers void of smell, but having variety of colours. Hence we may conclude that he was among the first of those who were infected with that strange disease, a passion for tulips, which soon after overspread Europe, and is commemorated under the name of the *Tulipo-mania*. Barclay might truly have said with Virgil, "*Tantus amor flo-rum!*" He had two mastiffs placed as sentinels to protect his garden; and rather than abandon his favourite flowers, chose to continue his residence in an ill-aired and unwholesome situation.

This extraordinary genius, who seems to have combined the *perfervidum ingenium* of his father's country, with the mercurial vivacity of his mother's, died at Rome on the 12th of August, 1621, in the thirty-ninth year of his age. He left a wife, who had tormented him much with jealousy, (through the ardour of

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her affection, as he explained it), besides three children, of whom two were boys. He also left, in the hands of the printer, his celebrated *Argenis*, and also an unpublished history of the conquest of Jerusalem, and some fragments of a general history of Europe. He was buried in the church of St Onuphrius, and his widow erected a monument to him, with his bust in marble, at the church of St Lawrence, on the road to Tivoli. A strange circumstance caused the destruction of this trophy. Cardinal Barberini chanced to erect a monument, exactly similar, at the same place, to his preceptor, *Bernardus Gulienus a monte Sancti Sabini*. When the widow of Barclay heard of this, she said, "My husband was a man of birth, and famous in the literary world; I will not suffer him to remain on a level with a base and obscure pedagogue." She therefore caused the bust to be removed, and the inscription to be obliterated. The account given of the Argenis, by Lord Hailes, who wrote a life of John Barclay as a specimen of a *Biographia Scotica*,[1] is as follows: "*Argenis* is generally supposed to be a history under feigned names, and not a romance. Barclay himself contributed to establish this opinion, by introducing some real characters into the work. But that was merely to compliment certain dignitaries of the church, whose good offices he courted, or whose power he dreaded. The key prefixed to *Argenis* has perpetuated the error. There are, no doubt, many incidents in it that allude to the state of France during the civil wars in the seventeenth century; but it requires a strong imagination indeed to discover Queen Elizabeth in Hyanisbe, or Henry III. of France in Meleander." On the whole, Argenis appears to be a poetical fable, replete with moral and political reflections. Of this work three English translations have appeared, the last in 1772; but it now only enjoys the reflective reputation of a work that was once in high repute. We may quote, however, the opinion which Cowper was pleased to express regarding this singular production. "It is," says the poet of Olney, "the most amusing romance that ever was written. It is the only one, indeed, of an old date, that I had ever the patience to go through with. It is interesting in a high degree, richer in incident than can be imagined, full of surprises, which the reader never forestalls, and yet free from entanglement and confusion. The style too, appears to me to be such as would not dishonour Tacitus himself."

BASSANTIN, or BASSANTOUN, James, astronomer and mathematician, was the son of the Laird of Bassantin, in Berwickshire, and probably born in the early part of the sixteenth century. Being sent to study at the University of Glasgow, he applied himself almost exclusively to mathematics, to the neglect of languages and philosophy, which were then the most common study. In order to prosecute mathematics more effectually than it was possible to do in his own country, he went abroad, and travelled through the Netherlands, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany; fixing himself at last in France, where for a considerable time he taught his favourite science with high reputation in the University of Paris. In that age, the study of astronomy was inseparable from astrology, and Bassantin became a celebrated proficient in this pretended science, which was then highly cultivated in France, insomuch that it entered more or less into almost all public affairs, and nearly every court in Europe had its astrologer. Bassantin, besides his attainments in astrology, understood the laws of the heavens to an extent which excited the wonder of the age—especially, when it was considered that he had scarcely any knowledge of the Greek or Latin languages, in which all that was formerly known of this science had been embodied. But, as may be easily conceived, astronomy was as yet a most imperfect science; the Copernican system, which forms the groundwork of modern astronomy, was not yet discovered or acknowledged; and all that was really known had

[1] Printed in 4to, in 1782, and the ground-work of the present sketch.

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in time become so inextricably associated with the dreams of astrology, as to be entitled to little respect. Bassantin returned to his native country in 1562, and in passing through England, met with Sir Robert Melville of Mordecairny, who was then engaged in a diplomatic mission from Mary to Elizabeth, for the purpose of bringing about a meeting between the two queens. A curious account of this rencontre is preserved by Sir James Melville in his Memoirs, and, as it is highly illustrative of the character and pretensions of Bassantin, we shall lay it before the reader. "Ane Bassantin, a Scottis man, that had been travelit, and was learnit in hich scyences, cam to him [Sir Robert Melville] and said, 'Gud gentilman, I hear sa gud report of you that I love you hartly, and therefore canot forbear to shaw you, how all your upricht dealing and your honest travell will be in vain, where ye believe to obtein a weall for our Quen at the Quen of Englandis handis. You bot tyne your tyme; for, first, they will never meit togither, and next, there will nevir be bot discembling and secret hattrent for a whyle, and at length captivity and utter wrak for our Quen by England.' My brother's answer again was, that he lyked not to heir of sic devilisch newes, nor yet wald he credit them in any sort, as false, ungodly, and unlawfull for Christians to medle them with. Bassantin answered again, 'Gud Mester Melvill, tak not that hard opinion of me; I am a Christian of your religion, and fears God, and purposes never to cast myself in any of the unlawful artis that ye mean of, bot sa far as Melanthon, wha was a Godly theologue, has declared and written anent the naturall scyences, that are lawfull and daily red in dyvers Christian Universities; in the quhilkis, as in all othir artis, God geves to some less, to some mair and clearer knawledge than till others; be the quhilk knawledge I have also that at length, that the kingdom of England sall of rycht fall to the crown of Scotland, and that ther are some born at this instant, that sall bruik lands and heritages in England. Bot alace it will cost many their lyves, and many bludy battailes wilbe fouchten first, or [ere] it tak a sattled effect; and be my knawledge,' said he, 'the Spaniartis will be helpers, and will tak a part to themselves for ther labours, quhilk they wilbe laith to leve again.'" If the report of this conference be quite faithful, we must certainly do Bassantin the justice to say, that the most material part of his prophecy came to pass; though it might be easy for him to see that, as the sovereign of Scotland was heiress-presumptive to the crown of England, she or her heirs had a near prospect of succeeding. How Bassantin spent his time in Scotland does not appear; but, as a good protestant, he became a warm supporter of the Earl of Murray, then struggling for the ascendancy. He died in 1568. His works are, 1, A System of Astronomy, published for the third time in 1593, by John Tornœsius. 2, A Treatise of the Astrolabe, published at Lyons in 1555, and reprinted at Paris in 1617. 3, A Pamphlet on the Calculation of Nativities. 4, A Treatise on Arithmetic. 5, Music on the Principles of the Platonists. 6, On Mathematics in general. It is understood that, in the composition of these works, he required considerable literary assistance, being only skilled in his own language, which was never then made the vehicle of scientific discussion.

BASSOL, John, a distinguished disciple of the famous Duns Scotus, is stated by Mackenzie to have been born in the reign of Alexander III. He studied under Duns at Oxford, and with him, in 1304, removed to Paris, where he resided some time in the University, and, in 1313, entered the order of the Minorites. After this he was sent by the general of his order to Rheims, where he applied himself to the study of medicine, and taught philosophy for seven or eight years. In 1322, he removed to Mechlin in Brabant, and after teaching theology in that city for five and twenty years, died in 1347.

Bassol's only work was one entitled, "Commentaria Seu Lecturæ in Quatuor

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Libros Sententiarum," to which were attached some miscellaneous papers on Philosophy and Medicine. The book was published in folio at Paris, in 1517. Bassol was known by the title, *Doctor Ordinatissimus*, or the most Methodical Doctor, on account of the clear and accurate method in which he lectured and composed. The fashion of giving such titles to the great masters of the schools was then in its prime. Thus, Duns Scotus himself was styled *Doctor Subtilis*, or the *Subtle Doctor*. St Francis of Assis was called the *Seraphic Doctor;* Alexander Hales the *Irrefragable Doctor;* Thomas Aquinas the *Angelical Doctor;* Hendricus Bonicollius the *Solemn Doctor;* Richard Middleton the *Solid Doctor;* Francis Mayron the *Acute Doctor;* Durandus *à* S. Portiano the *most Resolute Doctor;* Thomas Bredwardin the *Profound Doctor;* Joannes Ruysbrokius the *Divine Doctor*, and so forth; the title being in every case founded upon some extravagant conception of the merit of the particular individual, adopted by his contemporaries and disciples. In this extraordinary class of *literati*, John Bassol, as implied by his *soubriquet*, shines conspicuous for order and method; yet we are told that his works contain most of the faults which are generally laid to the charge of the schoolmen. The chief of these is an irrational devotion to the philosophy of Aristotle, as expounded by Thomas Aquinas. In the early ages of modern philosophy, this most splendid exertion of the human mind was believed to be irreconcileable to the Christian doctrines; and at the very time when the Angelical Doctor wrote his commentary, it stood prohibited by a decree of Pope Gregory IX. The illustrious Thomas not only restored Aristotle to favour, but inspired his followers with an admiration of his precepts, which, as already mentioned, was not rational. Not less was their admiration of the "angelical" commentator, to whom it was long the fashion among them to offer an incense little short of blasphemy. A commentator upon an original work of Thomas Aquinas, endeavours, in a prefatory discourse, to prove, in so many chapters, that he wrote his books not without the special infusion of the spirit of God Almighty; that, in writing them, he received many things by revelation; and, that Christ had given anticipatory testimony to his writings. By way of bringing the works of St Thomas into direct comparison with the Holy Scriptures, the same writer remarks, "that, as in the first General Councils of the church, it was common to have the Bible unfolded upon the Altar, so, in the last General Council (that of Trent), St Thomas' 'Sum' was placed beside the Bible, as an inferior rule of Christian doctrine." Peter Labbé, a learned Jesuit, with scarcely less daring flattery, styles St Thomas an angel, and says that, as he learned many things from the angels, so he taught the angels some things; that St Thomas had said what St Paul was not permitted to utter; and that he speaks of God as if he had seen him, and of Christ as if he had been his voice. One might almost suppose that these learned gentlemen, disregarding the sentiment afterwards embodied by Gray, that flattery soothes not the cold ear of death, endeavoured by their praises to make interest with the "angelical" shade, not doubting that he was able to obtain for them a larger share of paradise than they could otherwise hope for. In the words of the author of the Reflections on Learning, "the sainted Thomas, if capable of hearing these inordinate flatteries, must have blushed to receive them."

Bassol was also characterised, in common with all the rest of the schoolmen, by a ridiculous nicety in starting questions and objections. Overlooking the great moral aim of what they were expounding, he and his fellows lost themselves in minute and subtle inquiries after physical exactness, started at every straw which lay upon their path, and measured the powers of the mind by grains and scruples. It must be acknowledged, in favour of this singular class of men, that they improved natural reason to a great height, and that much of what

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is most admired in modern philosophy is only borrowed from them. At the same time, their curiosity in raising and prosecuting frivolous objections to the Christian system is to be regretted as the source of much scepticism and irreligion. To many of their arguments, ridicule only is due; and it would perhaps be impossible for the gravest to restrain a smile at the illustrissimo mentioned by Cardan, one of whose arguments was declared to be enough to puzzle all posterity, and who himself wept in his old age, because he had become unable to understand his own books.

The works of Bassol have been long forgotten, like those of his brethren; but it is not too much to say regarding this great man of a former day, that the same powers of mind which he spent upon the endless intricacies of the school philosophy, would certainly, in another age and sphere, have tended to the permanent advantage of his fellow creatures. He was so much admired by his illustrious preceptor, that that great man used to say, "If only Joannes Bassiolis be present, I have a sufficient auditory."

BAXTER, Andrew, an ingenious moral and natural philosopher, was the son of a merchant in Old Aberdeen, and of Mrs Elizabeth Fraser, a lady connected with some of the considerable families of that name in the north of Scotland. He was born at Old Aberdeen, in 1686 or 1687, and educated at the King's College, in his native city. His employment in early life was that of a preceptor to young gentlemen; and among others of his pupils were Lord Gray, Lord Blantyre, and Mr Hay of Drummelzier. In 1723, while resident at Dunse Castle, as preceptor to the last-mentioned gentleman, he is known, from letters which passed between him and Henry Home, afterwards Lord Kaimes, to have been deeply engaged in both physical and metaphysical disquisitions. As Mr Home's paternal seat of Kaimes was situated within a few miles of Dunse Castle, the similarity of their pursuits appears to have brought them into an intimate friendship and correspondence. This, however, was soon afterwards broken off. Mr Home, who was a mere novice in physics, contended with Mr Baxter that motion was necessarily the result of a succession of causes. The latter endeavoured, at first with much patience and good temper, to point out the error of this argument; but, teased at length with what he conceived to be sophistry purposely employed by his antagonist to show his ingenuity in throwing doubts on principles to which he himself annexed the greatest importance, and on which he had founded what he believed to be a demonstration of those doctrines most material to the happiness of mankind, he finally interrupted the correspondence, saying, "I shall return you all your letters; mine, if not already destroyed, you may likewise return; we shall burn them and our philosophical heats together." About this time, Mr Baxter married Alice Mabane, daughter of a respectable clergyman in Berwickshire. A few years afterwards he published his great work, entitled, "An Enquiry into the nature of the Human Soul, wherein its immateriality is evinced from the principles of Reason and Philosophy." This work was originally without date; but a second edition appeared in 1737, and a third in 1745. It has been characterised in the highest terms of panegyric by Bishop Warburton. "He who would see," says this eminent prelate, "the justest and precisest notions of God and the soul, may read this book; one of the most finished of the kind, in my humble opinion, that the present times, greatly advanced in true philosophy, have produced." The object of the treatise is to prove the immateriality, and consequently the immortality of the soul, from the acknowledged principle of the *vis inertiæ* of matter. His argument, according to the learned Lord Woodhouselee, is as follows: "There is a resistance to any change of its present state, either of rest or motion, essential to matter, which is inconsistent with its possessing any active power. Those, there-

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fore, which have been called the natural powers of matter, as gravity, attraction, elasticity, repulsion, are not powers implanted in matter, or possible to be made inherent in it, but are impulses or forces impressed upon it *ab extra*. The consequence of the want of active power in matter is, that all those effects commonly ascribed to its active powers, must be produced upon it by an immaterial being. Hence we discover the necessity for the agency of a constant and universal Providence in the material world, who is God; and hence we must admit the necessity of an immaterial mover in all spontaneous motions, which is the *Soul;* for that which can arbitrarily effect a change in the present state of matter, cannot be matter itself, which resists all change of its present state: and since this change is effected by willing, that thing which wills in us is not matter, but an immaterial substance. From these fundamental propositions, the author deduces as consequences, the necessary immortality of the soul, as being a simple uncompounded substance, and thence incapable of decay, and its capacity of existing, and being conscious when separated from the body." In 1741, leaving his family in Berwick, he went abroad with his pupil Mr Hay, and resided for several years at Utrecht. In the course of various excursions which he made through Holland, France, and Germany, he was generally well received by the literati. He returned to Scotland in 1747, and, till his death in 1750, resided constantly at Whittingham in East Lothian, a seat of his pupil Mr Hay. His latter works were, "Matho, sive Cosmotheoria puerilis, Dialogus," a piece designed for the use of his pupil, and, "An Appendix to his Enquiry into the nature of the human soul," wherein he endeavoured to remove some difficulties, which had been started against his notions of the *vis inertiæ* of matter by Maclaurin, in his "Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophical Discoveries." In 1779, the Rev. Dr Duncan of South Warnborough published, "The evidence of reason in proof of the Immortality of the Soul, independent on the more abstruse enquiry into the nature of matter and spirit—collected from the MSS. of the late Mr Baxter."

The learning and abilities of Mr Baxter are sufficiently displayed in his writings, which, however, were of more note in the literary world during his own time than now. He was very studious, and sometimes sat up whole nights reading and writing. His temper was cheerful; he was a friend to innocent merriment, and of a disposition truly benevolent. In conversation he was modest, and not apt to make much show of the extensive knowledge he possessed. In the discharge of the several social and relative duties of life, his conduct was exemplary. He had the most reverential sentiments of the Deity, of whose presence and immediate support, he had always a strong impression upon his mind. He paid a strict attention to economy, though he dressed elegantly, and was not parsimonious in his other expenses. It is known also that there were several occasions on which he acted with remarkable disinterestedness; and so far was he from courting preferment, that he repeatedly declined offers of that kind that were made to him, on the condition of his taking orders in the Church of England. The French, German, and Dutch languages were spoken by him with much ease, and the Italian tolerably; and he read and wrote them all, together with the Spanish. His friends and correspondents were numerous and respectable; among them are particularly mentioned, Mr Pointz, preceptor to the Duke of Cumberland, and Bishop Warburton. While travelling on the Continent, he had formed an intimate friendship with the celebrated John Wilkes; and he accordingly dedicated to this gentleman his Appendix to the Enquiry. After the death of Mr Baxter, Mr Wilkes published a remarkably interesting letter, the last but one which he had received from his friend, exhibiting in a very striking manner the deep impression which the excellent principles of Mr

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Baxter had made upon his own mind, and which were only the more deeply and confidently cherished as life approached its close. "As to the state of my disease," says the dying philosopher, "unless I would make suppositions contrary to all probability, I have no reasonable hopes of recovery, the swelling which began at my legs, being now got up to my belly and head. I am a trouble to all about me, especially to my poor wife, who has the life of a slave night and day, helping me to take care of my diseased frame. Yet I may linger on a while, as I can still walk a little through the room, and divert myself now and then with reading, nay, in writing down my remarks on what I read. But I can with sincerity assure you, my most dear Mr Wilkes, death has nothing terrible to me; or rather I look upon it with pleasure. I have long and often considered and written down the advantages of a separate state. I shall soon know more than all the men I leave behind me; wonders in material nature and the world of spirits, which never entered into the thoughts of philosophers. The end of knowledge then, is not to get a name, or form a new sect, but to adore the power and wisdom of the Deity. This kills pride, but heightens happiness and pleasure. All our rational desires, because rational, must be satisfied by a being, himself infinitely rational. I have been long aware that nothing can go beyond the grave, but habits of virtue and innocence. There is no distinction in that world, but what proceeds from virtue or vice. Titles and riches are laid off when the shroud goes on." [Mr Baxter then goes on to express his conviction that even the punishments which may be awarded in a future state will only be "to correct and make better."] "Besides, what is it to be free from the pains and infirmities of the body—though I am satisfied just now, that the weakness of my distressed limbs is as much the immediate effect of the same power and goodness, as their growth and strength was sixty years ago! Dare I add a word without being thought vain? This is owing to my having reasoned honestly on the nature of that dead substance, *matter*. It is as utterly inert when the tree flourishes, as when the leaf withers. And it is the same divine power, differently applied, that directs the last parting throb, and the first drawing breath. O the blindness of those who think matter can do any thing of itself, or perform an effect without impulse or direction from superior power!"

BAYNE, [or BAINE] JAMES, A. M. a divine of some note, was the son of the Rev. Mr Bayne, minister of Bonhill in Dumbartonshire, and was born in 1710. His education commenced at the parish school, was completed at the university of Glasgow, and in due time he became a licensed preacher of the established church of Scotland. In consequence of the respectability of his father, and his own talents as a preacher, he was presented by the Duke of Montrose to the church of Killearn, the parish adjoining that in which his father had long ministered the gospel, and memorable as the *natale solum* of Buchanan. In this sequestered and tranquil scene, he spent many years, which he often referred to in after life as the happiest he had ever known. He here married Miss Potter, daughter of Dr Michael Potter, professor of divinity in the Glasgow university, by whom he had a large family. His son, the Rev. James Bayne, was licensed in the Scottish establishment, but afterwards received episcopal ordination, and died a few years ago in the exercise of that profession of faith at Alloa. Another son is at present a captain in the army, and possesses an estate in Stirlingshire.

The reputation of Mr Bayne as a preacher soon travelled far beyond the rural scene to which his ministrations were confined. His people, in allusion to the musical sweetness of his voice, honoured him with the classical epithet of "the swan of the west." In an evil hour, he was induced to remove to Paisley, and undertake a collegiate charge in the high church of that bustling town, where his

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partner in duty was the celebrated Mr Wotherspoon. Though both men possessed abilities much above the ordinary standard, and were alike admired by their flock, neither of them perhaps enjoyed a temperament of the most accommodating nature. Some trifling jealousies arose between them, and rendered both alike uncomfortable. A dispute in the session, said to have arisen from the election of a precentor, fell under the notice of the presbytery, and Mr Bayne, conceiving himself injured by the decision of that body, resolved to accept a charge under the presbytery of Relief, a sect so called which had recently parted from the national church, and as yet numbered only two clergymen, the Rev. Mr Boston, formerly parochial minister of Jedburgh, and the Rev. Mr Thomas Gillespie, who had been expelled from Carnock, in 1752, on account of an act of disobedience to the General Assembly, and of whom a brief memoir will be found at his proper place in this work. A large chapel[1] had been built in Nicholson's Park, near Edinburgh, and opened on the 10th of January, 1766, by Mr Gillespie. On the 13th of February, Mr Bayne was inducted by Mr Gillespie as the officiating minister. In taking this step it does not appear that he contemplated a separation from the church. To show that he still considered himself as belonging to it, he conducted his whole congregation to the neighbouring church of Greyfriars, to partake of the sacrament. The establishment, however, resented his alliance with the new sect by formally deposing him at the next General Assembly. Against this sentence he remonstrated in a pamphlet written with much bitterness, and no small share of ingenious sarcasm. His exertions in the metropolis were highly popular, insomuch that his congregation afforded him exactly the same salary which he had enjoyed at Paisley. As the novelty, however, wore off, his reputation experienced a considerable decline, and it is certain that the latter part of his life was embittered by a sense of his peculiar situation in regard to the church. In 1770, Mr Bayne preached and published a sermon upon Foote's "Minor," a drama, which, though professing to aim the shafts of ridicule only at ignorant fanatics and vicious hypocrites, he rightly judged to be of an injurious character to the whole of the more sincere clergy, as well as to religion in general. The dramatist thought it worth his while to reply to this attack, and accordingly, in 1771, appeared "An Apology for the Minor, in a letter to the Rev. Mr Baine, by Samuel Foote, Esq." The wit's defence rests solely upon one point—that he only satirized the follies and vices of the pretended religious. We hold, however, that this play could never have been so keenly relished, if it had not been for the too ready disposition of a large class of the community to seize hold of every thing which tells upon even the remotest outworks or associations of religion. The Minor, therefore, in common with all *jeux d' esprit* of a like nature, is clearly liable to the blame imputed to it by Mr Bayne.[2]

Mr Bayne stands out in the history of the Relief sect, now one of the most considerable in Scotland, as one of its early and venerable fathers. He was a man of great natural and acquired parts, and, as is sufficiently obvious from his

[1] Now called the College Street Chapel.

[2] The reverend censor must not be supposed, from his entering the field against Foote, to have been an enemy to harmless mirth, or even to the less safe entertainment which is to be derived from wit. He was himself a man of some humour. Once, his son having to preach on a very cold afternoon for some clergyman of the city, did not leave the family fire-side till after his father had gone away upon his own particular duty. When the old gentleman returned, he found his son, who had got home before him, sitting exactly on the spot where he had left him, toasting his toes over the fire. On expressing his suspicion that the young gentleman had never stirred from the spot, he was assured of the contrary being the fact; "oh aye," said the father, seeing that a short sermon explained the mystery, "sweare* awa, and sune hame;" a proverbial expression which certainly applied very well to the case in point.

* Reluctant.

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writings, composed the English language in a manner far superior to the ordinary literature of his time. A volume of his sermons was published nearly forty years after his death, which took place on the 17th of January, 1790, when he had attained the eightieth year of his age.

BEATON (CARDINAL) DAVID.

Even now, 'tis said that at the midnight hour,
When ghosts the silent reign of darkness scour,
Proudly he[1] stalks beneath these ancient walls,
And with infernal yell on Beaton calls,
Who hears the summons, starting from his grave!
Parley they hold in some adjacent cave.
A coffin's splinter, dipped in sulphur, lights
The horrid process of their hellish rites.
With deadly nightshade's berries they infuse
Squeez'd hemlock dripping with sepulchral dews:
The poppy lends its soporific aid,
To wrap up conscience in oblivion's shade:
A screech-owl's liver, and a serpent's tongue,
Together pounded, 'midst the mass are flung;
A toad's black venom, and a fox's heart,
The force of slander and of guile impart.
All these compounded by infernal skill,
Produce a dose to prompt the immoral will.—Brown's Philemon.

David Beaton who held in his own person the rectory of Campsie, the abbacy of Aberbrothick, the bishopric of Mirepoix in France, the cardinalship of St Stephen in Monte Cœlio, and the chancellorship of Scotland, and who was the chief of the catholic party in Scotland in the earlier age of the reformation, was descended from an ancient family in Fife, possessed of the barony of Balfour, and was born in the year 1494. He was educated at the college of St Andrews, where he completed his courses of polite literature and philosophy, but was sent afterwards to the university of Paris, where he studied divinity for several years. Entering into holy orders, he had the rectory of Campsie and the abbacy of Aberbrothick bestowed upon him, by his uncle, James Beaton, Archbishop of St Andrews, who retained one half of the rents of the abbacy to his own use. Possessing good abilities and a lively fancy, David Beaton became a great favourite with James V., who, in 1519, sent him to reside as his ambassador at the court of France. He returned to Scotland in 1525, and, still growing in the king's favour, was, in 1528, made lord privy seal.

In the year 1533, he was again sent on a mission to the French court, where it was supposed the English had of late ingratiated themselves to the prejudice of the Scots. Beaton on this occasion was charged to refute the calumnies which it was supposed the English had circulated against his countrymen, to study the preservation of the ancient league between the two nations, and to conclude a treaty of marriage between James and Magdalene the daughter of Francis. If unsuccessful in any of these points, he was furnished with letters which he was to deliver to the parliament at Paris, and depart immediately for Flanders, for the purpose of forming an alliance with the emperor. In every part of his embassy, Beaton seems to have succeeded to the utmost extent of his wishes, the marriage excepted, which was delayed on account of the declining state of health in which Magdalene then was. How long Beaton remained at the French court at this time has not been ascertained; but it is certain that he was exceedingly agreeable to Francis, who, perceiving his great abilities, and aware of the influ-

[1] Archbishop Sharpe.

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ence he possessed over the mind of the Scottish king, used every expedient to attach him to the interests of France, being afraid of the predilection of James towards his uncle Henry VIII., who also, he was aware, was strengthening, by all the influence he possessed, his interest at the Scottish court.

In 1536, finding a second embassy also unsuccessful, king James set sail for France, and proceeded to the court, where he was most cordially welcomed; and, unable to deny his suit, especially as it was exceedingly agreeable to Magdalene herself, Francis consented to their union, which was celebrated with great rejoicings on the 1st of January, 1537. On the 28th of May following, the royal pair landed in Scotland, being conveyed by a French fleet. Magdalene was received by the Scottish nation with the utmost cordiality; but she was already far gone in a decline, and died on the 7th of July following, to the inexpressible grief of the whole nation. It was on the death of this queen that mournings were first worn in Scotland. James, however, in expectation of this event, had fixed his attention upon Mary of Guise, widow of the Duke of Longueville; and Beaton, who by this time had returned to Scotland, was dispatched immediately to bring her over. On this occasion he was appointed by the king of France bishop of Mirepoix, to which see he was consecrated, December 5th, 1537. The following year, he was, at the recommendation of the French king, elevated to the cardinalship by the Pope, which was followed by a grant on the part of the French king for services already done and for those which he might afterwards do to his majesty, allowing his heirs to succeed him to his estate in France, though the said heirs should be born and live within the kingdom of Scotland, and though they should have no particular letter or act of naturalization in that country. Notwithstanding of the obligations he was thus laid under by the king of France, he returned to Scotland with Mary of Guise, and shortly after obtained the entire management of the diocese and primacy of St Andrews, under his uncle James Beaton, whom he eventually succeeded in that office.

A severe persecution was commenced at this time by the cardinal against all who were suspected of favouring the reformed doctrines. Many were forced to recant, and two persons, Norman Gourlay and David Straiton, were burnt at the Rood of Greenside, near Edinburgh. The pope, as a further mark of his respect, and to quicken his zeal, declared him *Legatus a latere;* and Beaton, to manifest his gratitude, brought to St Andrews the earls of Huntley, Arran, Marischal, and Montrose, the lords of Fleming, Lindsay, Erskine, and Seaton, Gavin archbishop of Glasgow (chancellor), William bishop of Aberdeen, Henry bishop of Galloway, John bishop of Brichen, and William bishop of Dumblane, the abbots of Melrose, Dunfermline, Lindores, and Kinloss, with a multitude of priors, deans, doctors of divinity, &c., all of whom being assembled in the cathedral church, he harangued them from his chair of state on the dangers that hung over the true catholic church from the proceedings of king Henry in England, and particularly from the great increase of heresy in Scotland, where it had long been spreading, and found encouragement even in the court of the king. As he proceeded, he denounced Sir John Borthwick, provost of Linlithgow, as one of the most industrious incendiaries, and caused him to be cited before them for maintaining —that the Pope had no greater authority over Christians than any other bishop or prelate—that indulgences granted by the pope were of no force or effect, but devised to amuse the people and deceive poor ignorant souls—that bishops priests, and other clergymen, may lawfully marry—that the heresies commonly called the heresies of England and their new liturgy were to be commended by all good Christians, and to be embraced by them—that the people of Scotland are blinded by their clergy, and profess not the true faith—that churchmen

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ought not to enjoy any temporalities—that the king ought to convert the superfluous revenues of the church unto other pious uses—that the church of Scotland ought to be reformed after the same manner as that of England was—that the Canon law was of no force, being contrary to the law of God—that the orders of friars and monks should be abolished, as had been done in England—that he had openly called the pope a Simoniac, because he had sold spiritual things—that he had read heretical books and the New Testament in English, with treatises written by Melanchthon, Œcolampadius, and other heretics, and that he not only read them himself but distributed them among others—and lastly, that he openly disowned the authority of the Roman see. These articles being read and Sir John neither appearing himself nor any person for him, he was set down as a confessed heretic, and condemned as an heresiarch. His goods were ordered to be confiscated and himself burnt in effigy, if he could not be apprehended, and all manner of persons forbidden to entertain or converse with him, under the pain of excommunication or forfeiture. This sentence was passed against him on the 28th of May, and executed the same day so far as was in the power of the court, his effigy being burnt in the market place of St Andrews and two days after at Edinburgh. This was supposed by many to be intended as a gratifying spectacle to Mary of Guise, the new queen, who had only a short time before arrived from France.

Sir John Borthwick, in the meantime, being informed of these violent proceedings, fled into England, where he was received with open arms by Henry VIII., by whom he was sent on an embassy to the protestant princes of Germany, for the purpose of forming with them a defensive league against the pope. Johnston, in his Heroes of Scotland, says, that "John Borthwick, a noble knight, was as much esteemed by king James V. for his exemplar and amiable qualities, as he was detested by the order of the priesthood on account of his true piety, for his unfeigned profession of which he was condemned; and though absent, his effects confiscated, and his effigy, after being subjected to various marks of ignominy, burnt," as we have above related. "This condemnation," Johnston adds, "he answered by a most learned apology, which may yet be seen in the records of the martyrs, [Fox,] and having survived many years, at last died in peace in a good old age."

While these affairs were transacted, Henry, anxious to destroy that interest which the French government had so long maintained in Scotland to the prejudice of England, sent into that kingdom the bishop of St Davids with some books written in the vulgar tongue upon the doctrines of Christianity, which he recommended it to his nephew carefully to peruse, and to weigh well their contents. James, who was more addicted to his amusements, than to the study of the doctrines and duties of Christianity, gave the books to be perused by some of his courtiers, who, being attached to the clerical order, condemned them as heretical, and congratulated the king upon having so fortunately escaped the contamination of his royal eyes by such pestiferous writings. There were, however, other matters proposed to the king by this embassy than the books, though it was attempted by the clerical faction to persuade the people that the books were all that was intended; for, shortly after the same bishop, accompanied by William Howard, brother of the Duke of Norfolk, came to the king at Stirling so suddenly, that he was not aware of their coming till they were announced as arrived in the town. This no doubt was planned by Henry to prevent the intriguing of the priests and the French faction beforehand, and his offers were of a nature so advantageous that James acceded to them without any scruple, and readily agreed to meet with his uncle Henry on an appointed day, when they were to settle all matters in dependance be-

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tween them for the welfare of both kingdoms. Nothing could be more terrible to the clergy of which Beaton was now confessedly the head in Scotland, than the agreement of the two kings, who saw in it nothing short of the loss of all that was dear to them, their altars, their revenues, and of course their influence, and they hastened to court from all quarters to weep over their religion about to be betrayed by an unholy conference, which, being impious in its purposes, could not fail, they said, to end in the ruin of the kingdom. Having by these representations made a strong impression upon the king, who was ignorant and superstitious, they then bribed, by the promise of large sums of money, the courtiers who had the most powerful influence over him, to dissuade him from the journey he had promised to make into England, which they successfully did, and so laid the foundation of a quarrel which ended in a war, the disastrous issue of which, preying upon the mind of James, brought him to an untimely end.

In the whole of these transactions, Beaton, a zealous churchman and the hired tool of France, was the chief actor, and knowing that the king was both covetous and needy, he overcame his scruples, by persuading the clergy to promise him a yearly subsidy of thirty thousand gold crowns, and even their whole fortunes, if they should be thought necessary. As he had no design, however, to be at any unnecessary expenses himself, nor meant to be burdensome to his brethren, he pointed out the estates of those who rebelled against the authority of the Pope and the majesty of the king as proper subjects for confiscation, whereby there might be raised annually the sum of one hundred thousand crowns of gold. In order to attain this object, he requested that, for himself and his brethren, they might only be allowed to name, as they were precluded themselves from sitting in judgment in criminal cases, a lord chief justice, before whom, were he once appointed, there could be neither difficulty in managing the process, nor delay in procuring judgment, since so many men hesitated not to read the books of the New and Old Testaments, to discuss and disown the power of the Pope, to contemn the ancient rites of the church, and, instead of reverencing and obeying, dared to treat with derisive contempt those individuals that had been consecrated to God, and whose business it was to guide them in their spiritual concerns. This wicked counsel, as it suited both the inclinations and the necessities of the king, was quickly complied with, and they nominated for this new court of inquisition a judge every way according to their own hearts, James Hamilton, (a natural brother of the Earl of Arran,) whom they had attached to their interests by large gifts, and who was willing to be reconciled to the king, whom he had lately offended, by any service, however cruel.

The suspicions which the king entertained against his nobility from this time forward were such as to paralyze his efforts whether for good or evil. The inroads of the English, too, occupied his whole attention, and the shameful overthrow of his army which had entered England by the Solway, threw him into such a state of rage and distraction, that his body sunk under it, and he died at Falkland on the 13th of December, 1542, leaving the kingdom, torn by faction, and utterly defenceless, to his only surviving legitimate child, Mary, then no more than five days old. The sudden demise of the king, while it quashed the old projects of the Cardinal, only set him upon forming new ones still more daring and dangerous. Formerly he had laboured to direct the movements of the king by humouring his passions, flattering his vanity, and administering to his vicious propensities. Now, from the infancy of the successor, the death, the captivity, or the exile of the most influential part of the nobility, and the distracted state of the nation in general, he conceived that it would be easy for him to seize upon the government, which he might now administer for the infant queen, solely to his own mind. Accordingly, with the

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assistance of one Henry Balfour, a mercenary priest, whom he suborned, he is said to have forged a will for the king, in which he was himself nominated agent, with three of the nobility as his assessors or assistants. According to Knox, these were Argyle, Huntley, and Murray; but Buchanan, whom we think a very sufficient authority in this case, says that he also assumed as an assessor his cousin by the mother's side, the Earl of Arran, who was, after Mary, the next heir to the crown, but was believed to be poorly qualified by the humbler virtues for discharging the duties of a private life, and still less fitted either by courage or capacity for directing the government of a kingdom. Aware of the danger that might arise from delay, the cardinal lost not a moment in idle deliberation. The will which he had forged he caused to be proclaimed at the cross of Edinburgh on the Monday immediately succeeding the king's death.

Arran, the unambitious presumptive heir to the throne, would, had he been left to himself have peaceably acquiesced in the cardinal's arrangements, for he had the approbation of the queen mother, and, by presents and promises, had made no inconsiderable party among the nobility. But his friends, the Hamiltons, says Buchanan, more anxious for their own aggrandizement than for his honour, incessantly urged him not to let such an occasion slip out of his hands, for they would rather have seen the whole kingdom in flames than have been obliged to lead obscure lives in private stations. Hatred, too, to the Cardinal, who, from his persecuting and selfish spirit, was very generally detested, and the disgrace of living in bondage to a priest, procured them many associates. The near prospect which Arran now had of succeeding to the crown, must also have enlisted a number of the more wary and calculating politicians upon his side. But what was of still more consequence to him, Henry of England who had carried all the principal prisoners taken in the late battle to London, marched them in triumph through that metropolis, and given them in charge to his principal nobility, no sooner heard of the death of the king than he recalled the captives to court, entertained them in the most friendly manner, and having taken a promise from each of them that they would promote as far as possible, without detriment to the public interests, or disgrace to themselves, a marriage between his son and the young queen, he sent them back to Scotland, where they arrived on the 1st of January, 1543. Along with the prisoners the Earl of Angus and his brother were restored to their country, after an exile of fifteen years, and all were received by the nation with the most joyful gratulations.

It was in vain that the Cardinal had already taken possession of the regency. Arran, by the advice of the Laird of Grange, called an assembly of the nobility, which finding the will upon which the Cardinal had assumed the regency forged, set him aside and elected Arran in his place. This was peculiarly grateful to a great proportion of the nobles, three hundred of whom, with Arran at their head, were found in a proscription list among the king's papers, furnished to him by the Cardinal. Arran, it was well known, was friendly to the reformers, and his imbecility of mind being unknown, the greatest expectations were formed from the moderation of his character. In the parliament that met in the month of March following, public affairs put on a much more promising appearance than could have been expected. The king of England, instead of an army to waste or to subjugate the country, sent an ambassador to negociate a marriage between the young queen and his son, and a lasting peace upon the most advantageous terms. The Cardinal, who saw in this alliance with protestant England the downfall of his church in Scotland, opposed himself, with the whole weight of the clergy at his back, and all the influence of the Queen-dowager, to every thing like pacific measures, and that with so

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much violence, that he was by the general consent of the house shut up in a separate chamber, while the votes were taken; after which every thing was settled in the most amicable manner, and it was agreed that hostages should be sent into England for the fulfilment of the stipulated articles.

The Cardinal in the meantime was committed as a prisoner into the hands of Lord Seton, who kept him first in Dalkeith, afterwards in Seton, and by and bye, something being bestowed on Lord Seton and the old Laird of Lethington, by way of compensation, he was suffered to resume his own castle at St Andrews. In the great confusion and uncertainty in public affairs that had prevailed for a number of years, trade had been at an entire stand, and now that a lasting peace seemed to be established, the merchants began to bestir themselves in all quarters, and a number of vessels were sent to sea laden with the most valuable merchandise. Edinburgh itself fitted out twelve, and the other towns on the eastern coast in proportion to their wealth, all of them coasting the English shores, and entering their harbours with the most undoubting confidence. Restored, however, to liberty, the Cardinal, enraged at the opposition he had encountered, and writhing under the disgrace of detected fraud, strained every nerve to break up the arrangements that had been so happily concluded. Seconded by the Queen-dowager, who, like him, hated the Douglasses, and trembled for the established religion, any change in which would necessarily involve a rupture of the ancient treaty with France, he convoked, at St Andrews, soon after his return to that place, an assembly of the clergy, to determine upon a certain sum of money to be given by them in case their measures for the preservation of the catholic church should involve the country in a war with England. The whole of the bishops not being present, the meeting was adjourned to the month of June; but the Cardinal had the address to prevail on those that were present to give all their own money, their silver plate, and the plate belonging to their churches, for the maintainance of such a war, besides engaging to enter themselves into the army as volunteers, should such a measure be thought necessary.

Aided by this money, with which he wrought upon the avarice and the poverty of the nobles and the clamours of the vulgar, who hated the very name of an English alliance, the Cardinal soon found himself at the head of a formidable party, which treated the English ambassador with the most supercilious haughtiness, in the hope of forcing him out of the country before the arrival of the day stipulated by the treaty with the regent for the delivery of the hostages. The ambassador, however, braved every insult till the day arrived, when he waited on the regent, and complained in strong terms of the manner in which he had been used, and the affronts that had been put, not upon himself only, but upon his master, in contempt of the law of nature and of nations, but at the same time demanded the fulfilment of the treaty and the immediate delivery of the hostages that had been agreed upon. With respect to the affronts complained of, the regent apologised, stating them to have been committed without his knowledge, and he promised to make strict enquiry after, and to punish the offenders. With regard to the hostages, however, he was obliged to confess, that, through the intrigues of the Cardinal, it was impossible for him to furnish them. The treaty being thus broken off, the noblemen who had been captives only a few months before, ought, according to agreement, to have gone back into England, having left hostages to that effect. Wrought upon, however, by the Cardinal and the clergy, they refused to redeem the faith they had pledged, and abandoned the friends they had left behind them to their fate. The only exception to this baseness was the Earl of Cassilis, who had left two brothers as hostages. Henry was so much pleased with this solitary instance of good faith, that he set him free along with his brothers, and sent him home loaded with gifts. He at the

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same time seized upon all the Scottish vessels, a great number of which had been lately fitted out, as we have stated, and were at this time in the English harbours and road-steads, confiscated the merchandise, and made the merchants and the mariners prisoners of war. This, while it added to the domestic miseries of Scotland, served also to fan the flames of dissension, which burned more fiercely than ever. The faction of the Cardinal and the Queen-dowager, entirely devoted to France, now sent ambassadors thither to state their case as utterly desperate, unless they were supported from that country. In particular, they requested that Matthew Earl of Lennox might be ordered home, in order that they might set him up as a rival to the Hamiltons, who were already the objects of his hatred, on account of their having waylaid and killed his father at Linlithgow.

Arran laboured to strengthen his party in the best manner he could; and for this end resolved to possess himself of the infant Queen, who had hitherto remained at Linlithgow in the charge of her mother the Queen-dowager. The Cardinal, however, was too wary to be thus circumvented, and assembling his faction, took possession of Linlithgow, where he lived at free quarters upon the inhabitants, on pretence of being a guard to the Queen. Lennox, in the meantime, arrived from France, and was received by the regent with great kindness, each of them dissembling the hatred he bore to the other, and having informed his friends of the expectations he had been led to form he proceeded to join the Queen at Linlithgow, accompanied by upwards of four thousand men. Arran, who had assembled all his friends in and about Edinburgh for the purpose of breaking through to the Queen, now found himself completely in the back ground, having, by the imbecility of his character, entirely lost the confidence of the people, and being threatened with a law-suit by the friends of Lennox to deprive him of his estates, his father having married his mother, Janet Beaton, an aunt of the Cardinal, while his first wife, whom he had divorced, was still alive. He now thought of nothing but making his peace with the Cardinal. To this the Cardinal was not at all averse, as he wished to make Arran his tool rather than to crush him entirely. Delegates of course were appointed by both parties, who met at Kirkliston a village about midway between Edinburgh and Linlithgow, and agreed that the Queen should be carried to Stirling; the Earl of Montrose, with the Lords Erskine, Lindsay, and Livingstone, being nominated to take the superintendancy of her education. Being put in possession of the infant Queen, these noblemen proceeded with her direct for Stirling Castle, where she was solemnly inaugurated with the usual ceremonies on the 9th of Sept. 1543. The feeble regent soon followed, and before the Queen-mother and the principal nobility in the church of the Franciscans at Stirling, solemnly abjured the protestant doctrines, by the profession of which alone he had obtained the favour of so large a portion of the nation, and for the protection of which he had been especially called to the regency. In this manner the Cardinal, through the cowardice of the regent, and the avarice of his friends, obtained all that he intended by the forged will, and enjoyed all the advantages of ruling, while all the odium that attended it attached to the imbecile Arran, who was now as much hated and despised by his own party as he had formerly been venerated by them. There was yet, however, one thing wanting to establish the power of the Cardinal—the dismissal of Lennox, who, though he had been greatly useful to them in humbling Arran, was now a serious obstacle in the way of both the Cardinal and the Queen-mother. They accordingly wrote to the king of France, entreating that, as Scotland had been restored to tranquillity by his liberality and assistance, he would secure his own good work and preserve the peace which he had procured, by recalling Lennox, without which it was impossible it could be lasting.

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Though they were thus secretly labouring to undermine this nobleman, the Queen-mother and the Cardinal seemed to study nothing so much as how they might put honour upon him before the people, and in the most effective manner contribute to his comfort. By a constant succession of games and festivals, the court presented one unbroken scene of gaiety and pleasure. Day after day was spent in tournaments, and night after night in masquerades. In these festivities, of which he was naturally fond, Lennox found a keen rival in James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, who had been banished by James V., but had returned after his decease, and was now labouring to obtain the Queen-dowager in marriage by the same arts that Lennox fancied himself to be so successfully employing. Both these noblemen were remarkable for natural endowments, and in the gifts of fortune they were nearly upon a level. Finding himself inferior, however, in the sportive strife of arms, Bothwell withdrew from the court in chagrin, leaving the field to his rival undisputed. Lennox, now fancying that he had nothing more to do than to reap the harvest of fair promises that had been so liberally held forth to him, pressed his suit upon the Queen, but learned with astonishment that she had no intention of taking him for a husband, and so far from granting him the regency, she had agreed with the Cardinal to preserve it in the possession of his mortal enemy Arran, whom they expected to be a more pliant tool to serve their own personal views and purposes. Exasperated to the highest degree, Lennox swore to be amply revenged, but uncertain as yet what plan to pursue, departed for Dunbarton where he was in the midst of his vassals and friends. Here he was met by thirty thousand crowns, sent to increase the strength of his party by the king of France, who had not yet been informed of the real state of Scotland. Being ordered to consult with the Queen-dowager and the Cardinal in the distribution of this money, Lennox divided part of it among his friends, and part he sent to the Queen. The Cardinal, who had expected to have been intrusted with the greatest share of the money, under the influence of rage and disappointment, persuaded the vacillating regent to raise an army and march to Glasgow, where he might seize upon Lennox and the money at the same time. Lennox, however, warned of their intentions, raised on the instant among his vassals and friends upwards of ten thousand men, with which he marched to Leith, and sent a message to the Cardinal at Edinburgh, that he desired to save him the trouble of coming to fight him at Glasgow, and would give him that pleasure any day in the fields between Edinburgh and Leith.

This was a new and unexpected mortification to the Cardinal, who, having gained the regent, imagined he should have gained the whole party that adhered to him; but the fact was, he had gained only the regent and his immediate dependants, the great body of the people, who had originally given him weight and influence, being now so thoroughly disgusted with his conduct, that they had joined the standard, and now swelled the ranks of his rival. The Cardinal, however, though professing the utmost willingness to accept the challenge, delayed coming to action from day to day under various pretexts, but in reality that he might have time to seduce the adherents of his rival, and weary out the patience of his followers, who, without pay and without magazines, he was well aware could not be kept for any length of time together. Lennox, finding the war thus protracted, and himself so completely unfurnished for undertaking a siege, at the urgent entreaty of his friends, who for the most part had provided secretly for themselves, made an agreement with the regent, and, proceeding to Edinburgh, the two visited backwards and forwards, as if all their ancient animosity had been forgotten. Lennox, however, being advised of treachery, withdrew in the night secretly to Glasgow, where he fortified, provisioned, and garrisoned the Bishop's castle, but retired himself to Dunbarton. Here he learned

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that the Douglasses had agreed with the Hamiltons, and that, through the influence of his enemies, the French king was totally estranged from him. Archibald Douglas Earl of Angus, and Robert Maxwell, in the meantime, came to Glasgow with the view of mediating between Lennox and the Regent. The Regent, however, seized them both in a clandestine manner by the way, and made them close prisoners in the castle of Cadzow. While the two factions were thus harassing one another to the ruin of their common country, Henry was demanding by letters satisfaction for the breach of treaties and the insults that had been heaped upon him in the person of his late ambassador. No notice being taken of these letters, Henry ordered a large armament, which he had prepared to send against the coast of France, to proceed directly to Leith, and to visit Edinburgh and the adjacent country with all the miseries of war, and with so much secrecy and celerity did this armament proceed, that the first tidings heard of it in Scotland was its appearance in Leith roads. Ten thousand men were disembarked on the 4th May, 1544, a little above Leith, who took possession of that place without the smallest opposition, the inhabitants being mostly abroad in the prosecution of their business. The Regent and the Cardinal were both at the time in Edinburgh, and, panic-stricken at the appearance of the enemy, and still more at the hatred of the citizens, fled with the utmost precipitation towards Stirling. The English, in the meantime, having landed their baggage and artillery, marched in order of battle towards Edinburgh, which they sacked and set on fire; then dispersing themselves over the neighbouring country, they burnt towns, villages, and gentlemen's seats to the ground, and returning by Edinburgh to Leith, embarked aboard their ships and set sail with a fair wind, carrying with them an immense booty, and with the loss on their part of only a few individuals.

The Cardinal and his puppet the Regent, in the meantime, raised a small body of forces in the north, with which, finding the English gone, they marched against Lennox in the west, and laid siege to the castle of Glasgow, which they battered with brass cannon for a number of days. A truce was at last concluded for one day, during which the garrison were tampered with, and, on a promise of safety, surrendered. They were, however, put to death, with the exception of one or two individuals. Lennox, now totally deserted by the French, and unable to cope with the Cardinal, had no resource but to fly into England, where, through the medium of his friends, he had been assured of a cordial reception. Before leaving the country, however, he was determined to inflict signal vengeance upon the Hamiltons. Having communicated with William Earl of Glencairn upon the subject, a day was appointed on which they should assemble with their vassals at Glasgow, whence they might make an irruption into the territory of the Hamiltons, which lay in the immediate neighbourhood. The Regent, informed of this design, with the advice of the Cardinal, resolved to pre-occupy Glasgow. Glencairn, however, did not wait the appointed day, but was already in the town, and learning the approach of the Hamiltons marched out to give them battle, aided by the citizens, who do not appear to have been friendly to the Regent. The battle was stoutly contested, and for some time the Hamiltons seemed to have the worst of it. In the end, however, they gained a complete victory, the greater part of the Cuninghames being slain, and among the rest two of the Earl's sons. Nor was it a bloodless victory to the Hamiltons, several of their chieftains being slain; but the severest loss fell upon the citizens of Glasgow, whose houses were cruelly plundered, and even their doors and window shutters destroyed. The friends of Lennox refused to risk another engagement, but they insisted that he should keep the impregnable fortress of Dumbarton, where he might in safety await another revolution in the state of parties, which they prognosticated would take place in a very short time. Nothing, however, could di-

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vert him from his purpose; and, committing the charge of the castle of Dumbarton to George Stirling, he sailed for England, where he was honourably entertained by king Henry, who settled a pension upon him, and gave him to wife his niece, Margaret Douglas, a princess in the flower of her age, and celebrated for every accomplishment becoming the female character. The Queen-dowager, aware that the faction Lennox had thus left without a leader could not be brought to submit to Arran, whose levity and imbecility of character they were now perfectly acquainted with, nor to the Cardinal, whose cruelty they both hated and feared, and dreading they might break out into some more desperate insurrection, condescended to soothe them and to take them under her particular protection. Arran was delighted to be delivered from such a formidable rival upon any terms; and in the next parliament, which met at Linlithgow, he succeeded in causing Lennox to be declared a traitor, and in having his estates and those of his friends confiscated, by which he realized considerable sums of money.

The English, during these domestic broils, made a furious inroad into Scotland, burned Jedburgh and Kelso, and laid waste the whole circumjacent country. Thence proceeding to Coldingham, they fortified the church and the church tower, in which they placed a garrison on retiring to their own country. This garrison, from the love of plunder as well as to prevent supplies for a besieging army, wasted the neighbouring district to a wide extent. Turning their attention at last to general interests, the Scottish government, at the head of which was the Cardinal, the Queen-dowager, and the nominal Regent Arran, issued a proclamation for the nobles and the more respectable of the commons to assemble armed, and with provisions for eight days, to attend the Regent. Eight thousand men were speedily assembled, and though it was the depth of winter, they proceeded against the church and tower of Coldingham without delay. When they had been before the place only one day and one night, the Regent, informed that the English were advancing from Berwick, took horse, and with a few attendants galloped in the utmost haste to Dunbar. This inexplicable conduct threw the whole army into confusion, and, but for the bravery of one man, Archibald Douglas Earl of Angus, the whole of their tents, baggage, and artillery would have been abandoned to the enemy. But although Angus and a few of his friends, at the imminent hazard of their lives, saved the artillery and brought it in safety to Dunbar, the conduct of the army in general, and of the Regent in particular, was pusillanimous in the extreme. The spirit of the nation sunk and the courage of the enemy rose in proportion. Ralph Ivers, and Brian Latoun, the English commanders, overran, without meeting with any opposition, the districts of Merse, Teviotdale, and Lauderdale, and the Forth only seemed to limit their victorious arms. Angus, who alone of all the Scottish nobility at this time gave any indication of public spirit, indignant at the nation's disgrace and deeply affected with his own losses, for he had extensive estates both in Merse and Teviotdale, made a vehement representation to the Regent upon the folly of his conduct in allowing himself to be the dupe of an ambitious but cowardly priest, who, like the rest of his brethren, unwarlike abroad, was seditious at home, and, exempt from danger, wished only the power of wasting the fruit of other men's labours upon his own voluptuousness. Always feeble and always vacillating, the Regent was roused by these remonstrances to a momentary exertion. An order was issued through the neighbouring counties for all the nobles to attend him, wherever he should be, without loss of time, and in company with Angus, he set out the very next day for the borders, their whole retinue not exceeding three hundred horse. Arrived at Melrose, they determined to wait for their reinforcements, having yet been joined only by a few individuals from the Merse. The English, who were at Jedburgh, to the number of five thousand men, having by their

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scouts ascertained the situation and small number of their forces, marched on the instant to surprise them, before their expected supplies should come up. The Scots, however, apprized of their intentions, withdrew to the neighbouring hills, whence, in perfect security, they watched the movements of their enemies, who, disappointed in not finding them, wandered about during the night in quest of such spoils as a lately ravaged town could supply, and with the returning dawn marched back to Jedburgh. The Scots now joined by Norman Lesly, a youth of great promise, son to the Earl of Rothes, and three hundred men from Fife, withdrew to the hills, which overlook the village of Ancrum, where they were joined by the Laird of Balcleuch, an active and experienced commander, with a few of his vassals, who assured him that the remainder would follow immediately. By the advice of Balcleugh, the troops were dismounted, and the horses under the care of servants sent to an adjoining hill. The army was formed in the hollow in the order of battle. The English, as had been anticipated, seeing the horses going over the hill, supposed the Scots to be in full retreat, and eager to prevent their escape, rushed after them, and ere they were aware, fell upon the Scottish spears. Taken by surprise, the English troops, though they fought with great bravery, were thrown into disorder, and sustained a signal defeat, losing in killed and captured upwards of thirteen hundred men. The loss on the part of the Scots was two men killed and a few wounded.

In consequence of this victory, the Scots were freed from the incursions of the English for the ensuing summer; but it was principally improved by the Regent, with the advice of the Cardinal, for drawing closer the cords of connexion with France. An ambassador was immediately despatched to that country with the tidings—to report in strong terms the treachery of Lennox, and to request reinforcements of men and money. These could not at this time indeed well be spared, as an immediate descent of the English was expected; yet, in the hopes of somewhat distracting the measures of Henry, an auxiliary force of three thousand foot and five hundred horse was ordered under the command of James Montgomery of Largo, who was also empowered to inquire into the differences between Lennox and the Regent and Cardinal. Montgomery arrived in Scotland on the 3d day of July, 1545, and having exhibited his commission, and explained the purposes of his master, the king of France, to the Scottish council, they were induced to issue an order for an army of the better class, who might be able to support the expenses of a campaign, to assemble on an early day. This order was punctually complied with, and on the day appointed, fifteen thousand Scotsmen assembled at Haddington, who were marched directly to the English border, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Werk castle. From this camp, they carried on their incursions into the neighbouring country for about a day's journey, carrying off every thing that they could lay hold of. Having wasted in the course of ten days the country that lay within their reach, and being destitute of artillery for carrying on sieges, the army disbanded, and every man went to his own home. Montgomery repaired to court, to inquire into the disputes with Lennox; the English, in the meantime, by way of reprisals, wasting the Scottish borders in every quarter. Montgomery, in the beginning of winter, returned home, leaving the Cardinal, though he blamed him as the sole author of the dissentions between Lennox and the Regent, in the full possession of all his authority.

Beaton now supposed himself fully established in the civil, as well as the ecclesiastic management of the kingdom, and proceeded on a progress through the different provinces for the purpose of quieting the seditions, which, as he alleged, had arisen in various places, but in reality to repress the protestants, who, notwithstanding his having so artfully identified the cause of the catholic

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religion with that of national feeling, had still been rapidly increasing. Carrying his puppet Arran along with him, as also the Earl of Argyle, Lord Justice-General, Lord Borthwick, the Bishops of Orkney and Dumblane, &c. he came to Perth, or, as it was then more commonly called, St Johnston, where several persons were called before him for disputing upon the sense of the Scriptures, which, among all true catholics, was a crime to be punished by the judge. Four unhappy men, accused of having eaten a goose upon a Friday, were condemned to be hanged, which rigorous sentence was put into execution. A woman, Helen Stark, for having refused to call upon the Virgin for assistance in her labour, was drowned, although again pregnant. A number of the burgesses of the city, convicted or suspected (for in those days they were the same thing) of smaller peccadilloes, were banished from the city. He also deposed the Lord Ruthven from the provostry of the city, for being somewhat attached to the new opinions, and bestowed the office upon the Laird of Kinfauns, a relation to the Lord Gray, who was neither supposed to be averse to the new religion, nor friendly to the Cardinal; but he hoped by this arrangement to lay a foundation for a quarrel between these noblemen, by which at least one of them would be cut off. This act of tyranny, by which the citizens were deprived of their privilege of choosing their own governor, was highly resented by them, as well as by the Lord Ruthven, whose family had held the place so long that they almost considered it to be hereditary in their family. The new provost Kinfauns was urged by the Cardinal and his advisers to seize upon the government of the city by force, but the Lord Ruthven, with the assistance of the citizens, put him to the route, and slew sixty of his followers. That Ruthven was victorious must have been a little mortifying to the Cardinal; but as the victims were enemies of the church, the defeat was the less to be lamented.

From St Johnston the Cardinal proceeded to Dundee, in order to bring to punishment the readers of the New Testament, which about this time began to be taught to them in the original Greek, of which the Scottish priesthood knew so little that they held it forth as a new book written in a new language, invented by Martin Luther, and of such pernicious qualities that, whoever had the misfortune to look into it became infallibly tainted with deadly heresy. Here, however, their proceedings were interrupted by the approach of Lord Patrick Gray and the Earl of Rothes. These noblemen being both friendly to the Reformation, the Cardinal durst not admit them with their followers into a town that was notorious for attachment to that cause above all the cities of the kingdom; he therefore sent the Regent back to Perth, whither he himself also accompanied him. Even in Perth, however, he durst not meet them openly, and the Regent requiring them to enter separately, they complied, and were both committed to prison. Rothes was soon dismissed, but Gray, whom the Cardinal was chiefly afraid of, remained in confinement a considerable time. The Cardinal having gone over as much of Angus as he found convenient at the time, returned to St Andrews, carrying along with him a black friar named John Rogers, who had been preaching the reformed doctrine in Angus. This individual he committed to the sea-tower of St Andrews, where, it is alleged, he caused him to be privately murdered and thrown over the wall, giving out that he had attempted to escape over it, and in the attempt fell and broke his neck. He also brought along with him the Regent Arran, of whom, though he held his son as a hostage, he was not without doubts, especially when he reflected upon the inconstancy of his character, the native fierceness of the nobility, and the number of them that were still unfriendly to his own measures. He therefore entertained him, for twenty days together, with all manner of shows and splendid entertainments, made him many presents, and, promising him many more, set out with him to Edinburgh,

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where he convened an assembly of the clergy to devise means for putting a stop to the disorders that were so heavily complained of, and which threatened the total ruin of the church. In this meeting it was proposed to allay the public clamours by taking measures for reforming the open profligacy of the priests, which was the chief source of complaint. Their deliberations, however, were cut short by intelligence that George Wishart, the most eminent preacher of the reformed doctrines of his day, was residing with Cockburn of Ormiston, only about seven miles from Edinburgh. They calculated that, if they could cut off this individual, they should perform an action more serviceable to the cause of the church, and also one of much easier accomplishment, than reforming the lives of the priests. A troop of horse were immediately sent off to secure him; but Cockburn, refusing to deliver him, the Cardinal himself and the Regent followed, blocking up every avenue to the house, so as to render the escape of the poor man impossible. To prevent the effusion of blood, however, the Earl of Bothwell was sent for, who pledged his faith to Cockburn, that he would stand by Wishart, and that no harm should befall him; upon which he was peaceably surrendered. Bothwell, however, wrought upon by the Cardinal, and especially by the Queen-mother, with whom, Knox observes, "he was then in the glanders," after some shuffling to save appearances, delivered his prisoner up to the Cardinal, who imprisoned him, first in the Castle of Edinburgh, and soon after carried him to St Andrews, where he was brought before the ecclesiastical tribunal, condemned for heresy, and most cruelly put to death, as the reader will find related in another part of this work, under the article Wishart. Wishart was a man mighty in the Scriptures, and few even of the martyrs have displayed more of the meekness and humility that ought to characterize the follower of Jesus Christ; but his knowledge of the Scriptures availed him nothing, and the meek graces of his character, like oil thrown upon flame, only heightened the rage and inflamed the fury of his persecutors. Arran, pressed by his friends, and perhaps by his own conscience, wrote to the Cardinal to stay the proceedings till he should have time to inquire into the matter, and threatened him with the guilt of innocent blood. But the warning was in vain, and the innocent victim was only the more rapidly hurried to his end for fear of a rescue.

This act of tyranny and murder was extolled by the clergy and their dependants as highly glorifying to God and honourable to the actor, who was now regarded by them as one of the prime pillars of heaven, under whose auspices the most glorious days might be expected. The people in general felt far otherwise, and, irritated rather than terrified, regarded the Cardinal as a monster of cruelty and lust, whom it would be a meritorious action to destroy. Beaton was not ignorant of the hatred and contempt in which he was held, nor of the devices that were forming against him; but he supposed his power to be now so firmly established as to be beyond the power of faction, and he was determined by the most prompt and decisive measures to be before hand with his enemies. In the mean time, he thought it prudent to strengthen his interest, which was already great, by giving his daughter in marriage to the Master of Crawford. For this purpose he proceeded to Angus, where the marriage was celebrated with almost royal splendour, the bride receiving from her father the Cardinal, no less than four thousand marks of dowry. From these festivities he was suddenly recalled by intelligence that Henry of England was collecting a great naval force, with which he intended to annoy Scotland, and especially the coast of Fife. To provide against such an exigence, the Cardinal summoned the nobility to attend him in a tour round the coast, where he ordered fortifications to be made, and garrisons placed in the most advantageous positions. In this tour he was attended by the Master of Rothes, Norman Leslie, who had formerly been one of

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his friends, but had of late, from some private grudge, become cold towards him. Some altercation of course ensued, and they parted in mortal enmity; the Cardinal determined secretly to take off, or to imprison Norman, with his friends the Lairds of Grange, elder and younger, Sir James Learmont, provost of St Andrews, and the Laird of Raith, all whom he feared, and Norman resolved to slay the Cardinal, be the consequences what they would.

The Cardinal was in the meantime in great haste to repair and strengthen his castle, upon which a great number of men were employed almost night and day. The conspirators having lodged themselves secretly in St Andrews on the night of May the twenty-eighth, 1546, were, ere the dawn of the next morning, assembled to the number of ten or twelve persons in the neighbourhood of the castle, and the gates being opened to let in the workmen with their building materials, Kircaldy of Grange entered, and with him six persons, who held a parley with the porter. Norman Leslie and his company having then entered, passed to the middle of the court. Lastly came John Leslie and four men with him, at whose appearance the porter, suspecting some design, attempted to lift the drawbridge, but was prevented by Leslie, who leaped upon it, seized the keys, and threw the janitor himself headlong into the ditch. The place thus secured, the workmen, to the number of a hundred, ran off the walls, and were put forth at the wicket gate unhurt. Kircaldy then took charge of the privy postern, the others going through the different chambers, from which they ejected upwards of fifty persons, who were quietly permitted to escape. The Cardinal, roused from his morning slumbers by the noise, threw up his window and asked what it meant. Being answered that Norman Leslie had taken his castle, he ran to the postern, but, finding it secured, returned to his chamber, drew his two-handed sword, and ordered his chamberlain to barricade the door. In the meantime, John Leslie demanded admittance, but did not gain it till a chimneyfull of burning coals was brought to burn the door, when the Cardinal or his chamberlain (it is not known which) threw it open. Beaton, who had in the mean time hidden a box of gold under some coals in a corner of the room, now sat down in a chair, crying, "I am a priest, I am a priest; you will not slay me." But he was now in the hands of men to whom his priestly character was no recommendation. John Leslie, according to his vow, struck him twice with his dagger, and so did Peter Carmichael; but James Melville, perceiving them to be in a passion, withdrew them, saying, "This work and judgment of God, although it be secret, ought to be gone about with gravity." Then admonishing the Cardinal of his wicked life, particularly his shedding the blood of Mr George Wishart, this advocate for decency in murder struck him thrice through with a stag sword, and he fell, exclaiming, "Fie, fie, I am a priest, all's gone!" Before this time the inhabitants of St Andrews were apprized of what was going on, and began to throng around the castle, exclaiming, "Have ye slain my Lord Cardinal? What have ye done with my Lord Cardinal?" As they refused to depart till they saw him, his dead body was slung out by the assassins at the same window from which he had but a short time before witnessed the burning of Mr George Wishart. Having no opportunity to bury the body, they afterwards salted it, wrapped it in lead, and consigned it to the ground floor of the sea tower, the very place where he was said to have caused Rogers the preaching friar to be murdered.

In this manner fell Cardinal David Beaton, in the height of prosperity, and in the prime of life, for he had only reached the fifty-second year of his age. His death was deeply lamented by his own party, to whom it proved an irreparable loss, and the authors of it were regarded by them as sacrilegious assassins, but by numbers, who, on account of difference in religion, were in dread of their lives from his cruelty, and by others who were disgusted by his insufferable

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arrogance, they were regarded as the restorers of their country's liberties, and many did not hesitate to hazard their lives and fortunes along with them. Whatever opinion may be formed regarding the manner of his death, there can be only one regarding its effects; the Protestant faith, which had quailed before his vigorous genius, from this moment began to prosper in the land. It is probable, as his enemies alone have been his historians, that the traits of his character, and even the tone and bearing of many of his actions, are greatly misrepresented; yet there seems abundant proof for his sensuality, his cruelty, and his total disregard of principle in his exertions for the preservation of the Catholic faith. Nothing, on the other hand, but that barbarism of the times, which characterises all Beaton's policy, as well as his actions, could extenuate the foul deed by which he was removed from the world, or the unseemly sympathy which the reforming party in general manifested towards its perpetrators. As a moderate view of his character, and at the same time a fine specimen of old English composition, we extract the following from the supplement to Dempster:—

"It frequently happens that the same great qualities of mind which enable a man to distinguish himself by the splendour of his virtues, are so overstrained or corrupted as to render him no less notorious for his vices. Of this we have many instances in ancient writers, but none by which it is more clearly displayed than in the character of the Cardinal Archbishop of St Andrews, David Beaton, who, from his very childhood, was extremely remarkable, and whose violent death had this in it singular, that his enemies knew no way to remove him from his absolute authority but that [of assassination]. When he was but ten years of age, he spoke with so much ease and gravity, with so much good sense, and freedom from affectation, as surprised all who heard him. When he was little more than twenty, he became known to the Duke of Albany, and to the court of France, where he transacted affairs of the greatest importance, at an age when others begin to become acquainted with them only in books. Before he was thirty, he had merited the confidence of the Regent, the attention of the French King, and the favour of his master, so that they were all suitors to the court of Rome in his behalf. He was soon after made Lord Privy-Seal, and appointed by act of parliament to attend the young king, at his majesty's own desire. Before he attained the forty-fifth year of his age, he was Bishop of Mirepoix in France, Cardinal of the Roman Church, Archbishop of St Andrews, and Primate of Scotland, to which high dignities he added, before he was fifty, those of Lord High Chancellor, and legate *à latere*. His behaviour was so taking, that he never addicted himself to the service of any prince or person, but he absolutely obtained their confidence, and this power he had over the minds of others, he managed with so much discretion, that his interest never weakened or decayed. He was the favourite of the Regent, Duke of Albany, and of his pupil James V. as long as they lived; and the French king and the governor of Scotland equally regretted his loss. He was indefatigable in business, and yet managed it with great ease. He understood the interests of the courts of Rome, France, and Scotland, better than any man of his time, and he was perfectly acquainted with the temper, influence, and weight of all the nobility in his own country. In time of danger, he showed great prudence and steadiness of mind, and in his highest prosperity, discovered nothing of vanity or giddiness. He was a zealous churchman, and thought severity the only weapon that could combat heresy. He loved to live magnificently, though not profusely, for at the time of his death he was rich, and yet had provided plentifully for his family. But his vices were many, and his vices scandalous. He quarrelled with the old Archbishop of Glasgow in his own city, and pushed this quarrel so far that their men fought in the very church. His ambition was

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boundless, for he took into his hands the entire management of the affairs of the kingdom, civil and ecclesiastical, and treated the English ambassador as if he had been a sovereign prince. He made no scruple of sowing discord among his enemies, that he might reap security from their disputes. His jealousy of the governor [Arran] was such, that he kept his eldest son as a hostage in his house, under pretence of taking care of his education. In point of chastity he was very deficient; for, though we should set aside as calumnies many of those things which his enemies have reported of his intrigues, yet the posterity he left behind him plainly proves that he violated those vows to gratify his passions, which he obliged others to hold sacred on the penalty of their lives. In a word, had his probity been equal to his parts, had his virtues come up to his abilities, his end had been less fatal, and his memory without blemish. As it is, we ought to consider him as an eminent instance of the frailty of the brightest human faculties, and the instability of what the world calls fortune."

He wrote, according to Dempster, "Memoirs of his own Embassies," "A Treatise of Peter's Primacy," and "Letters to several Persons."

BEATON, James, uncle to the preceding, and himself an eminent prelate and statesman, was a younger son of John Beaton of Balfour, in Fife, and of Mary Boswell, daughter of the Laird of Balmouto. Having been educated for the church, he became, in 1503, provost of the collegiate church of Bothwell, by the favour, it has been almost necessarily supposed, of the house of Douglas, who were patrons of the establishment. His promotion was very rapid. In 1504, he was made Abbot of the rich and important abbacy of Dunfermline, which had previously been held by a brother of the king; and in 1505, on the death of his uncle, Sir David Beaton, who had hitherto been his chief patron, he received his office of High Treasurer, and became, of course, one of the principal ministers of state. On the death of Vaus, Bishop of Galloway, in 1508, James Beaton was placed in that see, and next year he was translated to the archiepiscopate of Glasgow. He now resigned the Treasurer's staff, in order that he might devote himself entirely to his duties as a churchman. While Archbishop of Glasgow, he busied himself in what were then considered the most pious and virtuous of offices, namely, founding new altarages in the cathedral, and improving the accommodations of the episcopal palace. He also entitled himself to more lasting and rational praise, by such public acts as the building and repairing of bridges within the regality of Glasgow. Upon all the buildings, both sacred and profane, erected by him, were carefully blazoned his armorial bearings. During all the earlier part of his career, this great prelate seems to have lived on the best terms with the family of Douglas, to which he must have been indebted for his first preferment. In 1515, when it became his duty to consecrate the celebrated Gavin Douglas as Bishop of Dunkeld, he testified his respect for the family by entertaining the poet and all his train in the most magnificent manner at Glasgow, and defraying the whole expenses of his consecration. Archbishop Beaton was destined to figure very prominently in the distracted period which ensued upon the death of James IV. As too often happens in the political scene, the violence of faction broke up his old attachment to the Douglasses. The Earl of Angus, chief of that house, having married the widow of the king, endeavoured, against the general sense of the nation, to obtain the supreme power. Beaton, who was elevated by the Regent Albany, to the high office of Lord Chancellor, and appointed one of the governors of the kingdom during his absence in France, attached himself to the opposite faction of the Hamiltons under the Earl of Arran. On the 29th of April, 1520, a convention having been called to compose the differences of the two parties, the Hamiltons appeared in military guise, and seemed prepared to vindicate their supremacy

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with the sword. Beaton, their chief counsellor, sat in his house at the bottom of the Blackfriars' Wynd,[1] with armour under his robes, ready apparently to have joined the forces of the Hamiltons, in the event of a quarrel. In this crisis, Gavin Douglas was deputed by his nephew the Earl of Angus, to remonstrate with the Archbishop against the hostile preparations of his party. Beaton endeavoured to gloss over the matter, and concluded with a solemn asseveration upon his conscience, that he knew not of it. As he spoke, he struck his hand upon his breast, and caused the mail to rattle under his gown. Douglas replied, with a cutting equivoque, "Methinks, my lord, your conscience clatters,"—as much as to say, your conscience is unsound, at the same time that the word might mean the undue disclosure of a secret. In the ensuing conflict, which took place upon the streets, the Hamiltons were worsted, and Archbishop Beaton had to take refuge in the Blackfriars' Church. Being found there by the Douglasses, he had his rochet torn from his back, and would have been slain on the spot, but for the interposition of the Bishop of Dunkeld. Having with some difficulty escaped, he lived for some time in an obscure way, till the return of the Duke of Albany, by whose interest he was appointed in 1523, to the metropolitan see of St Andrews. On the revival of the power of the Douglasses in the same year, he was again obliged to retire. It is said that the insurrection of the Earl of Lennox in 1525, which ended in the triumph of the Douglasses and the death of the Earl at Linlithgow Bridge, was stirred up by Archbishop Beaton, as a means of emancipating the King. After this unhappy event, the Douglasses persecuted him with such keenness, that, to save his life, he assumed the literal guise and garb of a shepherd, and tended an actual flock upon Bogrian-Knowe in Fife. At length, when James V. asserted his independence of these powerful tutors, and banished them from the kingdom, Beaton was reinstated in all his dignities, except that of Chancellor, which was conferred upon Gavin Dunbar, the King's preceptor. He henceforward resided chiefly at St Andrews, where, in 1527, he was induced by the persuasions of other churchmen less mild than himself, to consent to the prosecution and death of Patrick Hamilton, the proto-martyr of the Scottish Reformation. He was subsequently led on to various severities against the reformers, but rather through a want of power to resist the clamours of his brethren, than any disposition to severity in his own nature. It would appear that he latterly entrusted much of the administration of his affairs to his less amiable nephew. The chief employment of his latter years was to found and endow the New College of St Andrews, in which design, however, he was thwarted in a great measure by his executors, who misapplied the greater part of his funds. He died in 1539.

BEATON, James, Archbishop of Glasgow, was the second of the seven sons of John Beaton, or Bethune of Balfour, elder brother of Cardinal Beaton. He received the chief part of his education at Paris, under the care of his celebrated uncle, who was then residing in the French capital as ambassador from James V. His first preferment in the church was to be chanter of the cathedral of Glasgow, under Archbishop Dunbar. When his uncle attained to nearly supreme power, he was employed by him in many important matters, and in 1543, succeeded him as Abbot of Aberbrothick. The death of the Cardinal does not appear to have materially retarded the advancement of his nephew; for we find that, in 1552, he had sufficient interest with the existing government, to receive the second place in the Scottish church, the Archbishopric of Glasgow, to which he was consecrated at Rome. He was now one of the most important personages in the kingdom; he enjoyed the confidence of the governor, the Earl of Arran; his niece, Mary Beaton, one of the "Four Maries," was the

[1] Lane.

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favourite of the young Queen Mary, now residing in France; and he was also esteemed very highly by the Queen Dowager, Mary of Lorrain, who was now aspiring to the Regency. During the subsequent sway of the Queen Regent, the Archbishop of St Andrews enjoyed her highest confidence. It was to him that she handed the celebrated letter addressed to her by John Knox, saying with a careless air, "Please you, my lord, to read a pasquil." In 1557, when the marriage of the youthful Mary to the Dauphin of France was about to take place, James Beaton, Archbishop of St Andrews, stood the first of the parliamentary commissioners appointed to be present at the ceremony, and to conduct the difficult business which was to precede it. He and his companions executed this duty in a most satisfactory manner. After his return in 1558, he acted as a Privy Councillor to the Queen Regent, till she was unable any longer to contend with the advancing tide of the Reformation. In November, 1559, his former friend, the Earl of Arran, who had now become a leading reformer, came with a powerful retinue to Glasgow, and, to use a delicate phrase of the time, "took order" with the Cathedral, which he cleared of all the images, placing a garrison at the same time in the Archbishop's palace. Beaton soon after recovered his house by means of a few French soldiers; but he speedily found that neither he nor his religion could maintain a permanent footing in the country.

In June, 1560, the Queen Regent expired, almost at the very moment when her authority became extinct. Her French troops, in terms of a treaty with the Reformers, sailed next month for their native country, and in the same ships was the Archbishop of Glasgow, along with all the plate and records of the cathedral, which he said he would never return till the Catholic faith should again be triumphant in Scotland. Some of these articles were of great value. Among the plate, which was very extensive and rich, was a golden image of Christ, with silver images of his twelve apostles. Among the records, which were also very valuable, were two chartularies, one of which had been written in the reign of Robert III., and was called, "The Red Book of Glasgow." All these objects were deposited by the Archbishop in the Scots College at Paris, where the manuscripts continued to be of use to Scottish antiquaries up to the period of the French Revolution, when, it is believed, they were destroyed or dispersed. Beaton was received by Queen Mary at Paris, with the distinction due to a virtuous and able counsellor of her late mother. On her departure next year, to assume the reins of government in Scotland, she left him in charge of her affairs in France. He spent the whole of the subsequent part of his life as ambassador from the Scottish court to his most Christian Majesty. This duty was one of extreme delicacy during the brief reign of Queen Mary, when the relation of the two courts was of the most important character. Mary addressed him frequently in her own hand, and a letter in which she details to him the circumstances of her husband's death, is a well known historical document.

It is not probable that Beaton's duty as an ambassador during the minority of James VI. was any thing but a titular honour; but that prince, on taking the government into his own hands, did not hesitate, notwithstanding the difference of religion, to employ a statesman who had already done faithful service to the two preceding generations. James also, in 1587, was able to restore to him both his title and estates as Archbishop of Glasgow; a proceeding quite anomalous, when we consider that the presbyterian religion was now established in Scotland. The Archbishop died, April 24, 1603, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, and a full jubilee of years from his consecration. He had been ambassador to three generations of the Scottish royal family, and had seen in France a succession of six kings, and transacted public affairs under five of them. He also had the satisfaction of seeing his sovereign accede to the English throne:

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James learned the intelligence of his death while on his journey to London, and immediately appointed the historian Spottiswoode to be his successor in the cathedral chair of Glasgow. Archbishop Spottiswoode characterises him as "a man honourably disposed, faithful to the Queen while she lived, and to the King her son; a lover of his country, and liberal, according to his means, to all his countrymen." His reputation, indeed, is singularly pure, when it is considered with what vigour he opposed the reformation. He appears to have been regarded by the opposite party as a conscientious, however mistaken man, and to have been spared accordingly all those calumnies and sarcasms with which party rage is apt to bespatter its opponents. Having enjoyed several livings in France, besides the less certain revenues of Glasgow, he died in possession of a fortune amounting to 80,000 livres, all of which he left to the Scots College, for the benefit of poor scholars of Scotland; a gift so munificent, that he was afterwards considered as the second founder of the institution, the first having been a bishop of Moray, in the year 1325. Besides all this wealth, he left an immense quantity of diplomatic papers, accumulated during the course of his legation at Paris; which, if they had been preserved to the present time, would unquestionably have thrown a strong light upon the events of his time.

BEATSON, Robert, LL.D. an ingenious and useful author, was a native of Dysart, where he was born in 1742. Being educated with a view to the military profession, he obtained an ensigncy in 1756, at the commencement of the seven years' war. He served next year in the expedition to the coast of France, and afterwards, as lieutenant, in the attack on Martinique, and the taking of Guadaloupe. In 1766, he retired on half-pay, and did not again seek to enter into active life till the breaking out of the American war. Having failed on this occasion to obtain an appointment suitable to his former services, he resolved to apply himself to another profession—that of literature—for which he had all along had considerable taste. His publications were, 1, "A Political Index to the Histories of Great Britain and Ireland," 1 vol. 8vo. 1786, of which a third edition in 3 volumes was published at a late period of his life. This work consists chiefly of accurate and most useful lists of all the ministers and other principal officers of the state, from the earliest time to the period of its publication. 2, "Naval and Military Memoirs of Great Britain, from 1727 to the present time," 3 vols. 8vo. 1790; 2nd edition, 6 vols. 1804. 3, "View of the Memorable Action of the 27th of July, 1778," 8vo. 1791. 4, "Essay on the Comparative Advantages of Vertical and Horizontal Windmills," 8vo. 1798. 5, "Chronological Register of both Houses of Parliament, from 1706 to 1807," 3 vols. 8vo. 1807. Besides some communications to the board of agriculture, of which he was an honorary member. This laborious author enjoyed in his latter years the situation of barrack-master at Aberdeen, where, if we are not mistaken, he received his degree of LL.D. He died at Edinburgh, January 24, 1818.

BEATTIE, James, poet and moral philosopher, was born on the 25th October, 1735, at Laurencekirk, then an obscure hamlet in Kincardineshire. His father, James Beattie, was a small shop-keeper in the village, and at the same time rented a little farm in the neighbourhood. His mother's name was Jean Watson, and they had six children, of whom the subject of this article was the youngest. The father was a man of information, and of character superior to his condition, and the mother was also a person of abilities; on the early death of her husband, she carried on the business of his shop and farm, with the assistance of her eldest son, and thus was able to rear her family in a comfortable manner.

Young Beattie, who, from his earliest years, was considered a child of pro-

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mise, received the rudiments of a classical education at the parish school, which had been taught forty years before by Ruddiman, and was at this time a seminary of considerable reputation. His avidity for books, which, in such a scene might have otherwise remained unsatisfied, was observed by the minister, who kindly admitted him to the use of his library. From a copy of Ogilvy's Virgil, obtained in this way, he derived his first notions of English versification. Even at this early period, his turn for poetry began to manifest itself, and among his school-fellows he went by the name of *the Poet*. In 1749, being fourteen years of age, he commenced an academical course at Mareschal College, Aberdeen, and was distinguished by Professor Blackwell as the best scholar in the Greek class. Having entitled himself by this superiority to a bursary, he continued at the college for three years more, studying philosophy under the distinguished Gerard, and divinity under Dr Pollock. His original destination being for the church, he read a discourse in the Hall, which met with much commendation, but was at the same time remarked to be *poetry in prose*. Before the period when he should have taken his trials before the presbytery, he relinquished all thoughts of this profession, and settled as school-master of the parish of Fordoun, near his native village.

In this humble situation, Beattie spent the years between 1753 and 1758. In the almost total want of society, he devoted himself alternately to useful study and to poetical recreation. It was at this period of life his supreme delight to saunter in the fields the livelong night, contemplating the sky, and marking the approach of day. At a small distance from the place of his residence, a deep and extensive glen, finely clothed with wood, runs up into the mountains. Thither he frequently repaired; and there several of his earliest pieces were written. From that wild and romantic spot, he drew, as from the life, some of the finest descriptions, and most beautiful pictures of nature, that occur in his poetical compositions. It is related that, on one occasion, having lain down early in the morning on the bank of his favourite rivulet, adjoining to his mother's house, he had fallen asleep; on awaking, it was not without astonishment that he found he had been walking in his sleep, and that he was then at a considerable distance (about a mile and a half) from the place where he had lain down. On his way back to that spot, he passed some labourers, and inquiring of them if they had seen him walking along, they told him that they had, with his head hanging down, as if looking for something he had lost. Such an incident, though by no means unexampled, shows to what a degree Beattie was now the creature of impulse and imagination. He was, indeed, exactly the fanciful being whom he has described in "The Minstrel." Fortunately for Beattie, Mr Garden, advocate, (afterwards Lord Gardenstone) who at that time resided in the neighbourhood, found him one day sitting in one of his favourite haunts, employed in writing with a pencil. On discovering that he was engaged in the composition of poetry, Mr Garden became interested, and soon found occasion to honour the young bard with his friendship and patronage. Beattie at the same time became acquainted with Lord Monboddo, whose family seat was within the parish.

In 1757, when a vacancy occurred in the place of usher to the grammar-school of Aberdeen, Beattie applied for it, and stood an examination, without success. On the place becoming again vacant next year, he had what he considered the good fortune to be elected. This step was of some importance to him, as it brought him into contact with a circle of eminent literary and professional characters, who then adorned the colleges of Aberdeen, and to whom he soon made himself favourably known.

In 1760, one of the chairs in the Marischal College became vacant by the

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death of Dr Duncan, professor of Natural Philosophy. Beattie, whose ambition had never presumed to soar to such an object, happened to mention the circumstance in conversation, as one of the occurrences of the day, to his friend, Mr Arbuthnot, merchant in Aberdeen;[1] who surprised him with a proposal that he should apply for the vacant situation. With a reluctant permission from Beattie, he exerted his influence with the Earl of Errol to apply, by means of Lord Milton, to the Duke of Argyll, who then dispensed the crown patronage of Scotland; and to the astonishment of the subject of the application, he received the appointment. By an accommodation, however, with the nominee to another vacant chair, he became professor of Moral, instead of Natural Philosophy; an arrangement suitable to the genius and qualifications of both the persons concerned.

By this honourable appointment, Beattie found himself, through an extraordinary dispensation of fortune, elevated in the course of two years from the humble and obscure situation of a country parish school-master, to a place of very high dignity in one of the principal seats of learning in the country, where he could give full scope to his talents, and indulge, in the greatest extent, his favourite propensity of communicating knowledge. His first business was to prepare a course of lectures, which he began to deliver to his pupils during the session of 1760-1, and which, during subsequent years, he greatly improved. In the discharge of his duties, he was quite indefatigable; not only delivering the usual lectures, but taking care, by frequent recapitulations and public examinations, to impress upon the minds of his auditors the great and important doctrines which he taught.

So early as the year 1756, Dr Beattie had occasionally sent poetical contributions to the Scots Magazine from his retirement at Fordoun. Some of these, along with others, he now arranged in a small volume, which was published at London, 1760, and dedicated to the Earl of Errol, his recent benefactor. His "Original Poems and Translations,"—such was the title of the volume—made him favourably known to the public as a poet, and encouraged him to further exertions in that branch of composition. He also studied verse-making as an art, and in 1762, wrote his "Essay on Poetry," which was published in 1776, along with the quarto edition of his "Essay on Truth." In 1763, he visited London from curiosity, and in 1765, he published a poem of considerable length, but unfortunate design, under the title of "the Judgment of Paris," which threatened to be as fatal to his poetical career as its subject had been to the Trojan state. In 1766, he published an enlarged edition of his poems, containing, among other new compositions, "The Judgment of Paris;" but this poem he never afterwards reprinted. His object was to make the classical fable subservient to the cause of virtue, by personifying wisdom, ambition, and pleasure, in the characters of three goddesses, an idea too metaphysical to be generally liked, and which could scarcely be compensated by the graces of even Beattie's muse.

Gray, the author of the "Elegy in a Country Church-yard," visited Scotland in the autumn of 1765, and lived for a short time at Glammis Castle with the Earl of Strathmore. Beattie, whose poetical genius was strongly akin to that of Gray, wrote to him, intreating the honour of an interview; and this was speedily accomplished, by an invitation for Dr Beattie to Glammis Castle, where the two poets laid the foundation of a friendship that was only interrupted by the death of Gray in 1771. In a letter to Sir William Forbes, Beattie thus speaks of the distinguished author of the Elegy:

[1] Father to Sir William Arbuthnot, Bart. who was Lord Provost of Edinburgh at the visit of George IV. in 1822.

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"You would have been much pleased with Mr Gray. Setting aside his merit as a poet, which, however, is greater in my opinion than any of his contemporaries can boast, in this or any other nation, I found him possessed of the most exact taste, the soundest judgment, and the most extensive learning. He is happy in a singular facility of expression. His conversation abounds in original observations, delivered with no appearance of sententious formality, and seeming to arise spontaneously, without study or premeditation. I passed two very agreeable days with him at Glammis, and found him as easy in his manners, and as communicative and frank, as I could have wished."

It is curious to find that, during this trip to Scotland, Gray thus expressed himself to Dr Gregory of Edinburgh regarding the immortal poem to which his name is so endearingly attached; "he told me," says Dr Gregory, "*with a good deal of acrimony*, it owed its popularity entirely to the subject, and that the public would have received it as well if it had been written in prose."[2]

Beattie was at this period in a low state of health, being afflicted with a kind of giddiness, which defied all his efforts to banish it, and even threatened to interrupt his professional duties. In a letter to the honourable Charles Boyd, brother of the Earl of Errol, he thus playfully alludes to this, as well as several other personal peculiarities:

"I flatter myself that I shall ere long be in the way of becoming a *great man*. For have I not headaches like Pope? vertigo like Swift? grey hairs like Homer?[3] Do I not wear large shoes (for fear of corns) like Virgil? and sometimes complain of sore eyes (though not of lippitude) like Horace? Am I not, at this present writing, invested with a garment not less ragged than that of Socrates? Like Joseph the patriarch, I am a mighty dreamer of dreams; like Nimrod the hunter, I am an eminent builder of castles (in the air). I procrastinate like Julius Caesar; and very lately in imitation of Don Quixote, I rode a horse, lean, old, and lazy, like Rosinante. Sometimes, like Cicero, I write bad verses; and sometimes bad prose like Virgil. This last instance I have on the authority of Seneca. I am of small stature like Alexander the Great; somewhat inclined to fatness like Dr Arbuthnot and Aristotle; and I drink brandy and water like Mr Boyd. I might compare myself, in relation to many other infirmities, to many other *great men;* but if fortune is not influenced in my favour by the particulars already enumerated, I shall despair of ever recommending myself to her good graces."

Some time previous to September 1766, Beattie commenced a poem in the Spenserian stanza; a description of verse to which he was much attached, on account of its harmony, and its admitting of so many fine pauses and diversified terminations. The subject was suggested to him by the dissertation on the old minstrels, which was prefixed to Dr Percy's "Reliques of Ancient English Poetry," then just published. In May, 1767, he informs his friend Blacklock at Edinburgh, that he wrote one hundred and fifty lines of this poem some months before, and had not since added a single stanza. His hero was not then even born, though in the fair way of being so; his parents being described and married. He proposed to continue the poem at his leisure, with a description of the character and profession of his ideal minstrel; but he was wofully cast down by the scantiness of the poetical taste of the age.

On the 28th of June, 1767, Dr Beattie was married at Aberdeen, to Miss Mary Dun, the only daughter of Dr James Dun, rector of the grammar-school of that city. The heart of the poet had previously been engaged in honourable affection to a Miss Mary Lindsay, whom, so late as the year 1823, the writer of

[2] Forbes' Life of Beattie, 4to. vol. i. p. 83.
[3] Hair, like Byron's, "grey at thirty!"

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this memoir heard recite a poem written by Beattie in her praise, the lines of which commenced with the letters of her name in succession. The venerable lady was the widow of a citizen of Montrose, and in extreme, though healthy old age.

At this period, infidelity had become fashionable to a great extent in Scotland, in consequence of the *eclat* which attended the publication of Hume's metaphysical treatises. Attempts had been made by Drs Reid and Campbell, in respective publications, to meet the arguments of the illustrious sceptic; but it was justly remarked by the friends of religion, that the treatises of these two individuals assumed too much of that deferential tone towards the majesty of Mr Hume's intellect and reputation, which was to be complained of in society at large, and no doubt was one of the causes why his sceptical notions had become so fashionable. It occurred to Dr Beattie, and he was encouraged in the idea by his friends Dr Gregory, Sir William Forbes, and other zealous adherents of Christianity, that a work treating Hume a little more roughly, and not only answering him with argument, but assailing him and his followers with ridicule, might meet the evil more extensively, and be more successful in bringing back the public to a due sense of religion. Such was the origin of his "Essay on Truth," which was finished for the press in autumn 1769.

It is curious that this essay, so powerful as a defence of religion, was only brought into the world by means of a kind of *pia fraus*. The manuscript was committed to Sir William Forbes and Mr Arbuthnot, at Edinburgh, with an injunction to dispose of it to any bookseller who would pay a price for it, so as to insure its having the personal interest of a tradesman in pushing it forward in the world. Unfortunately, however, the publisher to whom these gentlemen applied, saw so little prospect of profit in a work on the unfashionable side of the argument, that he positively refused to bring it forth unless at the risk of the author; a mode to which it was certain that Dr Beattie would never agree. "Thus," says Sir William Forbes, "there was some danger of a work being lost, the publication of which, we flattered ourselves, would do much good in the world.

"In this dilemma it occurred to me," continues Beattie's excellent biographer, "that we might, without much artifice, bring the business to an easy conclusion by our own interposition. We therefore resolved that we ourselves should be the purchasers, at a sum with which we knew Dr Beattie would be well satisfied, as the price of the first edition. But it was absolutely necessary that the business should be glossed over as much as possible; otherwise, we had reason to fear that he would not consent to our taking on us a risk which he himself had refused to run.

"I therefore wrote him (nothing surely but the truth, although, I confess, not the whole truth,) that the manuscript was sold for fifty guineas, which I remitted to him by a bank-bill; and I added that we had stipulated with the bookseller who was to print the book, that we should be partners in the publication. On such trivial causes do things of considerable moment often depend; for had it not been for this interference of ours in this somewhat ambiguous manner, perhaps the 'Essay on Truth,' on which all Dr Beattie's future fortunes hinged, might never have seen the light."

In the prosecution of his design, Dr Beattie has treated his subject in the following manner: he first endeavours to trace the different kinds of evidence and reasoning up to their first principles; with a view to ascertain the standard of truth, and explain its immutability. He shows, in the second place, that his sentiments on this head, how inconsistent soever with the genius of scepticism, and with the principles and practice of sceptical writers, are yet perfectly con-

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sistent with the genius of true philosophy, and with the practice and principles of those whom all acknowledge to have been the most successful in the investigation of truth; concluding with some inferences or rules, by which the most important fallacies of the sceptical philosophers may be detected by every person of common sense, even though he should not possess acuteness of metaphysical knowledge sufficient to qualify him for a logical confutation of them. In the third place he answers some objections, and makes some remarks, by way of estimate of scepticism and sceptical writers.

The Essay appeared in May 1770, and met with the most splendid success. It immediately became a shield in the hands of the friends of religion, wherewith to intercept and turn aside the hitherto resistless shafts of the sceptics. A modern metaphysician may perhaps find many flaws in the work; but, at the time of its publication, it was received as a complete and triumphant refutation of all that had been advanced on the other side. Under favour of the *eclat* which attended the publication, religion again raised its head, and for a time infidelity was not nearly so fashionable as it had been.

After getting this arduous business off his mind, Beattie returned to his long Spenserian poem, and, in 1771, appeared the first part of "The Minstrel," without his name. It was so highly successful, that he was encouraged to republish this, along with a second part, in 1774; when his name appeared in the title-page. "Of all his poetical works, 'the Minstrel' is, beyond all question, the best, whether we consider the plan or the execution. The language is extremely elegant, the versification harmonious, it exhibits the richest poetic imagery with a delightful flow of the most sublime, delicate, and pathetic sentiment. It breathes the spirit of the purest virtue, the soundest philosophy, and the most exquisite taste. In a word, it is at once highly conceived and admirably finished."[1] Lord Lyttleton thus expressed his approbation of the poem; one of the most warmly conceived compliments that was ever perhaps paid by a poet to his fellow: "I read the Minstrel with as much rapture as poetry, in her sweetest, noblest charms, ever raised in my mind. It seemed to me, that my once most beloved minstrel, Thomson, was come down from heaven, refined by the converse of purer spirits than those he lived with here, to let me hear him sing again the beauties of nature and finest feelings of virtue, not with human but with angelic strains!" It is to be regretted that Beattie never completed this poem. He originally designed that the hero should be employed in the third canto in rousing his countrymen to arms for defence against a foreign invasion, and that, overpowered and banished by this host, he should go forth to other lands in his proper character of a wandering minstrel. It must always be recollected, in favour of this poem, that it was the first of any length, in pure English, which had been published by a Scottish writer in his own country—so late has been the commencement of this department of our literature.

Beattie visited London a second time in 1771, and, as might be expected from his encreased reputation, entered more largely into literary society than on the former occasion. Among those who honoured him with their notice, was Dr Johnson, who had been one of the warmest admirers of the Essay on Truth. In 1773, he paid another visit to the metropolis, along with his wife, and was received into a still wider and more eminent circle than before. On this occasion, the university of Oxford conferred upon him an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

The chief object of this tour was to secure a provision which his friends had led him to expect from the government, in consideration of his services in the cause of religion. Many plans were proposed by his friends for obtaining this

[1] Forbes' Life of Beattie.

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object. A bishop is believed to have suggested to the king, that the author of the Essay on Truth might be introduced to the English church, and advanced according to his merits; to which the king, however, is said to have slily replied, that, as Scotland abounded most in infidels, it would be best for the general interests of religion that he should be kept there. George III., who had read and admired Beattie's book, and whose whole mind ran in favour of virtue and religion, suggested himself the more direct plan of granting him a pension of two hundred pounds a year, which was accordingly carried into effect. The king also honoured Dr Beattie with his particular notice at a *levee*, and, further, granted him the favour of an interview in his private apartments at Kew for upwards of an hour. The agreeable conversation and unassuming manners of Dr Beattie appear to have not only made a most favourable impression upon the king and queen—for her majesty also was present at this interview—but upon every member of that lofty circle of society to which he was introduced.

Even after he had been thus provided for, several dignified clergymen of the church of England continued to solicit him to take orders; and one bishop went so far as directly to tempt him with the offer of a rectorate worth five hundred a-year. He had no disinclination to the office of a clergyman, and he decidedly preferred the government and worship of the English church to the presbyterian system of his own country. But he could not be induced to take such a reward for his efforts in behalf of religion, lest his enemies might say that he had never contemplated any loftier principle than that of bettering his own circumstances. Nearly about the same time, he further proved the total absence of a mercenary tinge in his character, by refusing to be promoted to the chair of Moral Philosophy in the university of Edinburgh. His habits of life were now, indeed, so completely associated with Aberdeen, and its society, that he seems to have contemplated any change, however tempting, with a degree of pain.

About this time, some letters passed between him and Dr Priestley, on occasion of an attack made by the latter on the Essay on Truth. In his correspondence with this ingenious but petulent adversary, Dr Beattie shows a great deal of candour and dignity. He had at first intended to answer, but this intention he appears afterwards to have dropped: "Dr Priestley," says he, "having declared that he will answer whatever I may publish in my own vindication, and being a man who loves bustle and book-making, he wishes above all things that I should give him a pretext for continuing the dispute. To silence him by force of argument, is, I know, impossible."

In the year 1786, Beattie took a keen interest in favour of a scheme then agitated, not for the first time, to unite the two colleges of Aberdeen. It was found impossible to carry this project into effect, though it is certainly one of those obvious improvements which must sooner or later be accomplished. In the same year, Dr Beattie projected a new edition of Addison's prose works, with a biographical and critical preface to the extent of half a volume, in which he meant to show the peculiar merits of the style of Addison, as well as to point out historically the changes which the English language has undergone from time to time, and the hazard to which it is exposed of being debased and corrupted by modern innovations. He was reluctantly compelled by the state of his health to retrench the better part of this scheme. The works of Addison were published under his care, in 1790, by Messrs Creech and Sibbald, booksellers, Edinburgh, but he could only give Tickell's Life, together with some extracts from Dr Johnson's "Remarks on Addison's Prose," adding a few notes of his own, to make up any material deficiency in Tickell's narrative, and illustrating Johnson's critique by a few occasional annotations. Though these additions to his original stock of materials, are very slight, the admirer of Addison is much gratified by some new

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information which he was ignorant of before, and to which Dr Beattie has given a degree of authenticity, by adhering, even in this instance, to his general practice of putting his name to every thing he wrote.

In 1787, Dr Beattie made application to the Marischal college, while the project of the union was still pending, desiring that his eldest son, James Hay Beattie, then in his twentieth year, should be recommended to the crown as his assistant and successor in the chair of Moral Philosophy. The letter in which this application was made, sets forth the extraordinary qualifications of his son, with a delightful mixture of delicacy and warmth. The young man was an excellent Greek and Latin scholar; wrote and talked beautifully in the latter language, as well as in English, and, to use the language of his father, the best of his genius lay entirely towards theology, classical learning, morals, poetry, and criticism. The college received the application with much respect, and, after a short delay on account of the business of the union, gave a cordial sanction to the proposal.

Unfortunately for the peace of Dr Beattie's latter years, his son, while in the possession of the highest intellectual qualifications, and characterised by every virtue that could be expected from his years, was destined by the inherent infirmity of his constitution for an early death. After his demise, which happened on the 19th of November, 1790, when he had just turned two-and-twenty, Dr Beattie published a small collection of his writings, along with an elaborate preface, entering largely into the character and qualifications of the deceased. In this, he was justified by the admiration which he heard every where around him, of the character and intellect of his son; but, as posterity appears to have reduced the prodigy to its proper limits, which were nothing wonderful, it is unnecessary to bring it further into notice. The following is the more unaffected and touching account which the afflicted parent has given of his loss, in a letter to the Duchess of Gordon; a lady with whom, for many years, he cultivated the warmest friendship, and whose society he largely enjoyed, along with his son, during repeated visits to Gordon Castle:

"Knowing with what kindness and condescension your Grace takes an interest in every thing that concerns me and my little family, I take the liberty to inform you that my son James is dead; that the last duties are now paid; and that I am endeavouring to return, with the little ability that is left me, and with entire submission to the will of Providence, to the ordinary business of life. I have lost one who was always a pleasing companion; but who, for the last five or six years, was one of the most entertaining and instructive friends that ever man was blest with: for his mind comprehended almost every science; he was a most attentive observer of life and manners: a master of classical learning; and he possessed an exuberance of wit and humour, a force of understanding, and a correctness and delicacy of taste, beyond any other person of his age I have ever known.

"He was taken ill on the night of the 30th of November, 1789; and from that time his decline commenced. It was long what physicians calls a *nervous atrophy;* but towards the end of June, symptoms began to appear of the lungs being affected. Goat's milk, and afterwards asses' milk, were procured for him in abundance; and such exercise as he could bear he regularly took: these means lengthened his days, no doubt, and alleviated his sufferings, which indeed were very often severe; but in spite of all that could be done, he grew weaker and weaker, and died the 19th of November, 1790, without complaint or pain, without even a groan or sigh; retaining to his last moment the use of his rational faculties: indeed, from first to last, not one delirious word escaped him. He lived twenty-two years and thirteen days. Many weeks before it came, he saw

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death approaching; and he met it with such composure and pious resignation, as may no doubt be equalled, but cannot be surpassed.

" * * * My chief comfort arises from reflecting upon the particulars of his life; which was one uninterrupted exercise of piety, benevolence, filial affection, and indeed every virtue which it was in his power to practise, I shall not, with respect to him, adopt a mode of speech which has become too common, and call him *my poor son*, for I must believe that he is infinitely happy, and will be so for ever."

Dr Beattie bore the loss of his son with an appearance of fortitude and resignation. Yet, although his grief was not loud, it was deep. He said, in a subsequent letter, alluding to a monument which he had erected for his son: " I often dream of the grave that is under it: I saw, with some satisfaction, on a late occasion, that it is very deep, and capable of holding my coffin laid on that which is already in it;" words that speak more eloquently of the grief which this event had fixed in the heart of the writer, than a volume could have done. The following is a copy of the epitaph which he composed for his amiable and accomplished child:—

JACOBO HAY BEATTIE. JACOBI, F.
Philos. in Acad. Marischal Professori.
Adolescenti.
Ea. Modestia.
Ea. suavitati. morum.
Ea. benevolentia. erga. omnes.
Erga. Deum. pietate.
Ut. Humanum. nihil. supra.
In. bonis literis.
In. theologia.
In. omni. Philosophia.
Exercitissimo.
Poetæ. insuper.
Rebus. in. levioribus. faceto.
In. grandioribus. sublimi.
Qui. Placidam. Animam. efflavit.
xix. Novemb. MDCCXC.
Annos. habens. xxii. diesque. xiii.
PATER MOERENS. H. M. P.

Another exemplification of the rooted sorrow which this event planted in the mind of Beattie, occurs in a letter written during a visit in England, in the subsequent summer. Speaking of the commemoration music, which was performed in Westminster Abbey, " by the greatest band of musicians that ever were brought together in this country," he tells that the state of his health could not permit him to be present. Then recollecting his son's accomplishment as a player on the organ, he adds, " Perhaps this was no loss to me. Even the organ of Durham cathedral was too much for my feelings; for it brought too powerfully to my remembrance another organ, much smaller indeed, but more interesting, which I can never hear any more."

In 1790, Dr Beattie published the first volume of his " Elements of Moral Science," the second volume of which did not make its appearance till 1793. He had, in 1776, published a series of Essays on poetry and music, on laughable and ludicrous composition, and on the utility of classical learning. In 1783, had appeared " Dissertations, Moral and Critical," and, in 1786, a small tract entitled, " The Evidences of the Christian Religion, briefly and plainly stated." All of these minor productions originally formed part of the course of prelections which he read from his chair in the university; his aim in their publication be-

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ing "to inure young minds to habits of attentive observation; to guard them against the influence of bad principles; and to set before them such views of nature, and such plain and practical truths, as might at once improve the heart and the understanding, and amuse and elevate the fancy." His "Elements of Moral Science," was a summary of the whole of that course of lectures, a little enlarged in the doctrinal parts, with the addition of a few illustrative examples. In a certain degree, this work may be considered as a text-book; it is one, however, so copious in its extent, so luminous in its arrangement and language, and so excellent in the sentiments it everywhere inculcates, that if the profound metaphysician and logician do not find in it that depth of science which they may expect to meet with in other works of greater erudition, the candid enquirer after truth may rest satisfied, that, if he has studied these "Elements" with due attention, he will have laid a solid foundation, on which to build all the knowledge of the subject necessary for the common purposes of life. Of such of the lectures as had already appeared in an extended shape, under the name of "Essays," particularly those on the theory of language, and on memory and imagination, Dr Beattie has made this abridgment as brief as was consistent with any degree of perspicuity; while he bestowed no less than seventy pages on his favourite topic, the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and the subject of slavery connected with it.

While delighting the world with the quick succession and variety of his productions, Dr Beattie was himself nearly all the while a prey to the severest private sufferings. Mrs Beattie had unfortunately inherited from her mother a tendency to madness. Though this did not for a considerable time break out into open insanity, yet in a few years after their marriage, it showed itself in caprices and follies, which embittered every hour of her husband's life. Dr Beattie tried for a long time to conceal her disorder from the world, and, if possible, as he has been heard to say, from himself; but at last, from whim, caprice, and melancholy, it broke out into downright phrenzy, which rendered her seclusion from society absolutely necessary. During every stage of her illness, he watched and cherished her with the utmost tenderness and care; using every means at first that medicine could furnish for her recovery, and afterwards, when her condition was found to be perfectly hopeless, procuring for her, in an asylum at Musselburgh, every accommodation and comfort that could tend to alleviate her sufferings. "When I reflect," says Sir William Forbes, "on the many sleepless nights, and anxious days, which he experienced from Mrs Beattie's malady, and think of the unwearied and unremitting attention he paid to her, during so great a number of years in that sad situation, his character is exalted in my mind to a degree which may be equalled, but I am sure never can be excelled, and makes the fame of the poet and the philosopher fade from my remembrance."

The pressure of this calamity—slow but certain—the death of his eldest son, and the continued decline of his health, made it necessary, in the session of 1793-4, that he should be assisted in the duties of his class. From that period till 1797, when he finally relinquished his professorial duties, he was aided by Mr George Glennie, his relation and pupil. He experienced an additional calamity in 1796, by the sudden death of his only remaining son, Montague, a youth of eighteen, less learned than his brother, but of still more amiable manners, and whom he had designed for the English church. This latter event unhinged the mind of Beattie, who, it may be remarked, had always been greatly dependent on the society, and even on the assistance, of his children. The care of their education, in which he was supposed to be only over indulgent, had been his chief employment for many years. This last event, by rendering him childless, dissolved nearly the last remaining tie which bound him to the world; and left

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him a miserable wreck upon the shores of life. Many days had not elapsed after the death of Montague Beattie, ere he began to display symptoms of a decayed intellect, in an almost total loss of memory respecting his son. He would search through the whole house for him, and then say to his niece and housekeeper, Mrs Glennie, "You may think it strange, but I must ask you, if I have a son, and where he is." This lady would feel herself under the painful necessity of bringing to his recollection the death-bed sufferings of his son, which always restored him to reason. And he would then, with many tears, express his thankfulness that he had no child, saying, with allusion to the malady they might have derived from their mother, "How could I have borne to see their elegant minds mangled with madness?" When he looked for the last time on the dead body of his son, and thought of the separation about to take place between himself and the last being that connected him with this sublunary scene, he said, "Now, I have done with the world!" After this, he never bent his mind again to study, never touched the violincello on which he used to be an excellent and a frequent player, nor answered the letters of his friends, except, perhaps, a very few. He commanded his mind, however, to compose the following epitaph on his son; it was the last effort of the Minstrel, and has all his usual happiness in this peculiar branch of composition:

MONTAGU. BEATTIE.
Jacobi. Hay. Beattie. Frater.
Ejusque. virtutum. et. studiorum.
Æmulus.
Sepulchrique. consors
Variarum. Peritus. Artium.
Pingendi. imprimis.
Natus. Octavo. Julii. MDCCLXXVIII.
Multum. Defletus. obiit.
Decimo. quarto. Martii. MDCCXCV.

The phrase "*sepulchrique consors*" was literally true. That space in the roomy grave of his eldest son, which he had calculated on as sufficient for himself, was devoted to receive this second and final hope of his old age.

In March 1797, Dr Beattie became completely crippled with rheumatism, and in the beginning of 1799, he experienced a stroke of palsy, which for eight days so affected his speech that he could not make himself understood, and even forgot several of the most material words of every sentence. At different periods after this, he had several returns of the same afflicting malady; the last, in October 1802, deprived him altogether of the power of motion. He lingered for ten months in this humiliating situation, but was at length relieved from all his sufferings by the more kindly stroke of death, August 18, 1803. He expired without the least appearance of suffering. His remains were deposited close to those of his two sons in the ancient cemetery of St Nicolas, and were marked soon after by a monument, for which Dr James Gregory of Edinburgh, supplied an elegant inscription.

The eminent rank which Dr Beattie holds as a Christian moral philosopher is a sufficient testimony of the public approbation of his larger literary efforts. It may, however, be safely predicted, that his reputation will, after all, centre in his "Minstrel," which is certainly his most finished work, and, every thing considered, the most pleasing specimen of his intellect. If we consider how much original talent, and how much cultivated taste must have been necessary to the composition of this beautiful poem, we will wonder that such should have been found in a professor of a Scottish provincial university, at a time when scarcely any vestige of the same qualifications were to be found out of London. "Beat-

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tie," says Cowper—a kindred mind, well qualified to judge of his merits, "is the most agreeable and amiable writer I have ever met with; the only author I have seen whose critical and philosophical researches are diversified and embellished by a poetical imagination, that makes even the driest subject, and the leanest, a feast for an epicure in books; one so much at his ease, too, that his own character appears in every page, and, which is very rare, not only the writer but the man; and the man so gentle, so well tempered, so happy in his religion, and so humane in his philosophy, that it is necessary to love him, if one has any sense of what is lovely."

The mind of Beattie is so exactly identified with his works, and is so undisguisedly depicted in them, that when his works are described, so also is his character. His whole life was spent in one continued series of virtuous duties. His piety was pure and fervent; his affection for his friends enthusiastic; his benevolence unwearying, and the whole course of his life irreproachable. The only fault which his biographer, Sir William Forbes, could find in the whole composition of his character, was one of a contingent and temporary nature: he became, towards the end of his life, a little irritable by continued application to metaphysical controversy.

Although his connections in early life had been of the humblest sort, yet he showed no awkwardness of behaviour in the most polished circles to which his eminent literary reputation afterwards introduced him. On the other hand, though, in the course of his frequent visits to England, he was caressed by the very highest personages in the realm, he never was in the least degree spoilt, but returned to his country with as humble and unassuming manners as he had carried away from it. To a very correct and refined taste in poetry, he added the rare accomplishment of an acquaintance to a considerable extent with both the sister arts of painting and music: his practice in drawing never went, indeed, beyond an occasional grotesque sketch of some friend, for the amusement of a social hour. In music he was more deeply skilled, being not only able to take part in private concerts on the violoncello, but capable of appreciating the music of the very highest masters for every other instrument. In his person, he was of the middle height, though not elegantly, yet not awkwardly formed, but with something of a slouch in his gait. His eyes were black and piercing, with an expression of sensibility somewhat bordering on melancholy, except when engaged in cheerful conversation, and social intercourse with his friends, when they were exceedingly animated. Such was "the Minstrel."

BELL, Benjamin, member of the Royal college of Surgeons, Edinburgh, F. R. S. E., &c., was born at the town of Dumfries in the year 1749. His father was a very respectable farmer in that part of the country, and long maintained an excellent character for the practice of all those virtues by which the class of men to which he belonged was at that time distinguished. He afterwards removed to the parish of Cannobie, in the presbytery of Langholm, where he died. His son erected an elegant white marble monument to his memory in the church-yard of Cannobie, which contains a just and affectionate tribute to one whom he sincerely loved, and is no less remarkable for beauty of design.

Mr Bell was early sent to the school of Dumfries, and had the good fortune to be placed under the care of the celebrated Dr George Chapman, then rector of the grammar-school of that place. This gentleman was not only eminent for his attainments in classical literature, but was also a most laborious and successful teacher. His work on education has been much esteemed, and comprehends a series of ingenious remarks on a very trite subject. The Doctor was very careful to ground his pupils well in the elements of the Greek and Latin languages, and that nothing should be passed over in a hurried or superficial manner.

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He justly thought, that it was of much more importance to proceed after this manner, than to appear to have read a great deal, when no real progress was actually made. His first object, therefore, was to ascertain, that his scholars understood thoroughly any author which they perused. The concord and government of the passage were commented on—similar phrases or expressions explained—allusions to rites, customs, &c., were rendered intelligible—and no pains spared to accomplish these valuable purposes. It was his opinion, that the only avenue to true knowledge, or what is the same, the only access to real learning, was through the medium of the Greek and Roman authors.

Mr Bell had early made choice of medicine as a profession, and accordingly he was bound apprentice to Mr Hill, surgeon in Dumfries, whose practice was in that quarter very extensive. It was a distinguishing feature in Mr Bell's character, that whatever he had once engaged in was prosecuted with extreme ardour and assiduity. He therefore went through the drudgery and fatigue necessarily connected with the detail of a surgeon-apothecary's shop, with the greatest spirit. He, by degrees, materially assisted his master, by attending his patients; to whom his correct behaviour, unfailing good humour, and agreeable manners recommended him in the most powerful manner. He repaired to Edinburgh in 1766, entered himself as a member of the university, and set himself with the most serious application to the prosecution of his medical studies. The medical school had just sprung into notice, and was beginning to make very rapid strides to its present eminence. The first and second Monro had already given evident tokens of the most distinguished genius. The first had now relinquished, in favour of his equally skilful son, the business of the anatomical theatre, and only occasionally delivered clinical lectures in the infirmary, that he might still be not altogether useless to his fellow-creatures. This great man, whose fame was firmly established throughout Europe, and was still gaining ground, took a high degree of pleasure in fostering the medical school, which might be said to be his own planting and rearing. His osteology, an acquaintance with which is the foundation of all accurate anatomy, was in the hands of the medical youth in every country of Europe. Mr Bell's ardour in the study of anatomy, in all its branches, was unabated. As he proposed to practise surgery, he was well aware that eminence in that very extensive and interesting study could only be arrived at by the most indefatigable and persevering industry. In the course of time he was appointed house-surgeon to the royal infirmary, which afforded him every opportunity of improvement which he could desire. At that time, the members of the Royal college of surgeons attended the hospital in rotation. As they were allowed to be at the head of their profession in Scotland, and many of them men of enlarged views, who were well acquainted with the new modes of operating which had from time to time been introduced, and were gentlemen of a liberal education, this appointment of house-surgeon was much calculated to gratify Mr Bell's fondest wishes. He had the most ample convenience of seeing and examining minutely all the cases that occurred in surgery—and these were not neglected, but carefully improved by him. It was here that he laid the foundation of that superior adroitness and dexterity which so peculiarly characterized him in the many hazardous, but successful operations which he was called to perform.

Though Mr Bell was more particularly designed for the profession of a Surgeon, yet there was no department of medicine, whether considered as an art or as a science, which was suffered to be neglected by him. Dr Black, whose discoveries form a new era in the science of Chemistry, had been removed from Glasgow to Edinburgh during the course of the same year that Mr Bell entered the University. The elegance and neatness with which the various experiments

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were performed, and the philosophical and extensive view which he took of his subject, interested, in a high degree, all his hearers, and gave a new direction to the studies of many of the youth. This was especially the effect that they produced upon Mr Bell. Chemistry and Pharmacy, from being arts that were only worthy to be practised by quacks and mountebanks, were just beginning to deserve the name of science, and men felt ashamed at the great variety and complex nature of the inefficient prescriptions that were daily presented in the halls of apothecaries. By degrees, the laws of chemical affinity were better understood, and many absurd doctrines concerning the nature and composition of medicines were exploded.

Dr Cullen was at this time professor of the Institutions, or the Theory of Physic. This celebrated man was possessed of original genius, and improved almost every subject to which he applied his mind. He was the means of exciting greater ardour among the students than any other professor that ever held a chair in the University. While he lived, the majority of the students keenly defended his particular views, and it may be said that he excited a spirit of inquiry among them which exists even at the present day. Dr John Gregory taught the Practice of Medicine, and Dr John Hope Botany. These were the professors whom Mr Bell attended, and it must be confessed, that they were men of distinguished talents, whose lectures no diligent student could listen to without deriving very great advantage.

Mr Bell had resolved, in 1770, to visit Paris and London, the two great schools for surgical practice. Before doing so, however, he passed the examinations at Surgeon's Hall, and was admitted a member of the Royal Edinburgh College of Surgeons. In those great cities he remained nearly two years, assiduously improving himself in Surgery. He had now prepared himself for the exercise of his profession with the utmost diligence and care, and accordingly, returning to his native country in 1772, he commenced business in Edinburgh. Few came better prepared than he did, for the practice of surgery. His education was liberal and extensive. It had in no instance been conducted with undue rapidity; and opportunities of improvement had been afforded him which could hardly fail to be salutary, more especially when combined with habits so studious. Mr Bell's appearance was much in his favour. His address was good, his manner composed and sedate. Few men came into general practice so rapidly, both as an operator and a consulting surgeon.

Mr Bell had early formed the plan of composing a system of surgery—and this he at last accomplished. He did not publish the whole work at once. But in the year 1778, about six years after he had finally settled in Edinburgh, and become established in practice, the first volume was given to the world. The remaining volumes appeared from time to time until the work was completed in six volumes 8vo. in 1788. It has had a very extensive sale; the last edition being the seventh, considerably improved, was published at Edinburgh in seven volumes. In 1793, appeared his "Treatise on Gonorrhœa," and in 1794, another "Treatise on Hydrocele," which is understood to be the least popular of his works.

Mr Bell married in 1776, Miss Hamilton, daughter of Dr Robert Hamilton, professor of divinity in the University of Edinburgh, by whom he had a numerous family. He died, April 4, 1806.

BELL, Henry, the first successful applier of steam to the purposes of navigation in Europe, was born at Torphichen in Linlithgowshire, April 7, 1767. He was sprung from a race of mechanics, being the fifth son of Patrick Bell and Margaret Easton, whose ancestors, through several descents, were alike well-known in the neighbourhood as ingenious mill-wrights and builders; some of

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them having also distinguished themselves in the erection of public works, such as harbours, bridges, &c., not only in Scotland, but also in the other divisions of the United Kingdom. Henry Bell, after receiving a plain education at the parish-school, began, in 1780, to learn the handicraft of a stone-mason. Three years after, he changed his views in favour of the other craft of the family, and was apprenticed to his uncle, who practised the art of a mill-wright. At the termination of his engagement, he went to Borrowstounness, for the purpose of being instructed in ship-modelling, and, in 1787, he engaged with Mr James Inglis, engineer at Bell's Hill, with the view of completing his knowledge of mechanics. He afterwards went to London, where he was employed by the celebrated Mr Rennie; so that his opportunities of acquiring a practical acquaintance with the higher branches of his art, were altogether very considerable.

About the year 1790, Bell returned to Scotland, and it is said that he practised for several years, at Glasgow, the unambitious craft of a house-carpenter. He was entered, October 20, 1797, as a member of the corporation of wrights at that city. It was his wish to become an undertaker of public works in Glasgow; but either from a deficiency of capital, or from want of steady application, he never succeeded to any extent in that walk. "The truth is," as we have been informed, "Bell had many of the features of the enthusiastic projector; never calculated means to ends, or looked much farther than the first stages or movements of any scheme. His mind was a chaos of extraordinary projects, the most of which, from his want of accurate scientific calculation, he never could carry into practice. Owing to an imperfection in even his mechanical skill, he scarcely ever made one part of a model suit the rest, so that many designs, after a great deal of pains and expense, were successively abandoned. He was, in short, the hero of a thousand blunders and one success." It may easily be conceived that a mechanician liable to this description could not succeed to a great extent as either a designer or executor of what are called public works. In 1808, Bell removed to the modern village of Helensburgh, on the Frith of Clyde, where his wife undertook the superintendence of the public baths, and at the same time kept the principal inn. He continued here to prosecute his own favourite task of mechanical scheming, without much regard to the ordinary affairs of the world. Every thing which he projected, and every model which he formed, were distinctly different from all things that had hitherto been done by the rest of mankind; indeed, it was one of the most remarkable features in the mind of this man, that he despised all old ways of working—all previously established rules—and would trouble himself with nothing that was not strikingly novel and peculiar. Having been, on one occasion, employed in the construction of a small pier, he took that opportunity to carry into effect some new principles, which he had formed upon the subject of pier building; and the consequence was that his work, with all its novelty, was washed away by the first high tide. Some one suggested to him that the work might be more durable "if he would construct it in the common way;" but even in defeat he stood stoutly up for his new principle.

It was reserved for this extraordinary genius—for such he unquestionably was—to introduce into practice, on this side of the Atlantic, a new system of navigation which seems destined to confer the greatest benefits upon mankind. The application of steam to navigation, though previously tried in France and America, was first attempted with the least show of success by the late Mr Miller of Dalswinton, who, in 1788, erected a vessel, which he propelled by this means, upon a loch on his own property in Dumfriesshire. Some further experiments by this gentleman and others, had all failed to establish the practicability of steam navigation; the scheme had lain dormant for several years; when Henry

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Bell, of Helensburgh, turned his attention to the subject, and in January, 1812, produced a vessel of forty feet in length, which was found in a great measure to answer the purpose contemplated. This vessel could make way against a head tide in the river, at the rate of seven miles an hour; and it is due to the memory of the projector, that, though he did not obtain a patent, his invention has been found susceptible of very little improvement by later and more skilful engineers. The multitude and incalculable use of steam vessels are so well known, and every person of intelligence is so fully alive to the probable extension of their numbers and use over the world, that it is unnecessary to dwell upon the great honour which is due to Bell, as the first to exhibit their powers in this hemisphere. It may be mentioned, that Mr Robert Fulton, an American engineer, had launched a boat upon this principle in 1807, and that it performed long voyages upon the Hudson river; but it is unlikely that Bell was aware of the fact, and, at any rate, he must be allowed the praise of having done, in his own country, what all other men, notwithstanding the superior advantages of skill and capital, had failed in doing.

Bell lived to see the bosom of the Clyde dimmed far and wide by innumerable copies of his own invention; he lived to know that steam-boats promised to give a new turn to the art of general warfare; he lived to behold numerous secluded parts of his own country subjected by means of these light wanderers of the deep to the blessings of commerce and civilization, which could not have otherwise reached them for centuries; yet he reaped, for himself, no advantage. While mankind at large were enjoying the blessings which he had pointed out to them, he approached the confines of old age, with the prospect of hardly the average comforts which attend that stage of existence in the humbler walks of society. Touched by his condition, Dr Cleland and a number of benevolent individuals instituted a subscription in his behalf, and it is creditable to the good feeling of the citizens of Glasgow and other places that a considerable sum was raised. The trustees on the river Clyde also gave Mr Bell an annuity of £100, which he enjoyed for several years, and the half of which sum is still continued to his widow. Mr Bell died at Helensburgh, on the 14th of November, 1830.

BELL, JOHN, of Antermony, was the son of Patrick Bell, the representative of that old and respectable family, and of Anabel Stirling, daughter of Mungo Stirling of Craigbarnet. He was born on his paternal estate in 1691, and, after receiving a classical education, turned his attention to the study of medicine. On passing physician he determined to visit foreign countries, but we shall insert this part of his history in Mr Bell's own words. "In my youth," says he, "I had a strong desire of seeing foreign parts; to satisfy which inclination, after having obtained, from some persons of worth, recommendatory letters to Dr Areskine, chief physician and privy counsellor to the Czar Peter the First, I embarked at London, in the month of July, 1714, on board the Prosperity of Ramsgate, Captain Emerson, for St Petersburgh. On my arrival there, I was received by Dr Areskine in a very friendly manner, to whom I communicated my intentions of seeking an opportunity of visiting some parts of Asia, at least those parts which border on Russia. Such an opportunity soon presented itself, on occasion of an embassy then preparing, from his Czarish Majesty to the Sophy of Persia." *Preface to his Travels.* The ambassador fortunately applied to Dr Areskine to recommend some one skilled in physic and surgery to go in his suite, and Mr Bell was soon afterwards engaged in the service of the Russian Emperor. He accordingly left St Petersburgh on the 15th of July, 1715, and proceeded to Moscow, from thence to Cazan, and down the Wolga to Astracan. The embassy then sailed down the Caspian sea to Derbent, and journeyed by Mougan, Tauris, and Saba, to Ispahan, where they arrived on the 14th of March,

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1717. They left that city on the 1st of September, and returned to St Petersburgh on the 30th of December, 1718, after having travelled across the country from Saratoff. On his arrival in the capital, Mr Bell found that his friend and patron Dr Areskine had died about six weeks before, but he had now secured the friendship of the ambassador, and upon hearing that an embassy to China was preparing he easily obtained an appointment in it through his influence. The account of his journey to Cazan, and through Siberia to China, is by far the most complete and interesting part of his travels. His description of the manners, customs, and superstitions of the inhabitants, and of the Delay-lama and Chinese wall, deserve particularly to be noticed. They arrived at Pekin "after a tedious journey of exactly sixteen months." Mr Bell has left a very full account of occurrences during his residence in the capital of China. The embassy left that city on the 2nd of March, 1721, and arrived at Moscow on the 5th of January, 1722.

The war between Russia and Sweden was now concluded, and the Czar had determined to undertake an expedition into Persia, at the request of the Sophy, to assist that prince against the Affghans, his subjects, who had seized upon Chandahar, and possessed themselves of several provinces on the frontiers towards India. Mr Bell's former journey to Persia gave him peculiar advantages, and he was accordingly engaged to accompany the army to Derbent, from which he returned in December, 1722. Soon afterwards he revisited his native country, and returned to St Petersburgh in 1734. In 1737, he was sent to Constantinople by the Russian Chancellor, and Mr Rondeau the British minister at the Russian court.[1] He seems now to have abandoned the public service, and to have settled at Constantinople as a merchant. About 1746, he married Mary Peters, a Russian lady, and determined to return to Scotland. He spent the latter part of his life on his estate, and in the enjoyment of the society of his friends. At length, after a long life spent in active beneficence, and exertions for the good of mankind, he died at Antermony on the 1st of July, 1780, at the advanced age of 89.

The only work written by Mr Bell is his "Travels from St Petersburgh in Russia, to various parts of Asia," to which reference has already been made. It was printed in 2 volumes quarto by Robert and Andrew Foulis, in 1763, and published by subscription. "The history of this book," says the Quarterly Review, "is somewhat curious, and not generally known. For many years after Mr Bell returned from his travels, he used to amuse his friends with accounts of what he had seen, refreshing his recollection from a simple diary of occurrences and observations. The Earl Granville, then president of the council, on hearing some of his adventures, prevailed on him to throw his notes together into the form of a narrative, which, when done, pleased him so much that he sent the manuscript to Dr Robertson, with a particular request that he would revise and put it into a fit state for the press. The literary avocations of the Scottish historian at that time not allowing him to undertake the task, he recommended Mr Barron, a professor in the University of Aberdeen, and on this gentleman consulting Dr Robertson as to the style and the book of travels which he would recommend him to adopt for his guide, the historian replied, 'Take Gulliver's Travels for your model, and you cannot go wrong.' He did so, and 'Bell's Travels' have all the simplicity of Gulliver, with the advantage which truth always carries over fiction."[2]

BELL, JOHN, an eminent surgeon in Edinburgh, and of distinguished literary qualifications, was born in 1762. He was the second son of the Rev. William

[1] M'Ure's History of Glasgow, new edition, p. 115.
[2] Quarterly Review on M'Leod's Voyage in the Alceste, 1817, pp. 464-5.

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Bell, a clergyman of the Scottish Episcopal Church, established at Edinburgh. His mother was the daughter of Mr Morrice, also a member of the Scottish Episcopal Church. Mr John Bell, after receiving a liberal education, became the pupil of the late Mr Alexander Wood, surgeon, well and long known in Edinburgh as a medical practitioner. From the first, Mr Bell devoted himself to his professional studies with that enthusiastic ardour so characteristic of genius, and almost always the precursor of distinction. After completing his professional education he travelled for a short time in Russia, and the north of Europe; and on his return commenced his professional duties by delivering lectures on Surgery and Midwifery. These lectures, which he delivered between the years 1786 and 1796, were very highly esteemed, and speedily brought him into practice as a consulting and operating surgeon. The increase of his private practice, indeed, rendered it necessary for him, in 1796, to discontinue his lectures, and from that time forward he devoted himself to his patients, and to the preparation of the several publications of which he was the author.

For upwards of twenty years Mr Bell may be said to have stood at the head of his profession in Edinburgh as an operator. Patients came to him from all quarters, both of Scotland and England, and even from the continent; and during that interval he performed some of the most delicate and difficult operations in surgery. Nor was his celebrity confined to Edinburgh. He was generally known both in this country and throughout the world, as one of the most distinguished men in his profession; and his works show that his reputation was well founded.

Early in 1816, he was thrown by a spirited horse; and appears never to have entirely recovered from the effects of the accident. In the autumn of that year he made an excursion, partly on account of his health, to London; thence he proceeded to Paris, and afterwards pursued his journey southwards, visiting the most distinguished cities of Italy. During his residence on the Continent, he was treated in the most flattering manner by the members of his own profession; and his countrymen, who, after the peace of 1815, had gone to the Continent in great numbers, gladly took his professional assistance. In Paris, Naples, and Rome in particular, his numerous patients occupied him perhaps too exclusively; for his health continued to decline, and he died at Rome, April 15, 1820, in the fifty-seventh year of his age.

Mr Bell very early in life became impressed with a high notion of the advantage of combining general accomplishments with professional skill; he therefore spared no pains to qualify himself in every way to assume a favourable position in society. He was a good classical scholar, and so general a reader that there were few works of any note in literature, either ancient or modern, with which he was not familiar. This was remarkably shown in his library, in which there was hardly a volume on any subject which did not bear traces of having been carefully perused and noted by him. His practice was to make annotations on the margin as he read; and considering the engrossing nature of his professional labours, and the several works in which he was himself engaged, nothing is more extraordinary than the evidence which is still in existence of the extent and variety of his miscellaneous reading.

The information which he thus acquired was not lost upon him; he was polished and easy in his manners—his perception of the ludicrous was keen—and the *tact* with which he availed himself of his extensive reading and general knowledge of all the interesting topics of the day, will be long remembered by those who had the pleasure of his acquaintance. His conversational powers, indeed, were of the very highest order; and as he had great urbanity and kindness of manner, and was happily free from that affectation by which good talkers

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are sometimes distinguished, there were few of his cotemporaries whose society was more generally courted by the upper classes in Edinburgh; and none who were better fitted to adorn and enliven the circle in which he moved.

Mr Bell's notions of the dignity of his profession were very high; and no man perhaps ever discharged his professional duties with more disinterested humanity, and honourable independence. His generosity to those whose circumstances required pecuniary aid was well known, and his contempt for any thing approaching to what he thought mean or narrow minded, was boundless, and frequently expressed in no very measured terms. The warmth of his temper, however, involved him in several misunderstandings with his professional brethren; the most remarkable of which was that which brought him and the late Dr Gregory into collision. The question on which these two distinguished men took opposite sides, related to the right of the junior members of the College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, to perform operations in the Royal Infirmary. This dispute divided the medical men of Edinburgh towards the close of the last century; and Dr Gregory and Mr Bell wrote several volumes about it. But, although great wit and much happy sarcasm were displayed on both sides, it is impossible to look back to this dissension without feeling regret that two of the most eminent medical men of their day should have wasted their ingenuity and high talents in acrimonious and unprofitable controversy, on a topic of ephemeral interest and comparatively minor importance. Mr Bell's principal publication in this controversy was entitled, "Letters on Professional Character and Manners; on the education of a Surgeon, and the duties and qualifications of a Physician; addressed to James Gregory, M.D." Edinburgh, 1810. It is a large octavo volume, and is characterised by extraordinary acrimony.

In the fine arts, Mr Bell's taste was very correct. As a painter and draughtsman his talents were far above mediocrity; and the anatomical drawings by which his works are illustrated have been much admired. He was also a proficient in music, with more taste, however, than execution; and, as Mrs Bell was also a highly accomplished musician, his musical parties, although conducted on a scale of expense which his circumstances hardly warranted, assembled at his house the *elite* of Edinburgh society. He had no family, and his whole house was laid out for this species of display—a *foible* which those who were inclined to laugh at his expense, did not overlook; and which was to a certain extent censurable, since his income, although very large, was never equal to his expenditure.

Mr Bell's personal appearance was good. Although considerably under the middle size, he was exceedingly well proportioned, very active, and studiously elegant in his movements. His head was well formed, his features regular, his eyes keen and penetrating, and his whole expression intellectual and intelligent in no ordinary degree. He was also remarkable for the good taste which he exhibited in his dress; and was altogether a person whom even a stranger could not have passed without recognizing as no ordinary man.

The limits of this work do not admit of an analysis of Mr Bell's works. The best is his treatise on "Gun-shot wounds," to enable him to prepare which, he passed some weeks amongst the wounded men of Lord Duncan's fleet, after the battle of Camperdown.

The following is a complete list of his professional works:—1. The Anatomy of the Human Body, vol. i. 8vo. 1793, containing the Bones, Muscles, and Joints; vol. ii. 1797, containing the Heart and Arteries; vol. iii. 1802, containing the Anatomy of the Brain, Description of the course of the nerves, and the Anatomy of the Eye and Ear; with plates by Charles Bell, third edition, 3 vols. 8vo. 1811. 2. Engravings of the Bones, Muscles, and Joints, illustrating

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the first volume of the Anatomy of the Human Body, drawn and engraved by himself, royal 4to. 1794, third edition. 3. Engravings of the Arteries, illustrating the second volume of the Anatomy of the Human Body, royal 4to. 1801, third edition, 8vo. 1810. 4. Discourses on the nature and cure of wounds, 8vo. 1795; third edition, 1812. 5. Answer for the Junior Members of the Royal College of Surgeons to the Memorial of Dr James Gregory, to the Managers of the Royal Infirmary, 8vo. 1800. 6. The Principles of Surgery, 3 vols. 4to. 1801-1808. 7. Letters on Professional Character, &c. His Observations on Italy is a posthumous work, which was edited by his respected friend, the late Bishop Sandford of Edinburgh.

Mr Bell married Miss Congelton, daughter of Dr Congelton of Edinburgh. His eldest brother was the late Robert Bell, Esq. Advocate, Professor of Conveyancing to the Society of Writers to the Signet; author of the Scotch Law Dictionary, and of several other works on the law of Scotland; who died in 1816. John Bell's immediately younger brothers are, George Joseph Bell, Esq. Advocate, Professor of the Law of Scotland in the University of Edinburgh, one of the principal clerks of Session, and author of Commentaries on the Law of Scotland, a work of high authority; and Sir Charles Bell, F.R.S. of London, a most distinguished anatomist and physiologist. It is rare to find so many members of the same family so favourably known to the public.

BELLENDEN, William, more commonly known by his Latin name of Gulielmus Bellendenus, is one of those learned and ingenious Scotsmen of a former age, who are esteemed in the general literary world as an honour to their country, but with whom that country itself is scarcely at all acquainted. As there were many great but unrecorded heroes before Agamemnon, so may it be said that there have flourished, *out of Scotland*, many illustrious Scotsmen, whose names have not been celebrated in that country. It is time, however, that this should cease to be the case, at least in reference to William Bellenden, whose intellect appears to have been one of most extraordinary character, and whose intellectual efforts, if in a shape to command more extensive appreciation, would certainly be considered a great addition to those productions which reflect honour upon his native country.

William Bellenden was unquestionably a member of that family whose name has been variously spelled Ballenden, Ballantyn, and latterly Ballantyne, and which has produced several men eminent in Scottish literature. He lived in the reign of James VI., to whom he was *Magister Supplicum Libellorum*, or reader of private petitions, an office probably conferred upon him in consideration of his eminent learning. King James, whose many regal faults were redeemed in no small measure by his sincere love of literature, and his extensive patronage of literary men, provided Bellenden with the means of leading a life of studious retirement at the French capital, where he is said to have afterwards become Professor of Humanity, and an advocate in the parliament of Paris. As he is said to have enjoyed his office of professor in 1602, it would of course appear that James had furnished the necessary allowances for the retirement of his learned protegee out of the slender revenues which he enjoyed in his native kingdom; a circumstance which enhances the praise due to him for his munificence in a very high degree.

Bellenden's first work, entitled, "Ciceronis Princeps," and published, apparently without his name, in 1608, is a treatise on the duties of a prince, formed out of passages of the works of Cicero referring to that subject. In this work, "he shows that, whoever desires to exercise authority over others, should first of all learn the government of himself; should remember and be obedient to every thing which the laws command; should on all occasions be ready to hear the

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sentiments of the wise; disdaining whatever bears affinity to corruption, and abhorring the delusions of flattery: he should be tenacious in preserving his dignity, and cautious how he attempts to extend it; he should be remarkable for the purity of his morals, and the moderation of his conduct, and never direct his hand, his eye, or his imagination, to that which is the property of another."[3] To the "Ciceronis Princeps," in which Bellenden has only the merit of an ingenious collector, was prefixed an original essay, styled, "Tractatus de Processu et Scriptoribus Rei Politicæ," in which there is a rich vein of masculine sense and fervent piety, while the origin of our errors in religion, and of our defects in policy and learning, is traced out with considerable accuracy and erudition. In this treatise, the author, while he condemns the monstrous tenets of ancient idolatry, and the gross corruptions of philosophy, bestows many just encomiums on the wisdom and patriotism of some ancient legislators. He informs us that among the Greek theorists, there is no systematic work on the science of politics, at once comprehensive in its principles, and applicable to real life; but acknowledges that much useful information may be gathered from the writings of Xenophon, and the fragments of Solon, Charondas, and Zaleucus. On the authority of Cicero, he represents Demetrius Phalereus as the first person who united the practice of politics with a correct and profound knowledge of his art. He allows, however, great merit to Plato, to Aristotle, to Theophrastus, and other imitators of Hippodamus, who, it seems, was the first writer on the subject of government, without being personally concerned in the administration of it. He then speaks with becoming and warm admiration of Cicero, and enumerates the political works of that writer which have come down to us—those which were written by him, but are now lost—and those which he intended to draw up at the request of Atticus.

Bellenden next published a treatise, formed like the foregoing from detached passages in Cicero, regarding the duties of the consul, senator, and senate among the Romans. It was entitled, "Ciceronis Consul, Senator, Populusque Romanus: illustratus publici observatione juris, gravissimi usus disciplinâ, administrandi temperata ratione: notatis inclinationibus temporum in Rep. et actis rerum in Senatu: quæ a Ciceroniana nondum edita profluxere memoria, annorum DCCC. congesta in libros XVI. De statu rerum Romanorum unde jam manavit Ciceronis Princeps, dignus habitus summorum lectione principum." Bellenden has here shown, not only the duties of a senator, or statesman, but upon what basis the rights of a free but jealous people are erected, and the hallowed care those institutions demand, which have descended to us from our ancestors. This work was published at Paris, in 1612, and like the former, was dedicated to Henry, Prince of Wales. On the title page, the author is termed "Magister Supplicum Libellorum augusti Regis Magnæ Britanniæ;" from which it would appear that either there is a mistake in describing him as Master of Requests to the King of Scotland, or he must have been subsequently preferred to the same office for Great Britain. The office, since he resided at Paris, must have been a sinecure, and was probably given to him as a means of sustaining him in literary leisure.

The next work of Bellenden was entitled, "De Statu Prisci Orbis, in Religione, Re Politica, et Literis, liber unus." It was printed, but may scarcely be described as published, in 1615. This is the most original of Bellenden's works. The expressions and sentiments are all his own, excepting the quotations which he takes occasion to introduce from his favourite Cicero. In this work he has "brought to light, from the most remote antiquity, many facts which had been buried in oblivion. Whatever relates to the discipline of the Persians and Egyptians, which was obscure in itself, and very variously dispersed, he has care-

[3] Parr's Preface to Bellendenus.

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fully collected, placed in one uniform point of view, and polished with diligent acuteness. In a manner the most plain and satisfactory, he has described the first origin of states, their progressive political advances, and how they differed from each other. Those fabulous inventions with which Greece has encumbered history, he explains and refutes. Philosophy owes him much. He has confuted all those systems which were wild and extravagant, and removed the difficulties from such as were in their operation subservient to religious piety. But he has in particular confirmed and dignified with every assistance of solid argument, whatever tended to serve the great truths of revelation. Much, however, as he has been involved in the gloom of ancient times, he in no one instance assumes the character of a cold unfeeling antiquary; he never employs his talents upon those intricate and useless questions in endeavouring to explain which many luckless and idle theologists torment themselves and lose their labour. The style of Bellendenus, in this performance, is perspicuous, and elegant without affectation. The different parts of the work are so well and so judiciously disposed, that we meet with nothing harsh and dissonant, no awkward interval or interruption, nothing placed where it ought not to remain."[2]

All these three works—namely, the "Princeps," the "Consul," and the "De Statu Prisci Orbis," were republished in 1616, in a united form, under the general title, "De Statu, Libri Tres." Prince Henry being now dead, the whole work was dedicated anew to his surviving brother Charles; a circumstance which afforded the author an opportunity of paying an ingenious compliment to the latter prince:

—— Uno avulso non deficit alter,
Aureus, et simili frondescit virga metallo.

Of the justness of this eulogy the politician may have some doubt, but the man of feeling will be captivated by its elegance and pathos.

The last work which Bellenden himself published is of very small extent, consisting merely of two short poems: "Caroli Primi et Henricæ Mariæ, Regis et Reginæ Magnæ Britanniæ," &c. "Epithalamium; et in ipsas augustissimas nuptias, Panegyricum Carmen et Elogia." Paris, 1675, 4to. It would appear that Bellenden did not soon forget the kind patronage which he had experienced from King James, but transferred his gratitude, with his loyalty, to the descendants of that prince. This is the only known specimen of Bellenden's efforts in poetry.

The "De Statu Libri Tres," which perhaps were never very extensively diffused, had latterly become so extremely scarce, as only to be known by name to the most of scholars. From this obscurity, the work was rescued in 1787, by Dr Samuel Parr, the most eminent British Latinist of modern times. Dr Parr republished it in an elegant form, with a preface, which, though embracing a singular jumble of subjects, and not free from the charge of pedantry, is justly looked upon as one of the most admirable specimens of modern Latin which we possess. Imitating the example of Bellendenus, who prefixed a dedication to each of his three books, the learned editor inscribed them anew to three great men of modern times, Edward Burke, Lord North, and Charles James Fox, who were then the leaders of his own party in British politics. In the preface, he introduced a high allegorical eulogy upon these statesmen, which was admired as a singularly nervous piece of composition, though there were, of course, different opinions as to the justness of the panegyric. He also exposed the plagiary which Middleton, in composing his "Life of Cicero," had committed upon the splendid stores of Bellenden.

While Bellenden was employed in writing his tripartite work, "De Statu," he

[2] Parr's Preface.

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had Cicero constantly before him. "His warmest attachment, and increasing admiration," to quote the words of Dr Parr, "were necessarily attracted to the character whose writings were the object of his unremitting attention; whose expressions were as familiar to him as possible; and whose various and profound learning occupied all the faculties of his soul." He now commenced a still more extensive and laborious cento of the writings of the Roman orator, which he concluded in sixteen books, and which, with the addition of similar centoes of the writings of Seneca and Pliny the Elder, was to bear the name, "De Tribus Luminibus Romanorum." The Ciceronian cento, the only one he lived to complete, is justly considered a most extraordinary performance. By an exertion of fictitious machinery, akin to the modern historical romance, Cicero is introduced as if he had spoken or written the whole from beginning to end. The first seven books give a very concise abstract of the Roman history, from the foundation of the city, to the 647th year, in which he was born. Then he becomes more particular in the account of his own times, and enlarges very fully on all that happened after his first appearance in public business. He gives an account of the most remarkable of his orations and epistles, and the occasions on which they were written, as also of such of his philosophical works as have come down to us, and of some other pieces that are now lost, ending with a letter he is supposed to have written to Octavianus, afterwards named Augustus, which letter, however, is supposed to be spurious. There cannot be a more complete history of the life of Cicero, or of the tumultuous times in which he lived, than this work, all of which, by an exquisite ingenuity, is so faithfully compiled from the known works of the orator, that probably there is not in the whole book a single expression, perhaps not a single word, which is not to be found in that great storehouse of philosophical eloquence. Nor is there any incoherence or awkwardness in this re-arrangement of Cicero's language; but, on the contrary, the matter flows as gracefully as in the original. "Whatever we find," says Parr, in the different writings of Cicero, elegantly expressed, or acutely conceived, Bellendenus has not only collected in one view, but elucidated in the clearest manner. He, therefore, who peruses this performance with the attention which it merits, will possess all the treasures of antiquity, all the energy of the mightiest examples. He will obtain an adequate knowledge of the Roman law, and system of jurisprudence, and may draw, as from an inexhaustible source, an abundance of expressions, the most exquisite in their kind." In the opinion of another critic,[1] it is inconceivable that Bellenden could have composed this singular work, without having the whole of the writings of Cicero, and all the collateral authorities, in his mind at once, as it must have been quite impossible to perform such a task by turning over the leaves of the books, in order to find the different expressions suited to the various occasions where they were required.

After the death of Bellenden, the date of which is only known to have been posterior to 1625, the manuscript of his great work fell into the hands of one Toussaint du Bray, who printed it at Paris in 1631, or 1634, and dedicated it to King Charles I. of Great Britain. It is alleged that the principal part of the impression, about a thousand copies, was shipped for sale in Britain, and was lost on the passage, so that only a few copies survived. The work therefore fell at once into obscurity, and in a few years was scarcely known to exist. One copy having found its way to the Cambridge University Library, fell into the hands of Conyers Middleton, the keeper of that institution, who seems to have adopted the idea of making it the ground-work for a Life of Cicero under his own name. Hence has arisen one of the most monstrous instances of literary

[1] The late Earl of Buchan, who had the extraordinary fortune to possess a copy of this rare book.

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plagium which modern times have witnessed. The work of Middleton at once attained to great reputation, and chiefly through that skilful arrangement of the writings of the orator himself, which Bellenden had provided to his hands. The theft was first denounced by Warton, and subsequently made clear by Dr Parr, in his preface to the "De Statu." As the latter gentleman was prepossessed in favour of both the literary and political character of Middleton, the terms in which he speaks of the theft are entitled to the more weight. He commences his exposure in the following strain of tender apology, which we quote in the original, on account of its extraordinary beauty; for we know not that even the writings of Tully exhibit periods more harmonious, or that the human ear has hitherto been gratified with a more enchanting sweetness of language:

"Litteræ fuerunt Middletono, non vulgares hæ et quotidianæ, sed uberrimæ et maxime exquisitæ. Fuit judicium subtile limatumque. Teretes et religiosæ fuerunt aures. Stylus est ejus ita purus ac suavis, ita salebris sine ullis profluens quiddam et canorum habet, numeros ut videatur complecti, quales in alio quopiam, præter Addisonum, frustra quæsiveris. Animum fuisse ejusdem parum candidum ac sincerum, id vero, fateor invitus, dolens, coactus."

"Middleton was a man of no common attainments; his learning was elegant and profound, his judgment acute and polished; he had a fine and correct taste; and his style was so pure and so harmonious, so vigorously flowing without being inflated, that, Addison alone excepted, he seems to be without a rival. As to his mind, I am compelled with grief and reluctance to confess, it was neither ingenuous nor faithful.

"Of the faith of any man, in matters of religion,[1] I presume not to speak with asperity or anger: yet I am vehemently displeased that a man possessed of an elegant and enlightened mind, should deprive Bellenden of the fame he merited. For I assert, in the most unqualified terms, that Middleton is not only indebted to Bellenden for many useful and splendid materials, but that, wherever it answered his purpose, he has made a mere transcript of his work. He resided at Cambridge, where he possessed all the advantages which that university and all its valuable libraries afford, to make collections for his undertaking. Yet did the man who proposed a system for the regulation of a university library, possess the writings of Bellenden, anticipating all that he professed to accomplish. I cannot deny but that he makes some allusion to this particular work of Bellendenus in his preface, although in a very dark and mysterious manner; particularly where he speaks of the history of those times, which, whoever wishes to understand minutely, has only to peruse Cicero's Epistles with attention; of the tediousness of being obliged to peruse Cicero's works two or three times over; of the care and trouble of consorting for future use various passages scattered through the different volumes; and, above all, of the very words of Cicero, which give a lustre and authority to a sentiment, when woven originally into the text.

"To conclude the whole—whatever Middleton ostentatiously declares it to be his wish and his duty to do, had been already done to his hands, faithfully and skilfully by Bellendenus, from the beginning to the end of the work!"

It is impossible to dismiss the life and singular writings of William Bellenden, without a passing expression of regret, that so much ingenuity, so much learning, so much labour, may be expended, without producing even the remuneration of a *name*—for Bellenden, to use a phrase of Buchanan, is a *light* rather than a *name*. His last work extended to 824 pages in folio, and he contemplated other two of similar size, and equal labour. Yet all this was so futile, that the very

[1] Middleton was a free-thinker.

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next generation of his own countrymen do not appear to have known that such a man ever existed. Even after all the care of bibliographers and others, which has searched out the few facts embraced by this imperfect narrative, the name of Bellenden is only known in connexion with certain works, which are, it is true, *reputed* to be admirable of their kind, but, for every practical purpose, are almost as entirely lost to the world at large, as those *libri perditi* of Cicero, which he has himself alluded to with so much regret. Nor can Bellenden be described as a man defrauded by circumstances of that fame which forms at once the best motive and the best reward of literature. He must have written with but very slender hopes of reputation through the medium of the press. It thus becomes a curious subject of speculation, that so much pains should have been bestowed where there was so little prospect of its reflecting credit or profit upon the labourer. And yet this seems to be rather in consequence of, than in defiance to the want of such temptation. The works of the ancient classics, written when there was no vehicle but manuscripts for their circulation, and a very small circle in which they could be appreciated, are, of all literary performances, the most carefully elaborated: those of the age when printing was in its infancy, such as the works of Bellenden and other great Latinists, are only a degree inferior in accuracy and finish; while these latter times, so remarkable for the facility with which the works of men of genius are diffused, have produced hardly a single work, which can be pointed to as a perfect specimen of careful workmanship and faultless taste. There is something not ungratifying in this reflection; it seems to atone to the great memories of the past, for the imperfect rewards which they enjoyed in life or in fame. If we could suppose that the lofty spirits who once brightened the lustre of knowledge and literature, and died without any contemporary praise, still look down from their spheres upon the present world, it would gratify the moral faculties to think of the pleasure which they must have, in contemplating their half-forgotten but unsurpassed labours, and in knowing that men yet look back to them as the giants of old who have left no descendants in the land. Thus even the aspirate "name" of Bellenden, which almost seems as if it had never had a mortal man attached to it, might reap a shadowy joy from the present humble effort to render it the justice which has been so long withheld.

BERNARD, made abbot of Aberbrothick in 1303, and the first chancellor of king Robert Bruce after his assumption of the crown in 1306, deserves a place in this work, as the supposed writer of that spirited remonstrance which the Scottish nobility and barons transmitted, in 1318, to the Roman pontiff, asserting the independency of their country. He held the great seal till his death in 1327. Crawford supposes that his surname was Linton.

BERRY, William, an ingenious artist, was born about the year 1730, and bred to the business of a seal-engraver. After serving an apprenticeship under a Mr Proctor at Edinburgh, he commenced business for himself in that city, and soon became distinguished for the elegance of his designs, and the clearness and sharpness of his mode of cutting. At this time the business of a stone-engraver in the Scottish capital was confined to the cutting of ordinary seals, and the most elaborate work of this kind which they undertook, was that of engraving the armorial bearings of the nobility. Mr Berry's views were for several years confined to this common drudgery of his art; but, by studying some ancient entaglios, he at length conceived the design of venturing into that higher walk, which might be said to bear the same relation to seal-engraving, which historical painting does to portrait-painting. The subject he chose for his first essay was a head of Sir Isaac Newton, which he executed with such precision and delicacy, as astonished all who had an opportunity of observing it. The modesty of Mr

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Berry permitted him to consign this gem to the hands of a friend in a retired situation of life, who had few opportunities of showing it to others. He resumed his wonted drudgery, satisfied, we may suppose, with that secret consciousness of triumphant exertion, which, to some abstracted minds, is not to be increased, but rather spoilt, by the applause of the uninitiated multitude. For many years, this ingenious man "narrowed his mind" to the cutting of heraldic seals, while in reality, he must have known that his genius fitted him for a competition with the highest triumphs of Italian art. When he was occasionally asked to undertake somewhat finer work, he generally found that, though he only demanded perhaps half the money which he could have earned in humbler work during the same space of time, yet even that was grudged by his employers; and he therefore found that mere considerations of worldly prudence demanded his almost exclusive attention to the ordinary walk of his profession.

Nevertheless, in the course of a few years, the impulse of genius so far overcame his scruples, that he executed various heads, any one of which would have been sufficient to ensure him fame among judges of excellence in this department of art. Among these were heads of Thomson, author of "the Seasons," Mary Queen of Scots, Oliver Cromwell, Julius Cæsar, a young Hercules, and Mr Hamilton of Bangour, the well-known poet. Of these only two were copies from the antique; and they were executed in the finest style of those celebrated entaglios. The young Hercules, in particular, possessed an unaffected plain simplicity, a union of youthful innocence with strength and dignity, which struck every beholder as most appropriate to that mythological personage, while it was, at the same time, the most difficult of all expressions to be hit off by the faithful imitator of nature. As an actor finds it much less difficult to imitate any extravagant violence of character, than to represent, with truth and perspicuity, the elegant ease of the gentleman; so the painter can much more easily delineate the most violent contortions of countenance, than that placid serenity, to express which requires a nice discrimination of such infinitely small degrees of variation in certain lineaments, as totally elude the observation of men, on whose minds nature has not impressed, with her irresistible hand, that exquisite perceptive faculty, which constitutes the essence of genius in the fine arts.

Berry possessed this perceptive faculty to a degree which almost proved an obstruction, rather than a help, in his professional career. In his best performances, he himself remarked defects which no one else perceived, and which he believed might have been overcome by greater exertion, if for that greater exertion he could have spared the necessary time. Thus, while others applauded his entaglios, he looked upon them with a morbid feeling of vexation, arising from the sense of that struggle which his immediate personal wants constantly maintained with the nobler impulses of art, and to which his situation in the world promised no speedy cessation. This gave him an aversion to the higher department of his art, which, though indulged to his own temporary comfort, and the advantage of his family, was most unfortunate for the world.

In spite of every disadvantage, the works of Mr Berry, few as they were in number, became gradually known in society at large; and some of his pieces were even brought into competition, by some distinguished cognoscenti, with those of Piccler at Rome, who had hitherto been the unapproached sovereign of this department of the arts. Although the experience of Piccler was that of a constant practitioner, while Mr Berry had only attempted a few pieces at long intervals in the course of a laborious life; although the former lived in a country where every artificial object was attuned to the principles of art, while Mr Berry was reared in a soil remarkable for the absence of all such advantages; the latter was by many good judges placed above his Italian contemporary. The re-

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spective works of the two artists were well known to each other; and each declared, with that manly ingenuousness, which very high genius alone can confer on the human mind, that the other was greatly his superior.

Mr Berry possessed not merely the art of imitating busts or figures set before him, in which he could observe and copy the prominence or depression of the parts; but he possessed a faculty which presupposes a much nicer discrimination; that of being able to execute a figure in *relievo*, with perfect justness in all its parts, which was copied from a painting or drawing upon a flat surface. This was fairly put to the test in the head he executed of Hamilton of Bangour. That gentleman had been dead several years, when his relations wished to have a head of him executed by Berry. The artist had himself never seen Mr Hamilton, and there remained no picture of him but an imperfect sketch, which was by no means a striking likeness. This was put into the hands of Mr Berry, by a person who had known the deceased poet, and who pointed out the defects of the resemblance in the best way that words can be made to correct things of this nature; and from this picture, with the ideas that Mr Berry had imbibed from the corrections, he made a head, which every one who knew Mr Hamilton, allowed to be one of the most perfect likenesses that could be wished for. In this, as in all his works, there was a correctness in the outline, and a truth and delicacy in the expression of the features, highly emulous of the best antiques; which were, indeed, the models on which he formed his taste.

The whole number of heads executed by Mr Berry did not exceed a dozen; but, besides these, he executed some full-length figures of both men and animals, in his customary style of elegance. That attention, however, to the interests of a numerous family, which a man of sound principles, as Mr Berry was, could never allow himself to lose sight of, made him forego those agreeable exertions, for the more lucrative, though less pleasing employment, of cutting heraldic seals, which may be said to have been his constant employment from morning to night, for forty years together, with an assiduity that almost surpasses belief. In this department, he was, without dispute, the first artist of his time; but even here, that modesty which was so peculiarly his own, and that invariable desire of giving perfection to every thing he put out of his hand, prevented him from drawing such emoluments from his labours as they deserved. Of this the following anecdote will serve as an illustration, and as an additional testimony of his very great skill. Henry, Duke of Buccleuch, on succeeding to his title and estates, was desirous of having a seal cut, with his arms properly blazoned upon it. But, as there were no fewer than thirty-two compartments in the shield, which was of necessity confined to a very small space, so as to leave room for the supporters and other ornaments, within the compass of a seal of ordinary size, he found it a matter of great difficulty to get it executed. Though a native of Scotland himself, the noble Duke had no idea that there was a man of first-rate eminence in this art in Edinburgh; and accordingly he had applied to the best seal-engravers in London and Paris, all of whom declared it to be beyond their power. At this time, Berry was mentioned to him, with such powerful recommendations, that he was induced to pay him a visit, and found him, as usual, seated at his wheel. The gentleman who had mentioned Mr Berry's name to the Duke, accompanied him on his visit. This person, without introducing the Duke, showed Mr Berry the impression of a seal which the Duchess-dowager had got cut a good many years before by a Jew in London, now dead, and which had been shown to others as a pattern; asking him if he would cut a seal the same as that. After examining it a little, Mr Berry answered readily, that he would. The Duke, at once pleased and astonished, exclaimed, "Will you, indeed!" Mr Berry, who thought that this implied some doubt of his ability to perform

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what he undertook, was a little piqued, and turning round to the Duke, whom he had never before seen, he said, "Yes, Sir; if I do not make a better seal than this, I will charge no payment for it." The Duke, highly pleased, left the pattern with Mr Berry, and went away. The original contained, indeed, the various devices of the thirty-two compartments distinctly enough to be seen; but none of the colours were expressed. Mr Berry, in proper time, finished the seal; on which the figures were not only done with superior elegance, but the colours on every part so distinctly marked that a painter could delineate the whole, or a herald blazon it, with perfect accuracy. For this extraordinary and most ingenious labour, he charged no more than thirty-two guineas, though the pattern seal had cost seventy-five. Thus it was, that, though possessed of talents unequalled in their kind, at least in Britain, and assiduity not to be surpassed,—observing at the same time the strictest economy in his domestic arrangements—Mr Berry died at last, in circumstances far from affluent, June 3d, 1783, in the fifty-third year of his age, leaving a numerous family of children. It had been the lot of this ingenious man, to toil unceasingly for a whole life, without obtaining any other reward than the common boon of mere subsistence, while his abilities, in another sphere, or in an age more qualified to appreciate and employ them, might have enabled him to attain at once to fame and fortune in a very few years. His art, it may be remarked, has made no particular progress in Scotland, in consequence of his example. The genius of Berry was solitary, both in respect of place and time, and has never been rivalled by any other of his countrymen. It must be recorded, to the honour of this unrequited genius, that his character in private life was as amiable and unassuming as his talents were great; and that his conduct on all occasions was ruled by the strictest principles of honour and integrity.

BINNING, Hugh, an extraordinary instance of precocious learning and genius, was the son of John Binning of Dalvennan, a landed gentleman of Ayrshire. He appears to have been born about the year 1627. In his earliest years he outstripped all his seniors in the acquisition of Latin. At Glasgow college, which he entered in his fourteenth year, he distinguished himself very highly in philosophy. What was to others only gained by hard study, seemed to be intuitively known by Binning. After taking the degree of Master of Arts, he began to study for the church. When Mr James Dalrymple, afterwards Lord Stair, vacated the chair of philosophy at Glasgow, Binning, though not yet nineteen, stood a competitor with some men of graver years and very respectable acquirements, and gained the object of his ambition by the pure force of merit. Though unprepared for entering upon his duties, no deficiency was remarked. He was one of the first in Scotland to reform philosophy from the barbarous jargon of the schools. While fulfilling the duties of his chair in the most satisfactory manner, he continued his study of theology, and a vacancy occurring in the church of Govan, near Glasgow, he received a call to be its minister. Here he married Barbara Simpson, the daughter of a presbyterian clergyman in Ireland. As a preacher, Mr Binning's fame was very great: his knowledge was extensive, and there was a fervour in his eloquence which bore away the hearts of his congregation, as it were, to heaven. At the division of the church into Resolutioners and Protesters, he took the latter and more zealous side, but yet was too full of virtuous and benevolent feeling to be a violent partizan. In order to heal the difference as much as possible, he wrote a treatise on Christian love. When Oliver Cromwell came to Glasgow, he caused a dispute to be held between his own independent clergymen, and the Scottish presbyterian ministers. Binning having nonplussed his opponents, Cromwell asked the name of "that bold young man." On being told that he was called Mr Hugh Binning, the sectarian gene-

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ral said, "He hath bound well, indeed, but" (clapping his hand upon his sword,) "this will loose all again." This excellent young preacher died of consumption, 1653, in his twenty-sixth year, leaving behind him a reputation for piety, virtue, and learning, such as has rarely been attained by any individual under that age. Besides his treatise on Christian love, he wrote many miscellaneous pieces, of a pious nature, which were published, in 1732, in one volume quarto. A selection from these, under the title of "Evangelical Beauties of Hugh Binning," appeared in 1829, with a memoir of the author by the Rev John Brown of Whitburn.

BISSAT, OR BISSART, PETER, professor of the Canon Law in the University of Bononia, was born in Fife in the reign of James V., being a descendant of Thomas Bissat, or Bissart, who was Earl of Fife in the reign of David II. He received instructions in grammar, philosophy, and the laws, at the University of St Andrews, and afterwards perfected his education at that of Paris. Having then travelled into Italy, he was honoured by the University of Bononia with the degree of Doctor of Laws, and shortly after became professor of the Canon Law in that seminary, in which situation he continued for several years, "with great applause."

Bissat appears to have been a man of general accomplishment—a poet, an orator, and a philosopher; but his forte lay in the Canon Law. His various writings were published at Venice in 1565, in quarto, under the title, "Patricii Bissarti Opera Omnia, *viz.* Poemata, Orationes, Lectiones Feriales, et Liber de Irregularitate." The last of these compositions was a commentary on that part of the Canon Law which gives the reasons assigned by the Church of Rome for excluding certain laymen from the clergy.[1] Bissat died in the latter part of the year 1568.

BISSET, CHARLES, an ingenious physician and writer on Fortification, was born at Glenalbert, near Dunkeld, in the year 1717. It is alone known, regarding his parentage, that his father was a lawyer of some eminence, and a distinguished Latinist. After a course of medical studies at Edinburgh, he was appointed, in 1740, second surgeon of the Military Hospital in Jamaica, and spent several years in the West India Islands, and in Admiral Vernon's fleet, in

[1] Of these, as detailed by Bissat, an abstract may be interesting to the British reader, now happily so little familiar with the systems of the Catholic Church. The primitive Christians, in admitting the clergy, observed exactly the rules laid down by St Paul in the first epistle to Timothy. Yet sometimes, as we learn from St Cyprian, at the pressing instance of the people, persons of noted merit, who refused through humility, were compelled to enter. By the canons, however, a man required to be a deacon before he could be a priest, and a priest before he could be a bishop. It was a general principle of the church, that the clergy should be chosen from the most holy of the laity, and, therefore, all liable to any reproach in their lives and conversations, were excluded. Agreeably to this principle, which agreed with the injunction of St Paul, that they should be blameless and without reproach, the first council of Nice excluded all those, specifically, who, after baptism, had been guilty of any sort of crime, such as heresy, homicide, or adultery; nor was penance any palliative, seeing that the memory of the offence always remained; while it was to be expected that those whose lives were without stain should be preferred to those who had fallen. Thus all persons who had performed penance were excluded. Those also were deemed *irregular*, and not entitled to admittance, who had killed any person, by accident or in self-defence, or who had borne arms even in a just war; who had twice married, or married a widow; or who engaged much in worldly affairs; all of which circumstances were held as derogating in some degree from the necessary purity of the individual. The only other moral disqualification was ignorance: the physical disqualifications were almost equally numerous. All deaf, dumb, or blind persons were excluded, as unable to perform their functions in a proper manner. All persons who were lame, or had any deformity calculated to create an aversion in the people, were declared unfit for orders. Madness and self-mutilation were disqualifications. All persons born out of wedlock were excluded, because, however innocent the individual in his own person, the associations which the sight of them was calculated to awaken, were not favourable to virtue. Slaves, servants, children, and monastic clergy without the consent of their superiors, were excluded.

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order to become acquainted with the diseases of the torrid zone. The physician who studies new and local forms of disease, with their symptoms, and natural and accidental terminations, whatever may be his success as a medical practitioner, may justly be said to perform good service to his kind. His observations are not of less value than those of the cautious and expert navigator, who searches and describes shores hitherto unknown. But, while thus seeking to avert disease from others, Dr Bisset became himself liable to its ravages. Having, in 1745, contracted ill health at Greenwich in Jamaica, he was under the necessity of resigning his situation as second surgeon, in order to return to Britain. In May, 1746, he purchased an ensigncy in the 42nd (Highland) regiment, so well known for a long train of military glories, and which was then commanded by Lord John Murray. By this transition, his attention was turned from the medical to the military profession, and fortification became his favourite study. After a fruitless descent on the coast of Brittany in September, 1748, and passing a winter at Limerick in Ireland, the regiment was, in the beginning of next campaign, brought into action at Sandberg, near Hulst, in Dutch Flanders, where one Dutch and two English regiments suffered very severely. Here Dr Bisset employed himself in drawing a sketch of the enemy's approaches, and some time after, in another of Bergen-op-Zoom, with the permanent lines, the environs, and the enemy's first parallel; which were presented by his colonel to the Duke of Cumberland, the commander-in-chief. The Duke was so much pleased with these specimens of Dr Bisset's military knowledge, that he ordered him to attend the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, and give due attention daily to the progress of both the attack and the defence, in order to form a journal of the whole proceedings. This distinguished duty Dr Bisset undertook with a modest reluctance, the result rather of inexperience than of any consciousness of want of knowledge. The result, however, was highly honourable to him. His journals, duly illustrated with plans, were daily delivered to Lord John Murray, who forwarded them every second or third day, to the Duke, who was then at Maestricht, at the head of the allied army, observing the motions of the French army under Marshal Saxe. His royal highness was pleased to express his approbation, by recommending Dr Bisset to the Duke of Montagu, then master-general of the ordnance, who honoured him with a warrant as engineer extraordinary to the brigade of engineers; he was at the same time promoted to a lieutenancy in the army.

At the end of the war, being placed on half-pay, he had full leisure to pursue his studies in fortification, and also to visit the principal specimens of the art upon the Continent. The result was his "Essay on the Theory and Construction of Fortifications," which appeared in 1751, in 8vo.

His attention being now disengaged from this pursuit, he resumed his original profession, and, for the sake of a salubrious air, which was necessary to his weakly constitution, retired to practise at the village of Skelton, in Cleveland, Yorkshire, where he spent all the remainder of his life. In 1755, when the Seven Years' War was impending, he published a "Treatise on the Scurvy, with Remarks on the Cure of Scorbutic Ulcers," which he dedicated to Viscount Anson, and the other Lords of the Admiralty. In 1762, appeared his "Essay on the Medical Constitution of Great Britain," which he inscribed to his friend Sir John Pringle. In this work he shows the effects of the change of weather, and of the seasons, on the diseases of Great Britain; and at the conclusion is an interesting paper on the virtues of the herb Bear's-foot, in the cure of worms. In 1765, the University of St Andrews conferred upon him the degree of M.D. In 1766, he published, at Newcastle, a volume of "Medical Essays and Observations," in which are upwards of twenty papers on the climate and diseases of the

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West Indies, which his experience in that country had enabled him to illustrate in a most satisfactory manner; besides some others on the chronic diseases of Great Britain, particularly the hooping-cough and the scorbutic itch, as well as many chirurgical remarks, which show a mind bent on the improvement of his profession. A few years before his death, he deposited, in the Library of the Infirmary at Leeds, a manuscript of medical observations, in octavo, and extending to nearly seven hundred pages; for which the physicians of that institution honoured him with a formal vote of thanks. Dr Bisset also presented a manuscript treatise on fortification to the Prince of Wales (afterwards George IV.); which was deposited in his Royal Highness's private library. These, with a small published treatise on naval tactics, and a few political papers, constituted the whole of the intellectual exertions of this distinguished man; who died at Knayton, near Thirsk, in May 1791, aged seventy-five years.

BLACK, Joseph, M.D. "the illustrious Nestor (as he has been termed by Lavoisier) of the chemical revolution,"—was not a native of Scotland, having been born on the banks of the Garonne, in France; but as his father was of Scottish extraction, while his mother was a native of that country, and as Scotland, further, was the scene not only of the better part of his life, but of all those exertions in science which will transmit his name to posterity, it seems proper that he should obtain a place in this work, even at the expense of a slight violation of its leading principle.

John Black, the father of the illustrious subject of this memoir, was a native of Belfast, descended, as already mentioned, from a Scottish family, which had for some time been settled there. For the purpose of carrying on the profession of a wine-merchant, he resided chiefly at Bourdeaux, where he married a daughter of Mr Robert Gordon of Hillhead in Aberdeenshire; a gentleman who also resided at Bourdeaux, and was engaged in the same trade. The sister of Mrs Black was mother to Mr Russel, professor of natural philosophy in the university of Edinburgh, and their aunt was mother to Dr Adam Ferguson, professor of moral philosophy in the same college, and author of the History of the Roman Republic. While Mr John Black resided at Bourdeaux, he was honoured with the friendship of Montesquieu, who was president of the parliament or court of justice in that province. "My father," says Dr Black, "was honoured with President Montesquieu's friendship, on account of his good character and virtues. He had no ambition to be very rich; but was cheerful and contented, benevolent and liberal-minded. He was industrious and prudent in business, of the strictest probity and honour, very temperate and regular in his manner of life. He and my mother, who was equally domestic, educated thirteen of their children, eight sons and five daughters, who all grew up to men and women, and were settled in different places. My mother taught her children to read English, there being no school for that purpose at Bourdeaux." The regard which Montesquieu entertained for Mr Black was testified in the warmest terms, when the latter was proposing to return to his native country. "I cannot," said he, on that occasion, "be reconciled to the thoughts of your leaving Bourdeaux. I lose the most agreeable pleasure I had, that of seeing you often, and forgetting myself with you."

Dr Black was born in the year 1728. In 1740, a few years before his father retired from business, he was sent home, in order to have the education of a British subject. After spending some time at the schools of Belfast, he was sent, in 1746, to complete his studies at the college of Glasgow. Here his attention became decidedly fixed upon physical science; insomuch that, on being desired to select a profession, he chose that of medicine, on account of its allowing the greatest scope for such studies. It was about this time that Dr Cullen had been

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appointed lecturer on chemistry in Glasgow university. Hitherto this science had been only treated as a curious, and, in some respects, a useless art. This great man, conscious of his own strength, and taking a wide and comprehensive view, saw the unoccupied field of philosophical chemistry open before him. He was satisfied that it was susceptible of great improvement, by means of liberal inquiry and rational investigation. It was perhaps the good fortune of Dr Black, in falling under such a master, that gave his mind a peculiar bent in favour of this department of physical science. His previous acquirements and extraordinary aptitude speedily became known to Dr Cullen, who was at all times remarkable for the personal attentions he paid to his pupils. Black became a valuable assistant to Dr Cullen in his chemical operations, and his experiments were sometimes publicly adduced in the lecture, as a sufficient authority for various new facts. Thus commenced a friendship between two great men, which was never afterwards interrupted, except by the Great Divider of kindred minds and loving hearts, and which was of considerable service to mankind.

In 1751, Black was sent to Edinburgh to complete the course of his medical studies. At this time, the mode of action of lithotriptic medicines, but particularly lime water, in alleviating the pains of stone and gravel, divided the opinions of professors and practitioners. This subject attracted the attention of Black, and it appears from some of his memorandums, that he at first held the opinion, that the causticity of alkalis was owing to the igneous matter which they derive from quick lime. Having prosecuted his experiments on magnesia, this grand secret of nature, which for ever will be associated with his name, was laid open to him. He perceived that the acrimony of these substances was not owing to their combination with igneous particles; that it was their peculiar property; and that they lost this property, and became mild, by combining with a certain portion of air, to which he gave the name of FIXED AIR; because it was fixed or become solid in the substances, into the composition of which it entered. He discovered, for instance, that a cubic inch of marble consisted of half its weight of pure lime, and a quantity of air equal to six gallons measure. This grand discovery, which forms one of the most important eras of chemical science, was the subject of his inaugural essay, on obtaining his degree as doctor of medicine; and the reputation it acquired for him, was the means, in 1756, of placing him in the chair of chemistry at Glasgow, then vacated by Dr Cullen, who was transferred to the same chair in the college of Edinburgh. The theory of fixed air (now termed by chemists, carbonic acid gas,) was speedily propagated on the continent, where at this time chemistry was occupying the attention of many great men. In Germany, Dr Black's opinions, though placed on the firmest basis by experiments, met with much opposition, which, it appears, gave him an uneasiness not to have been expected from his philosophical, and rather indolent character. In France, however, he was very differently treated. Lavoisier, in sending him a copy of his treatise on respiration, thus expressed himself: "It is but just you should be one of the first to receive information of the progress made in a career which you yourself have opened, and in which all of us here consider ourselves your disciples." To this Black replied, with a just admiration of what the French chemists were doing, and without reference to any merit of his own.

On his assuming the chair of chemistry at Glasgow, that of anatomy was also imposed upon him; but this latter he soon exchanged for that of medicine, for which, it would appear, he was better qualified. He gave great satisfaction by the perspicuity and simplicity, the caution and moderation, which he discovered in his medical lectures. At the same time, he became a favourite practitioner in the city, where his engaging appearance and manners, and the benevolent and unaffected interest which he took in all the cases entrusted to his care, ren-

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dered him a most welcome visitor in every family. His principal friend at Glasgow was his associate Dr Adam Smith, professor of moral philosophy, with whom he had become intimate, when attending the university as a student. A peculiar simplicity and sensibility, an incorruptible integrity, the strictest delicacy and correctness of manners, marked the character of each of the philosophers, and firmly bound them in the closest union.

"It seems to have been between the year 1759 and 1763,[1] that his speculations concerning HEAT, which had long occupied his thoughts, were brought to maturity. And when it is considered by what simple experiments, by what familiar observations, Dr Black illustrated the laws of fluidity and evaporation, it appears wonderful that they had not long before been observed and demonstrated. They are, however, less obvious than might at first sight be imagined, and to have a distinct and clear conception of those seemingly simple processes of nature, required consideration and reflection. If a piece of wood, a piece of lead, and a piece of ice, are placed in a temperature much inferior to that of the body; and if we touch the piece of wood with the hand, it feels cold; if we touch the piece of lead, it feels colder still; but the piece of ice feels colder than either. Now, the first suggestion of sense is, that we receive cold from the wood; that we receive more from the lead; and most of all from the ice; and that the ice continues to be a source of cold till the whole be melted. But an inference precisely the contrary to all this is made by him, whose attention and reflection has been occupied with this subject. He infers that the wood takes a little heat from the hand, but is soon heated so much as to take no more. The lead takes more heat before it be as much satiated; and the ice continues to feel equally cold, and to carry off heat as fast as in the first moment, till the whole be melted. This, then, was the inference made by Dr Black.

"Boerhaave has recorded an interesting observation by Fahrenheit, namely, that water would sometimes grow considerably colder than melting snow without freezing, and would freeze in a moment when shaken or disturbed; and in the act of freezing give out many degrees of heat. Founded on this observation, it appears that Dr Black entertained some vague notion or conjecture, that the heat which was received by the ice, during its conversion into water, was not lost, but was still contained in the water. And he hoped to verify this conjecture, by making a comparison of the time required to raise a pound of water one degree in its temperature, with the time required to melt a pound of ice, both being supposed to receive the heat equally fast. And that he might ascertain how much heat was extricated during congelation, he thought of comparing the time required to depress the temperature of a pound of water one degree, with the time required for freezing it entirely. The plan of this series of experiments occurred to him during the summer season. But for want of ice, which he could not then procure, he had no opportunity of putting them to the test. He therefore waited impatiently for the winter. The winter arrived, and the decisive experiment was performed in the month of December 1761. From this experiment it appeared that as much heat was taken up by the ice, during its liquefaction, as would have raised the water 140 degrees in its temperature, and on the other hand, that exactly the same quantity of heat was given out during the congelation of the water. But this experiment, the result of which Dr Black eagerly longed for, only informed him how much heat was absorbed by the ice during liquefaction, was retained by the water while it remained fluid, and was again emitted by it in the process of freezing. But his mind was deeply impressed with the truth of the doctrine, by reflecting on the observations that

[1] The following most interesting account of one of the principal discoveries in modern science is from a biographical memoir, prefixed by professor Robison to Dr Black's lectures.

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presented themselves when a frost or thaw happened to prevail. The hills are not at once cleared of snow during the sunshine of the brightest winter day, nor were the ponds suddenly covered with ice during a single frosty night. Much heat is absorbed and fixed in the water during the melting of the snow; and on the other hand, while the water is changed into ice, much heat is extricated. During a thaw, the thermometer sinks when it is removed from the air, and placed in the melting snow; and during severe frost, it rises when plunged into freezing water. In the first case, the snow receives heat; and in the last, the water allows the heat to escape again. These were fair and unquestionable inferences, and now they appear obvious and easy. But although many ingenious and acute philosophers had been engaged in the same investigations, and had employed the same facts in their disquisitions, those obvious inferences were entirely overlooked. It was reserved for Dr Black to remove the veil which hid this mystery of nature, and by this important discovery, to establish an era in the progress of chemical science, one of the brightest, perhaps, which has yet occurred in its history."

Dr Black explained his theory of *latent heat*—such was the name he himself gave to it—to the members of a literary society, April 23, 1762, and afterwards laid before his students a detailed view of the extensive and beneficial effects of this habitude in the grand economy of nature. From observing the analogy between the cessation of expansion by the thermometer, during the liquefaction of the ice, and during the conversion of water into steam, Dr Black, having explained the one, thought that the phenomena of boiling and evaporation would admit of a similar explanation. He was so convinced of the truth of this theory, that he taught it in his lectures in 1761, before he had made a single experiment on the subject. At this period, his prelections on the subject of evaporation were of great advantage to Mr James Watt, afterwards so distinguished for his application of steam power. His discovery, indeed, may be said to have laid the foundation of that great practical use of steam, which has conferred so immense a blessing upon the present age.

In 1766, on Dr Cullen being removed from the chair of chemistry at Edinburgh, to that of medicine, Dr Black, as formerly, supplied the vacant place. In this new scene, he saw that his talents would become more conspicuous, and of more extensive utility. He was therefore encouraged to devote himself, with still more enthusiastic zeal, to his duties as a chemical teacher. In this he was so far successful, that chemistry at length became a fashionable study in the Scottish capital, and a necessary part of the education of every gentleman. After this period, however, he retired from the field of chemical research, which now began to be occupied by a great number of distinguished philosophers. The cause of this was the delicate state of his health, aided, perhaps, a little by that indolence, or rather perhaps absence of ambitious motive, which has been already alluded to. It is to be regretted that, for the same reason, he can scarcely be said to have published any thing to the world, by which his discoveries might be permanently secured to the honour of his own name. From the period of his accession to the chemical chair at Edinburgh, he was, for thirty years, a most distinguished member of the professional society, which then adorned the capital, and has since given such an Augustan eclat to the latter age of the eighteenth century. Whatever obstruction his health proved in the way of publishing, it never marred the active discharge of his duties. His courses became every year plainer and more familiar, and were attended by a larger number of pupils. The simplicity and elegance of his experiments were always much admired. His manner and appearance were peculiarly pleasing. His voice in lecturing was low and fine, and his articulation so distinct that it was perfectly

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well heard by a large audience. His discourse was remarkable for plainness and perspicuity; all his illustrations, whether by experiment, or by reference to the processes of nature, were quite apposite; his hearers rested with the most entire confidence on his conclusions, and even the most illiterate could not mistake his sentiments.

Dr Black's conduct in private life was marked by a striking degree of decorum, without the slightest approach to formality. His habit of studying physical science rendered him very much a man of facts and demonstrations: he is said to have been so entirely destitute of fancy, or to have so effectually repressed that faculty, that he never was known to utter a joke. In his domestic affairs, he was rigidly frugal and methodical; yet his house was open to an enlightened hospitality, in which he enjoyed as much of the society of his friends as his delicate health would permit. His chief friends were Smith, Hume, Carlyle, Home, and Hutton. The last was closely connected with him in philosophical pursuits, as well as in the bonds of private friendship—notwithstanding that there were some striking points of difference between the two men. In the latter days of Dr Black, he sunk into a low state of health, and only preserved himself from the shocks of the weather in this variable climate by a degree of care almost fantastic. Thus he spun out the thread of life to the last fibre. It was his generous and manly wish that he might never live to be a burden to his friends; and never was the wish more completely gratified. On the 26th of November, 1799, and in the seventy-first year of his age, he expired, without any convulsion, shock, or stupor, to announce or retard the approach of death. Being at table with his usual fare—some bread, a few prunes, and a measured quantity of milk, diluted with water, and having the cup in his hand when the last stroke of the pulse was to be given, he had set it down upon his knees, which were joined together, and kept it steady with his hand in the manner of a person perfectly at ease, and in this attitude expired, without spilling a drop, and without a writhe in his countenance; as if an *experiment* had been required, to show to his friends the facility with which he departed. His servant opened the door to tell him that some one had left his name, but getting no answer, stepped about half-way towards him, and seeing him sitting in that easy posture, supporting his basin of milk with one hand, he thought that he had dropped asleep, which he had sometimes seen happen after his meals. The man went back and shut the door, but before he got down stairs, some anxiety that he could not account for, made him return, and look again at his master. Even then, he was satisfied, after coming pretty near, and turned to go away, but again returned, and coming quite close, found his master without life. Dr Black, who had never been married, left more money than any one had thought he could have acquired in the course of his career. It was disposed of by his will in a manner highly characteristic. Being divided into ten thousand shares, it was parcelled out to a numerous list of relations in shares, in numbers, or fractions of shares, according to the degree in which they were proper objects of his care or solicitude.

BLACKADDER, John, a distinguished preacher of the time of the *persecution*, was the representative of an ancient but decayed family—Blackadder of Tullialan—and was born in the year 1615. He was nephew to principal Strang of Glasgow, and grand-nephew to the famous chorographer Timothy Pont. His theological education took place under the eye of the former of these eminent men, and having been duly licensed by the presbyterian church, then in its highest purity and most triumphant domination, he received a call, in 1652, to the parish-church of Troqueer, in the neighbourhood of Dumfries. Previous to this period, he had married the daughter of a wealthy merchant of that town, named Haning. Mr Blackadder commenced his ministerial labours with a zeal which

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seems to have been singular even in those times. He, in the first place, gathered around him a very active body of elders, whom he set to work in every direction, upon the task of cultivating the religious mind of the parish. He also instituted a very strict system of moral discipline among his flock. Not content with the weekly sermons on Sunday, he instituted lectures on the ordinary days, which were attended by many persons from a distance. He also projected a plan for occasionally interchanging duty with the neighbouring parochial clergy, which was carried into effect within the entire limits of the presbytery, and is said to have been attended with the best results. The church at this time rested undisturbed under the sway of Cromwell, who gave it toleration in every respect except as a collective body; Mr Blackadder, therefore, found no bar to his progress, which was so very rapid, that in less than two years, he had the satisfaction of seeing a thorough reformation in the devotional habits of his parishioners. Evil days, however, came at last. In 1662, the episcopal form of church-government was forced by the restored house of Stuart upon a people who were generally repugnant to it. Mr Blackadder, so far from complying with the new system, employed himself for several successive Sundays in exposing what he considered its unlawfulness, and, in his own words, "entered his dissent in heaven" against it. The presbytery of Dumfries, upon which the influence of so zealous a mind was probably very great, gave a positive refusal to an order of the parliament to celebrate the anniversary of the restoration at a festival. A party of fifty horse was accordingly sent to bring the whole of this refractory band of churchmen to Edinburgh. On the day of their arrival at Dumfries, Mr Blackadder was engaged to preach in the town church. He was entreated not to appear in the pulpit, lest he should exasperate the soldiers against him; but instead of taking this advice, he desired the gallery to be cleared, in order that the military might attend his sermon. They did so, and listened decorously to the denunciations which he could not help uttering against all who had been concerned in the late religious defections. He, and some of his brethren, were next day conducted in an honourable captivity to the capital, where he underwent some examinations, but was speedily released, by the interest of his friends. He was now, however, obliged to demit his charge, in favour of an episcopal incumbent. On the last Sunday of October, he preached a farewell sermon to his attached flock.

"This," we are informed, "was a day of anxious expectation throughout the country, and made an impression on the minds of those who witnessed it never to be forgotten. The church of Troqueer stood (as it now does) upon a gentle eminence on the banks of the Nith, commanding an extensive view of the surrounding country, which, in the neighbourhood of Dumfries, presents a delightful variety of local scenery. On the morning of that memorable Sabbath, Mr Blackadder had risen early from prayer and private communion. He stepped forth to meditate on the subject of the day. There was a gloom and heaviness in the atmosphere that seemed to correspond with the general melancholy. A fog, or thick haze, that covered the face of the earth, as with a grey mantle, had retired from the vale of Nith towards the mountains. As he paced his little garden with a slow and pensive step, his contemplations were suddenly interrupted by the tolling of the morning bells, several of which, in the adjacent parishes, were distinctly audible from the uncommon stillness of the air. These hallowed chimes, once the welcome summons to the house of prayer, now sounded like the knell of their expiring liberties, reminding him how many of his brethren were, like himself, preparing to bid their last adieu, amidst the tears and blessings of their people. At this signal of retirement, he betook himself to the duties of the closet, to hold nearer intercourse with heaven, and fortify himself for the solemn occasion.

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"The people, at an early hour, had been straggling on the height, but kept aloof from the church, unwilling to put their minister to hasard by convening in multitudes, which had been discharged as a breach of peace and good order. They collected by degrees in small scattered groups about the church-yard, occupied in dark conjectures, and waiting the minister's approach with extreme anxiety. Mr Blackadder made his appearance with his wonted firmness and composure, and with the same placid serenity of countenance for which he was remarkable. The audience was not numerous, but every feature appeared settled into a deep and earnest concern. Most of them were dissolved in tears, and at many parts of the discourse, there were loud and involuntary bursts of sorrow.

"Towards the middle of the sermon, an alarm was given that a party of soldiers from Dumfries were on their march to seize him, and had crossed the bridge. Upon this he closed hastily, pronounced the blessing, and retired to his chamber. The military surrounded the church-yard, and, as the people departed, they took down the names of all those who belonged to Dumfries, or any of the other parishes, as the law had affixed a penalty of twenty shillings Scots on every person absent from his own church. They offered violence to none, and went away without entering the manse, being assured that no strangers were there. When they were gone, the minister assembled the remains of the congregation in his own house, and finished the sermon, 'standing on the stair-head, both the upper and lower flat being crowded to the full.'

"The people seemed very loath to depart, lingering in suspense about the door, expressing their concern for his safety, and their willingness to shed their blood in his defence. Mr Blackadder conjured them to have regard to the peace of the country, and give no handle to their adversaries by any disturbance. 'Go,' said he, and fend [*provide*] for yourselves: the hour is come when the shepherd is smitten, and the flock shall be scattered. Many are this day mourning for the desolations of Israel, and weeping, like the prophet, between the porch and the altar. God's heritage has become the prey of the spoiler; the mountain of the house of the Lord as the high places of the forest. When the faithful pastors are removed, hirelings shall intrude, whom the great Shepherd never sent, who will devour the flock, and tread down the residue with their feet. As for me, I have done my duty, and now there is no time to evade. I recommend you to Him, who is able to keep you from falling, and am ready, through grace, to be disposed of as the Lord pleases.'"[1]

After this solemn and affecting scene, Mr Blackadder went, with his wife and numerous family, to reside at Caitloch in the parish of Glencairn, a wilder and more central part of the stewartry of Kirkcudbright. Here he soon attracted the attention of the authorities by the crowds which he collected to hear his occasional preachings, and he was therefore obliged to remove. For some years after this period, he appears to have wandered through the country, preaching whenever he could find a proper opportunity. In 1670, having performed worship at a conventicle near Dunfermline, where the people had armed themselves for self-defence, he was summoned before the privy council, but contrived to elude their power. When the search was a little slackened, he renewed his practice of itinerant preaching, which he not only conceived to be no offence against human laws, but a duty solemnly enjoined by the word of God. On one occasion, he preached at Kinkell, near St Andrews: the people flocked from that metropolitan city to hear him, notwithstanding all the injunctions and *surveillance* of Archbishop Sharpe. It is said, that, on Sharpe desiring the provost to send out the militia to disperse the congregation, he was informed that it was

[1] Crichton's Life of John Blackadder, 12mo, 1823.

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impossible—the militia had gone already as worshippers. In 1674, he was outlawed, and a reward of a thousand merks was offered for his apprehension; but he nevertheless continued to preach occasionally to large assemblages in the fields. What may appear surprising, he often resided in the capital, without undergoing any annoyance, and contrived, notwithstanding the migratory nature of his life, to rear a large and well-instructed family. It does not appear that he approved of the insurrection of his friends, which was suppressed at Bothwell. Though engaged in duty immediately before this event, he fortunately was confined during the whole period of its continuance, by a rheumatism, and therefore escaped all blame on that account. In 1680, he made a voyage to Holland, and settled his son at Leyden, as a student of medicine; a circumstance which proves that the persecution to which these clergymen were subjected was not necessarily attended by pecuniary destitution. After spending several months in Holland, he returned to Scotland, and, in the succeeding year, was apprehended, and confined in the state-prison upon the Bass. He remained here for four years, when at length his health declined so much, on account of the insalubrious nature of his prison, that his friends made interest to procure his liberation upon the plea that he must otherwise sink under his malady. The government at first mocked him with a proposal to transfer him to Haddington or Dunbar jail, but at length, on a more earnest and better attested remonstrance, offered to give him liberty to reside in Edinburgh, under a bond for five thousand merks. Ere this tender mercy could be made available, he died in his islet prison, December, 1685, having nearly completed his seventieth year. John Blackadder lies interred in North Berwick church-yard, where there is an epitaph to his memory, containing, among others, the following characteristic lines:—

Grace formed him in the Christian hero's mould;
Meek in his own concerns—in's Master's bold;
Passions to reason chained, prudence did lead,
Zeal warmed his breast, and prudence cooled his head.
Five years on this lone rock, yet sweet abode,
He Enoch-like enjoyed and walked with God;
Till by long-living on his heavenly food,
His soul by love grew up, too great, too good,
To be confined to jail, or flesh, or blood.

BLACKLOCK, Thomas, an ingenious blind poet, was born, November 10th, 1721, at Annan; his parents were natives of Cumberland, his father a bricklayer, and his mother the daughter of Mr Richard Rae, an extensive cattle dealer. Before he was six months old, he lost his sight in the small-pox; and was thus rendered incapable of learning a mechanical trade, while the poor circumstances to which a series of misfortunes had reduced his father, placed equally beyond his reach an education for any of those professions where the exercise of the mental faculties is principally required. His affectionate parent seems to have been aware, however, that the happiness of his son, shut out from so many of the enjoyments afforded by the external world, must mainly depend upon his intellectual resources; and in order to form these, he devoted part of his leisure hours to such instruction as his poor blind boy was susceptible of—he read to him, at first the books adapted to the understanding of a child, and afterwards those fitted for a maturer capacity, such as Milton, Spenser, Prior, Pope, and Addison. His companions also, who pitied his want of sight, and loved him for his gentle disposition, lent their assistance in this task of kindness; and by their help he acquired some little knowledge of Latin. Thomson and Allan Ramsay were his favourite authors; and it was as early as his twelfth year that he evinced still more decidedly his love of the poetical art by the composition of an ode, ad-

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dressed "To a little Girl whom I had offended,"—a production not remarkable solely on account of the future celebrity of its author, but because it displays at once his mildness of temper and lively fancy. The argument that shrewishness spoils a young lady's looks, and ought therefore to be avoided, coming as it does from a little fellow of twelve to a girl about his own age, is adroitly managed:

"Should but thy fair companions view
How ill that frown becomes thy brow,
With fear and grief in every eye,
Each would to each, astonished, cry,
Heavens! where is all her sweetness flown!—
How strange a figure now she's grown!
Run, Nancy, let us run, lest we
Grow pettish awkward things as she."

Thus early did Blacklock show, that in the course of reading chosen for him, his father had not mistaken the bent of his inclination. But though, as we have mentioned, some of his comrades delighted to forward his favourite studies, and, by their assiduous attentions, to make him forget the deprivation under which he laboured, there were others who took pleasure in rendering him bitterly conscious of his misfortune, and exulted in the success of such practical jokes, as it was easy to make him the subject of. It is but too obvious that his own experience at this period, when exposed to the insults of unfeeling boys, suggested the reflection introduced in the article "Blind," afterwards written by him for the Encyclopædia Britannica: "Parents of middle or of higher rank," he there remarks, "who are so unfortunate as to have blind children, ought by all possible means to keep them out of vulgar company. The herd of mankind have a wanton malignity which eternally impels them to impose upon the blind, and to enjoy the painful situations in which these impositions place them. This is a stricture upon the humanity of our species, which nothing but the love of truth and the dictates of benevolence could have extorted from us. But we have known some," he adds, evidently referring to himself, "who have suffered so much from this diabolical mirth in their own persons, that it is natural for us, by all the means in our power, to prevent others from becoming its victims." The very means taken to alleviate Blacklock's misfortune in some sort increased its force; for as his mind expanded, it taught him to feel with greater keenness his own dependent condition: familiar with some of the noblest flights of genius, and himself become a poet, he would probably have exchanged all his intellectual stores for the ability of earning his bread by handicraft labour. Lamenting his blindness, he thus closes an enumeration of the miseries it entailed upon him:

"Nor end my sorrows here: The sacred fane
Of knowledge, scarce accessible to me,
With heart-consuming anguish I behold:
Knowledge for which my soul insatiate burns
With ardent thirst. Nor can these useless hands,
Untutor'd in each life-sustaining art,
Nourish this wretched being, and supply
Frail nature's wants, that short cessation know."

Alternately depressed by a sense of his own helplessness, and comforted by that piety with which he seems to have been from first to last most deeply imbued, Blacklock lived at home till his nineteenth year. A fresh misfortune then overtook him in the loss of his father, who was crushed to death by the fall of a malt-kiln, with eighty bushels of grain upon it, belonging to his son-in-law. Blacklock's affection for his parents must have exceeded that of other children; for that anxious solicitude about his safety and comfort which other boys begin

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to forget, when the business of the world removes them from its immediate influence, had been to him extended over those years when to the helplessness of a child he added the sense and feelings of a man. To his keenly susceptible mind this stroke must therefore have been peculiarly afflicting. And it was attended not only with regret on account of remembered benefits, but also by the anticipation of future evils. A means of livelihood was indeed suggested by Blacklock's love of music: as he played well on the violin and flute, and even composed pieces with taste, it was proposed that he should follow this art as a profession. "But the unhappy situation in which he was then placed," says the authority upon which this statement is given,[1] "made him dread consequences to which he could never reconcile his mind. The very thought that his time and talents should be prostrated to the forwarding of loose mirth and riot inspired him with an honest indignation." Unable to bring down his mind to this occupation,—the only one which seemed within his reach,—deprived of the stay on which he had hitherto leaned, blind and feeble, no wonder that the fate of a houseless beggar sometimes presented itself as what might possibly happen to himself. Burns occasionally indulged in similar forebodings; but when he depicts his unhappy fortune, and doggedly exclaims,

"The last o't, the warst o't,
Is only but to beg!"

we must be excused for iron-heartedly recollecting that he was an able-bodied man, who, as his brother Gilbert records, never met with his match in mowing—the hardest of all rustic labour. A man so gifted, yet so complaining, meets with little sympathy, as he is entitled to none: but with poor Blacklock the dread of dying a houseless wanderer was more than a mere rhetorical flourish or the indulgence of a groundless querulousness. While we read the lines in which he unfolds his fears, we perceive that anguish wrung his heart in writing them, and we know that his situation justified his apprehensions.

"Dejecting prospect! soon the hapless hour
May come—perhaps this moment it impends—
Which drives me forth to penury and cold,
Naked, and beat by all the storms of heaven,
Friendless and guideless to explore my way;
Till on cold earth this poor unsheltered head
Reclining, vainly from the ruthless blast
Respite I beg, and in the shock expire."

Although gloomy anticipations like these sometimes intruded, Blacklock did not permit them to overwhelm him, but calming his fears, and resting with a pious confidence in the awards of a protecting Providence, he continued to live with his mother for a year after his father's death.

Some of his poems had by this time got abroad and made him known beyond his own immediate circle of friends. We shall not pretend to deny that the circumstance of his blindness had some effect, in addition to the intrinsic merits of these productions, in making them be sought after and dispersed among literary persons. On account of their being the verses of a blind poet, they were no doubt read by many who were little able to appreciate their real excellencies, and who, having gratified their curiosity, did not concern themselves about the con-

[1] An article in the Gentleman's Magazine, which, after being read over to Dr Blacklock, slightly altered, and two notes added at his request, was reprinted in the Scots Magazine for 1754. The authority may therefore be considered to be that of Dr Blacklock himself. From internal evidence it appears very certain, that this article was a contribution to Mr Urban from his frequent correspondent Dr Johnson.

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dition of the author: but still by this means the fame of Blacklock's genius was extended; and at last it reached a gentleman, who to curiosity added benevolence of heart. This was Dr John Stevenson, a physician in Edinburgh, who, while on a professional visit in Dumfries, saw some of our author's pieces, and resolved to afford the young man's talents the opportunity of expanding in avocations and amid society more congenial to one so much restricted to pleasures of an intellectual kind. Accordingly Blacklock was, in 1741, induced to remove to the metropolis, where he attended a grammar-school for some time, and afterwards entered as a student in the college, Dr Stevenson supplying him with the means necessary for the prosecution of his studies. To the friend who thus so efficaciously patronized him, he afterwards inscribed an imitation of the ode to Maecenas, which occupies the first place in his poems, as it does in those of Horace; and that he never forgot the benefits bestowed upon himself is manifested by the ready zeal which his future life at all times displayed for the encouragement of unnoticed genius.

Blacklock's studies were interrupted by the expedition of the Highlanders, in 1745; and during the distractions consequent upon that memorable campaign he resided in Dumfries with Mr M'Murdo, his brother-in-law. On the re-establishment of peace, he returned to college, and studied six years more. In this period he acquired a good knowledge of all those branches of education where he was not hindered by the want of sight; and became better skilled than was common in the French language, from being on habits of intimacy with the family of provost Alexander, whose wife was a Parisian. It may well inspire wonder that latterly there was no science with which Blacklock had not made himself acquainted—no learned language which he did not master—and no modern tongue, of any acknowledged use to a man of general literature, with which he was not more or less familiar.

Amid the severer studies of classical learning, philosophy, and theology, his attachment to poetry was not forgotten. In 1746, a volume of his verses in 8vo. was published at Glasgow. A second edition followed at Edinburgh, in 1754; and two years afterwards, a quarto edition, with an account of his life by Mr Spence, professor of poetry at Oxford, came out by subscription in London. In the selection of pieces for the press, Blacklock was by his friends considered to be over fastidious; and by persisting to exclude what he himself thought unworthy of a place, he greatly limited the size of his books. By the London edition a considerable sum was realized for the author's advantage. Besides these editions of his poems, another in 4to. was published in 1793, with a life elegantly written by Henry Mackenzie. They have also been reprinted in the collections of Anderson and Chalmers. Of all these the edition of Dr Anderson, though not the latest, is the most complete.

Hume the historian was among the friends who early interested themselves in the fortunes of Blacklock, and was of considerable service in promoting the subscription to the London edition of his poems; but all intercourse between them was subsequently broken off. When at a later period Beattie submitted to our author's judgment his "Essay on the Immutability of Moral Sentiment," and acquainted him with the more extensive plan of the "Essay on Truth," stating that, in the prosecution of that design, he should think it his duty to treat Mr Hume with freedom, he alluded to that eminent philosopher as "a friend of yours." This drew from Blacklock a long account of the intercourse between himself and Hume, from its commencement to its close. The interruption of their good understanding took place, as Sir William Forbes, who saw the letter among Beattie's papers, informs us, "through no fault on the part of Dr Blacklock;" but the letter itself has never been published,—which is to be regretted,

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because it might afford some farther insight than we possess into a character round which Hume has drawn the screen of an impenetrable autobiography. It is also desirable that the real circumstances of the connexion should be known, as it has been the means, in the hands of Hardy, author of the Memoirs of Lord Charlemont, of throwing a most disagreeable reflection upon the memory of Blacklock. This writer affirms that Hume conferred upon him the salary which he derived from an office in the university—meaning, probably, the Advocates' Library; while, from the numerous impossibilities and obvious errors of the statement, it may be pretty confidently assumed, that the whole is destitute o. truth.

The course of study followed by Blacklock at college was that usually gone through for the purpose of entering upon the ministry; but it was not till after the abandonment of a project, (which he began to entertain in 1757, and from which he was dissuaded by Mr Hume, after making considerable preparations towards it,) for delivering lectures on oratory, that he finally adopted the resolution of becoming a clergyman. Having applied himself for some time exclusively to the necessary studies, he was licensed as a preacher by the presbytery of Dumfries, in 1759. He soon acquired considerable reputation as a pulpit orator, and took great delight in composing sermons, a considerable number of which he left behind him: these it was at one time the intention of his friends to publish; but for some reason or other this has never been done.

The Rev. Mr Jameson, Blacklock's intimate companion, to whom allusion is more than once made in his poems, has given the following account of his habits about this time:

"His manner of life was so uniform, that the history of it during one day, or one week, is the history of it during the seven years that our intercourse lasted. Reading, music, walking, conversing, and disputing on various topics, in theology, ethics, &c., employed almost every hour of our time. It was pleasant to hear him engaged in a dispute; for no man could keep his temper better than he always did on such occasions. I have known him frequently very warmly engaged for hours together, but never could observe one angry word to fall from him. Whatever his antagonist might say, *he* always kept his temper,—'semper paratus, et refellere sine pertinacia, et refelli sine iracundia?' He was, however, extremely sensible to what he thought ill usage, and equally so whether it regarded himself or his friends. But his resentment was always confined to a few satirical verses, which were generally burnt soon after. The late Mr Spence (the editor of the 4to. edition of his poems) frequently urged him to write a tragedy, and assured him that he had interest enough with Mr Garrick to get it acted. Various subjects were proposed to him, several of which he approved, yet he never could be prevailed on to begin any thing of that kind. It may seem remarkable, but as far as I know, it was invariably the case, that he never could think or write on any subject proposed to him by another. I have frequently admired with what readiness and rapidity he could make verses. I have known him dictate from thirty to forty verses, and by no means bad ones, as fast as I could write them; but the moment he was at a loss for a rhyme or a verse to his liking, he stopt altogether, and could very seldom be induced to finish what he had begun with so much ardour."

"All those who ever acted as his amanuenses," says Mackenzie, "agree in this rapidity and ardour of composition which Mr Jameson ascribes to him. He never could dictate till he stood up; and as his blindness made walking about without assistance inconvenient or dangerous to him, he fell insensibly into a vibratory sort of motion of his body, which increased as he warmed with his subject, and was pleased with the conceptions of his mind. This motion at last

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became habitual to him; and though he could sometimes restrain it when on ceremony, or in any public appearance, such as preaching, he felt a certain uneasiness from the effort, and always returned to it when he could indulge it without impropriety. This is the appearance which he describes in the ludicrous picture he has drawn of himself:

——"As some vessel tossed by wind and tide
Bounds o'er the waves, and rocks from side to side,
In just vibration thus I always move."

Much of the singularity in the gestures of poor Blacklock must have proceeded from his inability to observe the carriage of others, and to regulate his own in conformity with theirs: a tree will accommodate its growth to the restraints imposed upon it, but where a single branch escapes from the artificial training, flinging itself abroad in all the wild vigour of nature, its tufted luxuriance appears more striking from the contiguity of a well-clipt and orderly neighbourhood. Such was Blacklock's manner: he could not know with how little outward discomposure the world has taught men to accompany the expression of their emotions; and with him ardent feeling produced an unrestrained effect upon the countenance and gestures. The author of Douglas, in one of his letters, has given a curious picture of his singular appearance when under strong excitement: "I went to a companion's," says Home, "and sent for the blind poet, who is really a strange creature to look at—a small weakly under thing—a chilly, bloodless animal, that shivers at every breeze. But if nature has cheated him in one respect, by assigning to his share forceless sinews, and a ragged form, she has made him ample compensation on the other, by giving him a mind endued with the most exquisite feelings—the most ardent, kindled-up affections; a soul, to use a poet's phrase, that's tremblingly alive all over: in short, he is the most flagrant enthusiast I ever saw; when he repeats verses, he is not able to keep his seat, but springs to his feet, and shows his rage by the most animated motions. He has promised to let me have copies of his best poems, which I will transmit to you whenever he is as good as his word."

This letter, besides the description of Blacklock's exterior and carriage, opens to us one source of his acutest sufferings: we have already adverted to the unthinking insults to which his blindness exposed him while a boy, and it appears but too certain that many who had arrived at manhood in respect of their outward frame, did not treat him with greater tenderness in his maturer years. They did not, perhaps, decoy him to the edge of a ditch that they might have the satisfaction of seeing him flounder into it, or offer prickles to his grasp that they might be diverted by the contortions of countenance which the unexpected wounds occasioned; but they went to see the blind poet, and induced him to recite his verses, from the same kind of motive that takes people to witness the exhibition of a learned pig. Blacklock's position in regard to such visitors was peculiarly painful: he was in a great measure dependant upon his talents for support; and to have indignantly refused to display them, would have been to raise up obstacles to his own success. His feelings were at the same time the most nicely wrought, and even the triumphs of genius did not afford him perfect gratification; for he knew that his hearers were not carried away by his enthusiasm, but listened with a cold and critical attention, noting every peculiarity of tone, look, and gesture. He has himself told us how exquisitely painful was the consciousness of being the object of such unfeeling curiosity:

——"the supercilious eye
Oft, from the noise and glare of prosperous life,
On my obscurity diverts its gaze,

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Exulting; and with wanton pride elate
Felicitates its own superior lot:
Inhuman triumph!"

A letter of Blacklock, written from Dumfries about the time when he received his licence as a preacher, admits us to a very near view of his remarkable sensibility of temperament. It does not appear what were the circumstances alluded to in this letter; but probably the connexion mentioned as having just been formed, was a declaration of mutual attachment and promise of marriage between our poet and his future wife, which he calls ill-fated, on account of his gloomy prospects, and his regret for having involved one whom he loved in his own unhappy fortunes. This letter is as follows:

"Dear Sir,—I received your last inclosed to Mr ——; and so far as my situation was capable of being consoled, I was happy in the tenderness and sympathy which you express for me. Beneath those exalted pleasures which we are taught to expect in an eternal state; beneath the enjoyment of God himself; I know no happiness which deserves the attention of a wise man, but such as we derive from conscious virtue, benevolence, or friendship. These alone are at present the cordial drops with which heaven has thought proper to mix my cup of bitterness. Since every object of my former pursuit eludes my embrace, or grows insipid by enjoyment, it is time to anticipate such pleasures as are subject to neither of these misfortunes, and to cultivate a relish for them. Fate and nature tell me that I must quickly make my exit from this present scene; they never could send this information to a heart less intimidated by it. I approach the verge of my present existence, not with the reluctance of inexperienced youth, not with the horrors of guilt and superstition, but with the cheerfulness of a wearied traveller, in prospect of the chamber destined for his repose. From this account it will be easy to judge how much I would prize, or how eagerly pursue any civil or ecclesiastical employment were it in my power; but far from being so, it is beyond my remotest hopes;—all access to every resource whence these advantages are derived is denied to me. I have neither power nor influence in life, and am consequently incapable of interesting any who have it. There are evils which may be suffered without mortification; yet, let me confess it, there are others which I cannot think of without being melted to infantine weakness. In my former I told you that I had projected one last resource, and made one last effort for happiness: had I then foreseen the weakness of my constitution, and the unhappiness of my circumstances, sooner would I have run any hazard which this or any future scene can present, than have ventured to form such an ill-fated connexion. It is true that those who are interested in me, persuaded either by my looks, or the present degree of strength which I seem to possess, flatter themselves, or are willing to flatter me, that my present indisposition will not prove decisive; such is the opinion of the lady formerly mentioned. I have endeavoured to impress her with contrary sentiments, that the friendship between us might be dissolved without tearing: but I had reason to lament my success; for in proportion to her sense of my danger, which, after my return from Edinburgh, was pretty high, her whole manner, not to me only, but to all her other friends, appeared expressive of dejection and misery. I had not resolution to continue my former plan, but used every possible argument to persuade her of my returning health; and though conscious of acting a wrong part in this, I have not sufficient strength of mind to act a right one. This is my present situation of mind: I know it is what I ought not to have discovered to one of your humanity, nor can I pretend any other apology, but that I apply to the last and most natural resource of wretchedness, the sympathy of a friend. It is all I ask; it is all I hope; and it is what I am sure to obtain. Pray, tell me whether your bro-

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ther prosecutes the same business with you, or whether friends in the country may not have it in their power to serve him? The precaution in my former concerning the balance of accounts between us was not taken from any fear of its appearing against my relations, but that you might recover it with greater ease from myself during mine own life. Once more I must ask pardon for the length and subject of this letter; but if you continue to favour me as a correspondent, my future answers shall be less tedious and more cheerful. As you are now more disengaged from secular business, the demands of your friends to hear from you will proportionably increase; and as you have now long taught me to think myself of that number, I can no more resign the claim which it gives than the tenderness which it inspires,—a tenderness which shall ever be felt in the highest degree, by your most sincere friend, and humble servant,

"Dumfries, 15th April, 1759. THOMAS BLACKLOCK."

In 1762, the Earl of Selkirk procured from the Crown a presentation to the parish of Kirkcudbright in favour of Mr Blacklock; who, having thus the prospect of a competent income, married Mrs Sarah Johnston, daughter of Mr Joseph Johnston, surgeon in Dumfries. But though not disappointed in the happiness he expected to derive from this union, the gleam of fortune which seems to have induced him to form it, forsook him immediately after the step was taken. He was ordained a few days after his marriage; but the people of the parish refused, on account of his blindness, to acknowledge him as their pastor, and a lawsuit was commenced, which, after two years, was compromised by Blacklock retiring upon a moderate annuity. From the first moment of opposition, it had been his wish to make this arrangement, not from any conviction of incompetency to the duties of a parish minister, but because he saw it was needless to contend against a prejudice so strongly maintained. "Civil and ecclesiastical employments," he says, "have something either in their own nature, or in the invincible prejudices of mankind, which renders them almost entirely inaccessible to those who have lost the use of sight. No liberal and cultivated mind can entertain the least hesitation in concluding that there is nothing, either in the nature of things, or even in the positive institutions of genuine religion, repugnant to the idea of a blind clergyman. But the novelty of the phenomenon, while it astonishes vulgar and contracted understandings, inflames their zeal to rage and madness." His own experience, it is evident, suggested this observation. Blindness is certainly not in itself a sufficient reason for debarring those afflicted with it from the ministerial office; it does not incapacitate a man for the acquirement of the requisite knowledge, nor exclude from his bosom the glow of holy zeal. On the contrary, worldly cares and ambition are not so apt to intrude. "The attention of the soul, confined to those avenues of perception which she can command, is neither dissipated nor confounded by the immense multiplicity, or the rapid succession of surrounding objects. Hence her contemplations are more uniformly fixed upon herself, and the revolution of her own internal frame,"[1] and hence a greater fitness in her for the growth of devotion. The want of sight would, indeed, put inconveniences in the way of a clergyman's intercourse with his parishioners, but they are small; and it is not easy to conceive any thing more affecting and impressive than for those in the full enjoyment of their faculties to hear lessons of submission to the divine will, and of gratitude for the blessings of providence, from the mouth of one upon whom the hand of God has been laid. Such were not, however, the opinions of those with whom Blacklock had to deal; and he acquiesced. This effort could not but be painful; the sense of exclusion from all the business of life had long oppressed him, and the moment that patronage was extended towards him, and

[1] Encyclopædia Britannica, article Blind, § 10.

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opened the prospect of public usefulness, he was assailed by a persecution, which rejected him as incompetent to the duties for which other men are fit, and drove him back to his former state of dependence and seclusion. It is probably to the period when he experienced so determined an opposition from the people of Kirkcudbright, that we are to refer the composition of his Paraclesis; for he informs us in the preface that his motive for writing that work was "to alleviate the pressure of repeated disappointments, to soothe his anguish for the loss of departed friends, to elude the rage of implacable and unprovoked enemies,—in a word, to support his own mind, which, for a number of years, besides its literary difficulties and its natural disadvantages, had maintained an incessant conflict with fortune." At no other period but that above referred to, are we aware that Blacklock was the object of any thing like an angry feeling.

On the day of Mr Blacklock's ordination was afforded, in his person, an instance of sleep-walking, perhaps the most remarkable and complicated on record. As such the reader may be pleased to see an account of it as it is preserved in Dr Cleghorn's thesis *De Somno*, which was published in Blacklock's own lifetime (in 1783). The facts were authenticated by Mrs Blacklock, Mr Gilbert Gordon,[2] and a numerous party of friends who dined with him at the inn of Kirkcudbright on the occasion in question. "Harassed by the censures of the populace," says Dr Cleghorn, "whereby not only his reputation, but his very subsistence was endangered, and fatigued with mental exertion, Blacklock fell asleep after dinner. Some hours afterwards he was called by a friend, answered his salutation, rose and went into the dining-room, where his friends were met. He joined with two of them in a concert, singing tastefully as usual, and without missing a word. He ate an egg to supper, and drank some wine, and other liquors. His friends, however, observed him to be a little absent. By and bye he began to speak to himself; but in so low a tone, and so confusedly, as to be unintelligible. At last, being pretty forcibly roused, he awoke with a sudden start, unconscious of all that had happened." We have no example of a person in sleep performing so many of the functions of one awake, and in so exact a manner, as Blacklock is here stated to have done. He spoke, walked, sung, took wine, and must have observed with accuracy many of the little courtesies of social life; for his friends did not suspect that he was asleep till he began to talk to himself. The time, however, was convenient for so unusual an exhibition; and perhaps many other somnambulists would join in the occupations or amusements of those around them, if the world were astir when they make their rounds. Circumstances, however, are quite different in ordinary cases; the person gets up when all others are at rest, and performs one or two acts, to which his half-awakened fancy impels him, without being involved, as it were, in any current of events extraneous to himself, which, by the habit of association, might have led him on to other mechanical exertions of the mental or bodily faculties; thus the original excitement, receiving no casual addition, soon expends itself, and allows him to relapse into slumber. Blacklock, on the contrary, when partially roused, found the business of life in progress, and was drawn on from one act to another in the usual course, no excitement occurring strong enough wholly to burst the bonds of sleep. This intermediate state between sleeping and waking, when part of the faculties are alert and active, and the other part entirely dormant, may be approached from either confine; and whether from sleeping we become half awake, or from waking fall half asleep, the effects are strikingly similar. Many instances of what is called absence, or reverie, disclose phenomena equally surprising with those of somnambulism; and a comparison between them

[2] Author of the Short Account of the Life and Writings of Blacklock, prefixed to the second edition of his poems, 1754.

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would probably afford the best means of explaining both. A contemporary of Blacklock, the author of the "Wealth of Nations," was in the habit, when awake, of doing things as unaccountable as the blind poet is above stated to have done when asleep.

In 1764, after the connexion between him and the parish of Kirkcudbright was dissolved in the manner we have mentioned, Blacklock removed to Edinburgh, where he received boarders into his house,[2] superintending the studies of those who chose to have such assistance. "In this occupation," says Mackenzie, "no teacher was perhaps ever more agreeable to his pupils, nor master of a family to its inmates, than Dr Blacklock. The gentleness of his manners, the benignity of his disposition, and that warm interest in the happiness of others which led him so constantly to promote it, were qualities that could not fail to procure him the love and regard of the young people committed to his charge; while the society which esteem and respect for his character and his genius often assembled at his house, afforded them an advantage rarely to be found in establishments of a similar kind. The writer of this account has frequently been a witness of the family scene at Dr Blacklock's; has seen the good man amidst the circle of his young friends, eager to do him all the little offices of kindness which he seemed so much to merit and to feel. In this society he appeared entirely to forget the privation of sight, and the melancholy which, at other times, it might produce. He entered with the cheerful playfulness of a young man into all the sprightly narrative, the sportful fancy, the humorous jest, that rose around him. It was a sight highly gratifying to philanthropy to see how much a mind endowed with knowledge, kindled by genius, and above all, lighted up with innocence and piety, like Blacklock's, could overcome the weight of its own calamity, and enjoy the content, the happiness, the gaiety of others. Several of those inmates of Dr Blacklock's house retained, in future life, all the warmth of that impression which his friendship at this early period had made upon them; and in various quarters of the world he had friends and correspondents from whom no length of time, or distance of place, had ever estranged him."

In these hours of social relaxation, Blacklock found one of the greatest pleasures of his existence. Music also afforded him a lively gratification; for he sung with taste, and performed tolerably well on several instruments, particularly on the flute. He had learned to play on the flageolet in consequence of a dream in which he supposed himself to listen to the most enchanting melody, produced by a shepherd on a hillside from that instrument; and he always carried one in his pocket, on which he was by no means averse from being asked to perform,—"a natural feeling," says Mackenzie, "for a blind man, who thus adds a scene to the drama of his society." We have already alluded to his skill in composition, which was begun early at least, if it was not very assiduously cultivated. There is a specimen of his abilities in this way in the Edinburgh Magazine and Review for 1774, under the title of "Absence, a Pastoral, set to music, by Dr Blacklock."

Blacklock's friendship with Beattie commenced about a year after his return from Kirkcudbright to Edinburgh. The first letter from the opponent of Hume, dated in 1765, expresses satisfaction that the present of a copy of our author's poems had at last afforded the opportunity of establishing an acquaintance. The correspondence was for some time kept up with great regularity by Beattie, who, when the composition of the "Minstrel" had not advanced beyond a few stanzas, explained his plan to the blind bard. The progress of a work of still greater importance was confided to Blacklock. The "Essay on the Immutability of

[2] He occupied the two upper flats of a house at the west end of West Nicolson Street, looking towards St Cuthbert's Chapel of Ease burying ground.

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Moral Sentiment" having been perused and approved by him, the more extensive plan and object of the "Essay on Truth" was also disclosed; and that he was pleased with the design, and encouraged the author to proceed, may be understood from what afterwards took place: on the publication of the work, it was thought necessary, by Beattie's friends, that an analysis of it, giving a brief and popular view of the manner in which the subject was treated, should be inserted in the newspapers; and "this task," Sir William Forbes says, "Dr Blacklock undertook, and executed[1] with much ability." On Blacklock's part this literary intercourse was cultivated by allowing Beattie the perusal of a translation of the "Cenie" of D'Happoncourt de Grafigny, which he had made under the title of "Seraphina." This play was not intended to be either printed or brought on the stage; but the translator appears to have been under some apprehensions, in consequence of the proceedings in regard to "Douglas," that, if his having engaged in such a work should come to be known, it might draw upon him the censure of the church courts, or at least, of the more rigid ecclesiastics. We find Dr Beattie exhorting him not to be afraid of meeting with Mr Home's treatment; for that "to translate a dramatic poem could never be made to be on a footing with composing one and bringing it on the stage." This is but indifferent logic, we are afraid, and marvellously resembles that of certain schoolboys, who, ambitious of rendering their discourse more emphatic by the admixture of oaths, yet dreading to swear the common English kind, think themselves secure in adopting a few out of the learned languages, or in spelling if they do not pronounce them. Whether Blacklock was satisfied with his friend's reasoning, or if he took a different view of the case, and considered that, though there might be some risk, there was no harm in the dramatic form of composition, does not appear; but he ventured beyond translation, and actually wrote a tragedy, of which, however, the subject and merits are alike unknown, as it had been put into the hands of Mr Andrew Crosbie, advocate, and could never be recovered. It is probable that the suggestion of Dr Beattie procured for our author from the college of Aberdeen the degree of D. D. in 1767. After the publication of the "Essay on Truth" and of the "Minstrel" had introduced him to a literary acquaintance much more extensive than he previously enjoyed, we do not find that Beattie cultivated Blacklock's correspondence with the same assiduity as before; but he never ceased to love and respect him, which is manifested by the epitaph which the afflictions of his own later years did not prevent him from writing for his friend.

Finding that his increasing years and infirmities required repose, Dr Blacklock discontinued the keeping of boarders in 1787. But though his bodily vigour began to fail, he experienced no diminution of that benevolence which had ever characterised him. His own genius having been greatly indebted to patronage, he was ever ready to acknowledge it in others, and especially to cultivate and bring it into reputation where he found it struggling with obscurity. Nor were his efforts for this purpose confined to occasional acts of liberality—they were laborious and long-continued. He had taken a boy from a village near Carlisle to lead him, and perceiving in the youth a willingness to learn, taught him Latin, Greek, and French, and having thus fitted him for a station superior to that in which he was born, procured for him the situation of secretary to Lord Milton, who was chief active manager of state affairs in Scotland for many years. This young man was Richard Hewitt, known to the admirer of Scottish song as the author of "Roslin Castle." Hewitt testified his gratitude to his instructor by a copy of complimentary verses, in every line of which may be traced the chief excellence of compositions of that description—sincerity;

[1] Edinburgh Evening Courant, 2d June, 1770.

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but he did not long enjoy his change of fortune, having died in 1764 from the fatigue of the office to which he had been elevated.

But we find a still more eminent example of Blacklock's solicitude to promote the interests of the sons of genius, in his being the first man among the literary circles of Edinburgh who appreciated the poetry of Burns, (perhaps, indeed, because he had the earliest opportunity of becoming acquainted with it,) and kindled in the author the ambition of a prize beyond that of provincial fame. The Rev. Mr Lawrie of Newmills had transmitted to Blacklock a copy of the Kilmarnock edition of Burns' poems. It is not easy for a modern reader to understand with what wonder and delight Blacklock must have perused them. In our time, the pleasure felt from his most perfect pieces is damped by the recollection of their author's melancholy fate. What reflecting mind can turn from the perusal of the "Mountain Daisy" with any other feeling than one of sorrow that Burns was not a better and a happier man? But while his career was yet to run, with what enviable anticipations must such a perusal have inspired a generous heart! Here was poetry the purest and most genuine: he who produced it was of no note; but to what a high place in his country's esteem might he not rise! The world was then all before him, and he capable of attaining whatever fame the most ardent imagination could desire. With calmness, yet with energy, the enthusiastic Blacklock indicated his own admiration and the certainty of the poet's future fame:—"many instances," he wrote to Mr Lawrie, "have I seen of nature's force and beneficence exerted under numerous and formidable disadvantages; but none equal to that with which you have been kind enough to present me. There is a pathos and delicacy in his serious poems, a vein of wit and humour in those of a more festive turn, which cannot be too much admired nor too warmly approved. I think I shall never open the book without feeling my astonishment renewed and increased.—It were much to be wished, for the sake of the young man, that a second edition, more numerous than the former, could immediately be printed; as it appears certain that its intrinsic merit, and the exertion of the author's friends, might give it a more universal circulation than any thing of the kind which has been published within my memory."—"I had taken the last farewell of my few friends," says Burns; "my chest was on the road to Greenock; I had composed the last song I should ever measure in Scotland—'The Gloomy night is gathering fast'—when a letter from Dr Blacklock to a friend of mine overthrew all my schemes, by opening new prospects to my poetic ambition. The Doctor belonged to a set of critics for whose applause I had not dared to hope. His opinion that I would meet with encouragement in Edinburgh for a second edition, fired me so much, that away I posted for that city, without a single acquaintance, or a single letter of introduction."—"Blacklock received him," says Dr Currie, "with all the ardour of affectionate admiration; he eagerly introduced him to the respectable circle of his friends; he consulted his interest; he emblazoned his fame; he lavished upon him all the kindness of a generous and feeling heart, into which nothing selfish or envious ever found admittance."—"In Dr Blacklock," Burns himself writes to Mr Lawrie, "In Dr Blacklock, whom I see very often, I have found what I would have expected in our friend,—a clear head and an excellent heart." It is not our business, in this place, to trace Burns's career farther. Dr Blacklock's duty towards him was performed, when he had bestowed upon him every mark of private regard, and consigned him to the care of more influential patrons. After Burns retired to the country, some letters passed between them, which, on Dr Blacklock's part, show how very poorly a remarkably sensible man could write when he had little to say, and thought to compensate for the meagreness of his subject by elevating it into rhyme.

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Besides the miscellaneous poems by which Dr Blacklock is best known as an author, he published several other works. In 1756 he gave to the world an "Essay towards Universal Etymology;" in 1760, "The Right Improvement of Time, a Sermon;" in the ensuing year another sermon, entitled "Faith, Hope, and Charity compared." In 1767 appeared his "Paraclesis; or Consolations deduced from Natural and Revealed Religion," in two dissertations, the first supposed to be Cicero's, translated by Dr Blacklock,—the other written by himself. This work, to use the author's own touching words, "was begun and pursued by its author, to divert wakeful and melancholy hours, which the recollection of past misfortunes, and the sense of present inconveniences, would otherwise have severely embittered." He endeavours, but without success, to prove the authenticity of the dissertation ascribed to Cicero, which he has translated with fidelity and elegance: the object of the original discourse is to prove the superiority of the consolations afforded by revealed religion. In 1768, he printed "Two Discourses on the Spirit and Evidences of Christianity," translated from the French of Mr James Armand. To this work he prefixed a long dedication to the Moderator of the General Assembly. In 1773 appeared his "Panegyric on Great Britain," which shows him to have possessed considerable talents for satire had he chosen to pursue that species of writing. His last production was in 1774, "The Graham, an Heroic Ballad, in Four Cantos;" intended to promote a good understanding between the natives of England and Scotland. He contributed to the Encyclopædia Britannica, in 1783, the article Blind—a little treatise of peculiar interest, which we have had occasion to quote in the present account of its author. He is also said to have written the Essay on Poetry, and others on various subjects in the same work. Dr Blacklock left behind him in manuscript some volumes of sermons, and a Treatise on Morals.

In his latter years our author was occasionally afflicted with deafness—in his case a double calamity, as at the periods when it visited him, he was in a manner shut out from all communication with the external world. In this forlorn condition—old, blind, and sometimes deaf—it was more difficult for him than formerly to bear up against the depression of spirits to which he had always been more or less subject; but his gentleness of temper never forsook him, and though he could not altogether avoid complaint, he was not loath to discover and state some alleviating circumstance along with it. He died from fever after a week's illness, on the 7th July, 1791, and was buried in the ground of St Cuthbert's Chapel of Ease, where there is a tombstone erected, with the following inscription by Dr Beattie:—"Viro Reverendo Thomæ Blacklock, D. D.[1] Probo, Pio, Benevolo, Omnigenâ Doctrinâ Erudito, Poetæ sublimi; ab incunabulis usque oculis capto, at hilari, faceto, amicisque semper carissimo; qui natus XXI Novemb. MDCCXX. obiit VII Julii, MDCCXCI: Hoc Monumentum Vidua ejus Sara Johnston, mœrens P."

It has been said of Dr Blacklock that "he never lost a friend, nor made a foe;" and perhaps no literary man ever passed through life so perfectly free from envious feeling, and so entirely respected and beloved. His conversation was lively and entertaining; his wit was acknowledged, but it had no tinge of malice; his temper was gentle, his feelings warm—intense; his whole character was one to which may be applied the epithet amiable, without any qualification. We do not deny him the merit of this; but he was placed in circumstances favourable for the development of such a character: his blindness, together with his genius, prepossessed all in his favour, and procured him many

[1] The classical reader will easily detect a fault here—*Divinitatis* Doctor! which, it may be remarked, was also committed on one occasion by Dr Adam.

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warm friends; while he was never in hazard of creating enemies, because, being incapacitated for any of the more active pursuits of life, his interests did not come into collison with those of any other aspirant in a similar path. He was thus enabled to "live pleasant," as far as his intercourse with the world was concerned. In his own mind, he did not at all times enjoy the cheerfulness which his excellent temper and his piety might seem to promise; he laboured under a depression of spirits, which grew upon him, as the buoyancy of youth and the energy of manhood declined. When we consider how much more we are liable to superstitious fears and alarms of every kind during the night than in the day, it does not appear surprising, that those condemned to ceaseless darkness should find it impossible to subdue their sense of loneliness and destitution. No variety of visible objects, no beauty of colour or grace of motion, ever diverts the mind of the blind man from brooding over its own phantasmata; the ear may be said to be the only inlet by which he can receive cheering ideas, and hence, when companionless, he becomes liable to the intrusion of doubts and dreads in an endless train. The bodily inactivity to which the want of sight compels him, and his exclusion from business, unhappily promote the same morbid sensibility; and though society may afford him many gleams of delight, the long hours of solitude bring back the prevailing gloom. From this disease of the mind, Dr Blacklock's varied stores of acquired knowledge, the native sweetness of his temper, and the tender cares of an affectionate wife, could not preserve him. It might be the cause of uneasiness to himself, however, but never influenced his behaviour to others; it made him melancholy, but not morose. Even they who look upon it as being, in ordinary instances, a fantastic and blameable weakness, must pity the present sufferer, in whom so many causes concurred to render it irresistible.

To Dr Blacklock as a poet, the rank of first-rate excellence has not been assigned, and is not claimed; but his works posses: solid merits, which will always repay a perusal. The thoughts are, for the most part, vigorous, seldom less than just; and they are conveyed with a certain intensity of expression, which shows them, even when not uncommon in themselves, to be the offspring of a superior genius. As the productions of a blind man, they present a study of the very highest interest, and have frequently been viewed as a problem in the science of mind. The author himself seems to have been not unwilling to invest them with a certain character of mystery: "It is possible," he says, "for the blind, by a retentive memory, to tell you, that the sky is an azure; that the sun, moon, and stars, are bright; that the rose is red, the lily white or yellow, and the tulip variegated. By continually hearing these substantives and adjectives joined, he may be mechanically taught to join them in the same manner; but as he never had any sensation of colour, however accurately he may speak of coloured objects, his language must be like that of a parrot,—without meaning, or without ideas. Homer, Milton, and Ossian, had been long acquainted with the visible world before they were surrounded with clouds and ever-during darkness. They might, therefore, still retain the warm and pleasing impressions of what they had seen. Their descriptions might be animated with all the rapture and enthusiasm which originally fired their bosoms when the grand or delightful objects which they delineated were immediately beheld. Nay, that enthusiasm might still be heightened by a bitter sense of their loss, and by that regret which a situation so dismal might naturally inspire. But how shall we account for the same energy, the same transport of description, exhibited by those on whose minds visible objects were either never impressed, or have been entirely obliterated? Yet, however unaccountable this fact may appear, it is no less certain than extraordinary. But delicacy, and other particular circumstances, forbid us

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to enter into this disquisition with that minuteness and precision which it requires?"

"Mr Spence observes," says the writer in the Gentleman's Magazine,[1] "that Blacklock's notion of day may comprehend the ideas of warmth, variety of sounds, society, and cheerfulness; and his notion of night, the contrary ideas of chillness, silence, solitude, melancholy, and, occasionally, even of horror: that he substitutes the idea of glory for that of the sun; and of glory in a less degree for those of the moon and stars: that his idea of the beams of the sun may be composed of this idea of glory, and that of rapidity: that something of solidity, too, may perhaps be admitted both into his idea of light and darkness; but that what his idea of glory is, cannot be determined. Mr Spence also remarks, that Mr Blacklock may attribute paleness to grief, brightness to the eyes, cheerfulness to green, and a glow to gems and roses, without any determinate ideas; as boys at school, when, in their distress for a word to lengthen out a verse, they find *purpureus olor*, or *purpureum mare*, may afterwards use the epithet *purpureus* with propriety, though they know not what it means, and have never seen either a swan or the sea, or heard that the swan is of a light, and the sea of a dark colour. But he supposes, too, that Mr Blacklock may have been able to distinguish colours by his touch, and to have made a new vocabulary to himself, by substituting tangible for visible differences, and giving them the same names; so that green, with him, may seem something pleasing or soft to the touch, and red, something displeasing or rough. In defence of this supposition. it has been said, with some plausibility, that the same disposition of parts in the surfaces of

[1] We have already stated our belief that this writer was Dr Johnson. Besides the evidence which the passages quoted in the text afford, there is much of the spirit of Johnson in the summary of Blacklock's personal character: "This gentleman has one excellence which outvalues all genius, and all learning—he is truly and eminently a good man. *He possesses great abilities with modesty, and wants almost every thing else with content.*" The probability is farther heightened by the kindness which Johnson manifested to Blacklock when he visited Scotland. On being introduced at Mr Boswell's, the English moralist "received him with a most humane complacency—'Dear Dr Blacklock, I am glad to see you!'" *Boswell's Tour to the Hebrides.* We are also told by Mr Boswell, that Dr Johnson, on his return from the Western Islands, breakfasted once at Dr Blacklock's house. We esteem the verbal criticism in the article we have just spoken of, as equally characteristic of the illustrious lexicographer: "Some passages," it is remarked, "appear to have something wrong in them at the first view, but upon a more accurate inspection, are found to be right, or at least only to be wrong as they reflect the faults of others. In these verses,

'What cave profound, what star sublime,
Shall hide me from thy boundless view,'

there seems to be an improper connexion of ideas; but the impropriety is in a great degree of our own making. We have joined ideas which Mr Blacklock, without any absurdity, has here separated. We have associated the idea of darkness with that of profundity; and a star being, as a luminous body, rather adapted to discover than to hide, we think the cave and the star, with their epithets, improperly opposed in this passage; but Mr Blacklock's idea included only distance: and as neither height nor depth, in the language of St Paul, can separate good men from the love of God; neither, says Mr Blacklock, can height or depth conceal any being from his sight. And that he did not here suppose concealment the effect of obscurity, appears plainly from the epithet boundless, which he has given to that view which he supposes to comprehend all height and depth, or, in other words, universal space. It must, however, be granted, that as height and depth are relative to a middle point, there is no proportion between the depth of a cave and the height of a star.

"There is certainly a mistake in the last line of this couplet:

'So fools their flocks to sanguine wolves resign,
So trust the cunning fox to prune the vine.'

But into this mistake he was perhaps led by the impropriety of the common fable of the fox and grapes, which we frequently quote, without reflecting that an inordinate love of grapes is falsely attributed to that animal: when the fox could not reach the grapes, he said they were sour. Blacklock explained this latter passage by saying, "that he alluded to that well-known passage of the Scripture: 'Take us the foxes, the little foxes, that spoil the vines: for our vines have tender grapes.' *Cant.* ii. 15."

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bodies, which makes them reflect different rays of light, may make them feel as differently to the exquisite touch of a blind man. But there is so much difference in the tangible qualities of things of the same colour, so much roughness and smoothness, harshness and softness, arising from other causes, that it is more difficult to conceive how that minute degree arising from colour should be distinguished, than how a blind man should talk sensibly on the subject without having made such distinction. We cannot conceive how a piece of red velvet, woollen cloth, camblet, silk, and painted canvass, should have something in common, which can be distinguished by the touch, through the greatest difference in all qualities which the touch can discover; or in what mode green buckram should be more soft and pleasing to the touch than red velvet. If the softness peculiar to green be distinguished in the buckram, and the harshness peculiar to red in the velvet, it must be by some quality with which the rest of mankind are as little acquainted as the blind with colour. It may perhaps be said, that a blind man is supposed to distinguish colours by his touch, only when all things are equal. But if this be admitted, it would as much violate the order of his ideas to call velvet red, as to call softness harsh, or, indeed, to call green red; velvet being somewhat soft and pleasing to the touch, and somewhat soft and pleasing to the touch being his idea of green."

The acuteness of these remarks leaves us to regret that the author eluded the discussion of the most difficult part of the subject, and fixed upon that concerning which there is no dispute: Blacklock himself acknowledged what is here said about distinguishing colours by the touch, to be true as far as he was concerned, that being a nicety of perception which, though reported to be possessed by others, he in vain endeavoured to attain. "We have known a person," he says, in his article on Blindness, "who lost the use of his sight at an early period of infancy, who, in the vivacity or delicacy of his sensations, was not, perhaps, inferior to any one, and who had often heard of others in his own situation capable of distinguishing colours by touch with the utmost exactness and promptitude. Stimulated, therefore, partly by curiosity, to acquire a new train of ideas, if that acquisition were possible, but still more by incredulity with respect to the facts related, he tried repeated experiments by touching the surfaces of different bodies, and examining whether any such diversities could be found in them as might enable him to distinguish colours; but no such diversity could he ever ascertain. Sometimes, indeed, he imagined that objects which had no colour, or, in other words, such as were black, were somewhat different and peculiar in their surfaces; but this experiment did not always, nor universally hold."

But even supposing Dr Blacklock to have possessed the power of distinguishing colours by the touch, and that by handling the coat which he wore he could have told whether it was blue or black, the stock of ideas that he might thereby have obtained, would have contributed little to fit him for describing external nature. He could have formed no conception of a landscape from the representation of it on canvass, which, at the most, could only convey the idea of a plain surface covered with a variety of spots, some of which were smoother and more pleasant to the touch than others. The pomp of groves and garniture of fields would never have been disclosed to his yearning fancy by so slow and imperfect a process. Nor could his notions of scenery be much improved by whatever other conventional method he endeavoured to form them. Granting that he framed his idea of the sun upon the model of that of glory, it was still but an abstract idea, and could bring him no nearer to a distinct apprehension of the splendour with which light covers the face of the earth; nor could his idea of

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the obscuration of glory enable him to understand the real nature of the appearances he describes when he says—

> "Clouds peep on clouds, and as they rise,
> Condense to solid gloom the skies."

All these suppositions fail to afford a solution of the difficulty concerning the nature of his ideas of visible objects. In order to arrive at the proper explanation, let us inquire whence he derived them: that the sky is blue and the fields green, he could only learn from the descriptions of others. What he learned from others he might combine variously, and by long familiarity with the use of words, he might do so correctly, but it was from memory alone that he drew his materials. Imagination could not heighten his pictures by stores of any kind but those supplied by his recollection of books. We wonder, indeed, at the accurate arrangement of the different parts in his delineations, and that he should ever have been led to peruse what he could not by any possibility understand—how, for instance, he should have studied with ardour and delight such a work as the "Seasons," the appreciation of whose beauties one would suppose to depend almost entirely on an acquaintance with the visible forms of creation. But when we consider how deeply he must have regretted the want of the most delightful of our senses, it will appear most natural, that he should strive by every means to repair the deficiency, and to be admitted to some share of the pleasure which he had heard that sight conveys. From his constant endeavours to arrive at some knowledge of the nature of visible objects, he obtained a full command of the language proper to them; and the correct application of what he thus learned, is all that can be claimed for the descriptive parts of his poetry. These never present any picture absolutely original, however pleasing it may be, and however much it may enhance the effect of the sentiment it is introduced to assist.

Besides the earlier notices of Mr Gilbert Gordon, of Spence, and, we may add, of Johnson, Blacklock's life has been written by Mackenzie with great elegance, by Chalmers, and by Dr Anderson. The last biographer mentions that "some memoirs of his life, written by himself, are now (1795) in the possession of Dr Beattie." It is not improbable that this statement refers merely to the "long letter" from Blacklock to Beattie, already alluded to. If other documents of this kind were in the hands of the latter in 1795, as he had not thought proper to communicate them to any of Dr Blacklock's biographers, the probability is, that he would have retained them till his death, and that they would have appeared among his papers. Sir William Forbes, however, makes no mention of any such discovery; although, besides frequent allusions to him in the course of the life of Dr Beattie, he has, in the appendix to that work, given a brief sketch of that of Dr Blacklock. If such memoirs are, nevertheless, in existence, and could be recovered, they would form a most interesting addition to our stock of autobiography.

BLACKWELL, Alexander and Elizabeth, husband and wife. The former was brother to the more celebrated Dr Thomas Blackwell, the subject of the following article. His father, Thomas Blackwell, was at first minister of Paisley, whence he was removed, in 1700, to be one of the ministers of Aberdeen. He was there appointed to be Professor of Divinity in the Marischal college, and afterwards, in 1717, raised by the crown to the rank of Principal, which he held till his death in 1728. Alĕxander, his son, exhibited at an early period such symptoms of genius as induced his father to employ great personal care in his education. At fifteen, he was a perfect Greek and Latin scholar, and he afterwards distinguished himself very highly at college. It would appear that

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his union to Elizabeth Blackwell, who was the daughter of a merchant at Aberdeen, took place under clandestine circumstances, and was connected with a step which gave a direction to all his future fortunes. This was a secret elopement to London, where he arrived before any of his friends knew where he was. Blackwell appears to have been a man of mercurial and adventurous temperament; possessing, with these qualities, exactly that degree of ability and accomplishment, which has enabled so many of his countrymen to prosecute a successful career in London. His first employment was that of corrector of the press to Mr Wilkins, an eminent printer. Afterwards, he was enabled to set up as a printer on his own account, and for this purpose he occupied a large house in the Strand. But he did not long pursue this business before an action was brought against him for not having served a regular apprenticeship to it. The unsuccessful defence of this action ruined him, and one of his creditors threw him into jail, where he remained two years.

Hitherto we hear nothing of his wife—and, perhaps, but for the misfortunes of the husband, the virtues of this noble woman might have only decorated a private station, and never emerged into the light of public fame. Like the flower, however, which blooms most by night, the better quality of woman's nature is chiefly developed under the cloud of sorrow; and it is only when the powers of man have been prostrated, or found of no avail, that her weakness shines forth in its real character—latent strength. Elizabeth Blackwell happened to possess a taste for drawing flowers;—a taste then so very rare, that there was hardly any engraved work in existence, containing representations of this interesting department of creation. The acknowledged want of a good herbal occurred to her as affording the means of exerting this gift in a useful way; and some of her first attempts being submitted to Sir Hans Sloane, Dr Mead, and other eminent physicians, she soon received sufficient encouragement to proceed in her work. A document, attesting their satisfaction with Mrs Blackwell's specimens, and recommending her contemplated work to public attention, was signed by six eminent physicians, including these gentlemen, and bears date, "October 1, 1735." By the advice of Mr Rand, an eminent apothecary, demonstrater to the Company of Apothecaries in the Botanic Garden at Chelsea, Mrs Blackwell hired a house near that establishment, where she had an opportunity of receiving the necessary flowers and plants in a fresh state, as she wanted them; she also received great encouragement and assistance from Mr Philip Miller, so well known for his publications connected with horticulture.

Mrs Blackwell not only made drawings of the flowers, but she also engraved them on copper, and coloured the prints with her own hands. Her husband lent all the aid in his power, by attaching the Latin names of the plants, together with a short account of their principal characters and uses, chiefly taken, by permission, from Miller's "Botanicum Officinale." The first volume of the work appeared in 1737, in large folio, containing two hundred and fifty-two plates, each of which is occupied by one distinct flower or plant; and was dedicated to Dr Mead, with the following address; "As the world is indebted to the encouragers of every public good, if the following undertaking should prove such, it is but justice to declare who have been the chief promoters of it; and as you was the first who advised its publication, and honoured it with your name, give me leave to tell the readers how much they are in your debt for this work, and to acknowledge the honour of your friendship." The second volume, completing the number of plates to five hundred, appeared in 1739, and was inscribed to Mr Rand, in an address breathing as fervent a spirit of gratitude, and acknowledging that, in her own ignorance of Botany, she was entirely obliged to him for the completeness of the work, so far as it went. The drawings are in gene-

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ral faithful; and if there is wanting that accuracy which modern improvements have rendered necessary, in delineating the more minute parts, yet, upon the whole, the figures are sufficiently distinctive of the subjects. The style of the engravings is what would now be called *hard*, but it is fully on a level with the prevailing taste of the age; and, as a piece of labour, executed, it would appear, in the space of four years, by the hands of one *woman*, the whole work is entitled alike to our wonder and admiration. While Mrs Blackwell was proceeding in her task, she attracted the attention of many persons of eminent rank and character, and also a great number of scientific persons, who visited her at Chelsea, and afforded her many marks of kindness. On the completion of the first volume, she was permitted in person to present a copy to the College of Physicians, who acknowledged her extraordinary merit by a handsome present, as well as a testimonial, under the hands of the president and censors of the institution, characterising her work as "most useful," and recommending it to the public. It seems to have been at this period of her labours, that, after having all along supported her family by her own exertions, she was enabled to redeem her husband from confinement.

Blackwell, after his release, lived for some time at Chelsea with his wife, and, on her account, was much respected. He attempted to perfect himself in the study of physic, and also formed schemes for the improvement of waste lands. This latter subject he studied to such a degree, as to be enabled to write an agricultural treatise, which attracted some attention. Among his other occupations, for some time, was a prosecution which he entered into against some printsellers, for pirating his wife's botanical plates. By his success in this affair, he revenged in some measure the persecution to which he had been subjected for his inadvertent breach of another exclusive law. His agricultural knowledge gradually became known, and he was often consulted on difficult points connected with that science, and received handsome fees for his trouble. At one time he was employed by the Duke of Chandos in superintending some agricultural operations at Cannons. His work on agriculture, which was published at this time, recommended him to the attention of a still higher patronage—the Swedish ambassador, who, having transmitted a copy to his court, was directed to engage the author, if possible, to go to Stockholm. Blackwell accepted this engagement, and sailed for the Swedish capital, leaving his wife and one child in England, with a promise that he would soon send for them. He was received in the kindest manner at the court of Stockholm, was lodged in the house of the Prime Minister, and was allowed a pension. The king of Sweden happening soon after to be taken dangerously ill, Blackwell was permitted to prescribe for him, and had the good fortune to effect a cure. He was consequently appointed one of the king's physicians, and styled Doctor, though it does not appear that he ever took a degree in medicine. While enjoying all this good fortune, he was not forgetful of his wife, but sent her several sums of money, and she was on the point of sailing to join him at Stockholm, when all his prospects, and life itself, were overwhelmed at one blow. It is probable, from the character of his brother Thomas, that he was a fervent admirer of the principles of civil liberty. Nothing, moreover, can be more probable than that a man, accustomed to all the freedom of speech which is so harmlessly permitted in Britain, might not very readily accommodate himself to that prudence of the tongue which is demanded from the subjects of an arbitrary monarchy. It is at least certain, that he was apprehended on suspicion of being connected with a plot, which had been formed by one Count Tessin, for overturning the constitution of the kingdom, and altering the line of succession. Being put to the torture, he is alleged to have confessed a concern in this conspiracy. Every reader, how-

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ever, will acknowledge, that confessions under the torture form historical documents of a very questionable nature. Being tried for his supposed offence before a royal commission, he was sentenced to be broken alive on the wheel, and put to the death of a traitor. In the course of his trial, some imputations were hrown upon his Britannic Majesty, for which, in conjunction with other circumstances, the British ambassador was recalled from Stockholm. The unfortunate Blackwell was executed, July 29th, 1747, but not, it would appear, with the tortures assigned by his sentence. On the scaffold, he protested to the people his entire innocence of the crimes laid to his charge, and, as the best proof of what he stated, pointed out his utter want of all motive for engaging in an attempt against the government. He prayed with great devotion, but happening to lay his head wrong upon the block, he remarked good-humouredly, that, as this was his first experiment, no wonder he required a little instruction. The date of Mrs Blackwell's death is not ascertained.[1] Her work was afterwards republished on the continent.

BLACKWELL, THOMAS, the restorer of Greek literature in the North of Scotland, and a learned writer of the eighteenth century, was brother to the subject of the preceding article. He was born at Aberdeen, August 4th, 1701, and after receiving the rudiments of his education at the Grammar School of his native city,[2] entered his academical course at the Marischal College, where he took the degree of A. M. in 1718. A separate professorship of Greek had not existed in this seminary previous to 1700, and the best of the ancient languages was at that period very little cultivated in Scotland. Blackwell, having turned his attention to Greek, was honoured, in 1723, when only twenty-two years of age, with a crown appointment to this chair. He entered upon the discharge of the duties of his office with the utmost ardour. It perfectly suited his inclination and habits. He was an enthusiastic admirer of the language and literature of Greece, and the whole bent of his studies was exclusively devoted to the cultivation of polite learning. He had the merit of rearing some very eminent Greek scholars, among whom may be mentioned Principal George Campbell, Dr Alexander Gerard, and Dr James Beattie. The last has borne ample testimony to the merit of his master, in his "Essay on the Utility of Classical Learning," where he styles Principal Blackwell "a very learned author."

Dr Blackwell first appeared before the public, as an author, in 1737. His Inquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer was published at London during the course of that year, but without his name. It has been positively affirmed

[1] Soon after the death of Blackwell, appeared "a genuine copy of a letter from a merchant in Stockholm, to his correspondent in London, containing an impartial account of Dr Alexander Blackwell, his plot, trial, character, and behaviour, both under examination and at the place of execution, together with a copy of a paper delivered to a friend upon the scaffold, in which he denied the crime imputed to him." This publication does not appear to have been genuine, and as it contains some particulars of the life of Blackwell totally at variance with the above more authentic and probable account, which is chiefly derived from a letter signed G. J. and dated from Bath, in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1747, we have entirely rejected it. This spurious work is, nevertheless, chiefly used by Mr Nichols, in an account of Blackwell given in the Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century.

[2] The history of the origin of what are technically, in Scotland, denominated *Grammar Schools*, is involved in considerable obscurity. The probability is, that they were in most cases founded by generous individuals, who wished well to the cause of literature, and who, to secure that proper care should be taken in the management of the funds by which the establishment was supported, vested the money appropriated for that purpose in some public body, or corporation. It does not admit of a doubt, that this took place in several of the principal Scottish burghs; but it is very singular, that those schools were limited to the Latin language alone. This proceeded from the dread that there was a design in the founders of such seminaries to supersede Universities, where Latin, Greek, and Hebrew were taught. The Grammar School of Aberdeen was founded by Dr Patrick Dun, Principal of Marischal College, who was a native of the city, and had resided at Padua, where he took his degree of Doctor of Medicine.

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with what truth it is impossible to say, that its being anonymous, was in imitation of Lord Shaftesbury, of whom he was a warm admirer, and whose works were published after that manner. The style, also, is vitiated by a perpetual effort at the Shaftesburian vein, which is, perhaps, the principal fault in the writings of Blackwell. A second edition of the work appeared in 1746, and shortly after, "Proofs of the Inquiry into Homer's Life and Writings." These proofs chiefly consisted of a translation of the Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, and French notes subjoined to the original work. The *Inquiry* contains a great deal of research, as well as a display of miscellaneous learning. Perhaps its principal defect consists in the author's discovering an over anxiety in regard to both; at least, he has not been sufficiently careful to guard against the imputation of sometimes going out of his way to show what labour he had bestowed in examining every source of information, both ancient and modern, foreign and domestic. Though the life of Homer has been written by Herodotus, by Plutarch, and by Suidas, among the Greeks, and by an innumerable host of writers scattered through other nations, yet there is hardly one point in his history about which they are agreed, excepting the prodigious merit of his poems, and the sophist Zoilus would not even grant this. How great uncertainty prevailed respecting the time and place of his birth, abundantly appears from seven Grecian cities contending in regard to the latter point. When the field was so extensive, and so great diversity of opinion prevailed, it cannot fail to be perceived how arduous an enterprise Dr Blackwell had undertaken. His criticisms on the poems themselves are always encomiastic, often ingenious, and delivered in language that can give no reasonable ground of offence. The work will be read with both pleasure and profit by all who are prepared to enter upon such inquiries. It is generally esteemed the best of his performances.

He published, in 1748, "Letters concerning Mythology," without his name also. In the course of the same year, he was advanced to be principal of his College, succeeding Dr John Osborne, who died upon the 19th of August. Dr Blackwell, however, was not admitted to the exercise of his new office till the subsequent 9th of November. The first object of his attention respected the discipline of the College. Great irregularities had crept into the institution, not in his predecessor's time only, but probably almost from its foundation. Through the poverty of the generality of the students in those days, their attendance, short as the session was allowed to be, was very partial; to correct this, he considered to be indispensably necessary. Accordingly, about the middle of October, 1749, previous to the commencement of the session, an advertisement in the public papers informed the students, that a more regular attendance was to be required. This, it would appear, did not produce the intended effect. Accordingly, to show that the Principal and Professors were perfectly in earnest when they gave this public notice, three of the Bursars who had not complied with the terms of the advertisement, were, on the 10th of November, expelled. This decision gave general satisfaction, and indeed deserved high commendation.

But, that the Professors themselves might be more alert and attentive to their duty, he revived a practice which, it is likely, had at an early period been common, for every Professor in the University to deliver a discourse in the public school upon some subject connected with his profession. He himself set the example, and delivered his first oration upon the 7th of February, 1749. When Blackwell was promoted to the principality, instead of sinking in indolence, he seems to have considered it rather as affording an excitement to exertion. In February, 1750, he opened a class for the instruction of the students in ancient history, geography, and chronology. Prelections on these branches of education,

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he thought necessary to render more perfect the course at Marischal College. He, therefore, himself undertook the task. The design of his opening this class evidently was to pave the way for the introduction of a new plan of teaching into Marischal College, which, accordingly, he soon after accomplished. At the commencement of the session 1752, public notice was given that, "the Principal, Professors, and Masters, having long had under their consideration the present method of academical education, the plan of which, originally introduced by the scholastic divines in the darkest times, is more calculated for disputes and wrangling than to fit men for the duties of life, therefore have resolved to introduce a new order in teaching the sciences." The order which was then adopted, is what still continues in force in that University. Three years afterwards, when the new plan had been put to the trial for as many sessions, the faculty of the college ordered an account of the plan of education which was followed to be printed. This formed a pamphlet of thirty-five pages. It concludes thus:—"They have already begun to experience the public approbation by the increase of the number of their students." So that he had the agreeable pleasure of witnessing the success of the plan he had proposed.

In 1752 he took the degree of Doctor of Laws, and in the subsequent year, was published, in quarto, the first volume of "Memoirs of the Court of Augustus." A second volume appeared in 1755, and a third, which was posthumous, and left unfinished by the author, was prepared for the press by John Mills, Esq. and published in 1764. In this work, the author has endeavoured to give an account of Roman literature as it appeared in the Augustan age, and he has executed the task with no small share of success. Objections might easily be started to some of his theories and opinions, but every classical scholar who is fond of literary history will peruse the work with pleasure as well as profit.

Dr Blackwell died, at Edinburgh, upon the 6th of March, 1757. He was certainly a very extraordinary person, and like every man of acknowledged talents, formed a very general subject of conversation. He was formal, and even pompous. His dress was after the fashion of the reign of Queen Anne. The portly mien and dignified manner in which he stepped through the public school, impressed all the students with a deep sense of his professional importance. He was, nevertheless, kind and indulgent to them, and of a benevolent disposition. He left a widow, but no children. Mrs Blackwell, in 1793, founded a chemical professorship in Marischal College, and appointed a premium of ten pounds sterling to be annually bestowed on the person who should compose, and deliver, in the English language, the best discourse upon a given literary subject.

BLACKWOOD, Adam, a learned writer of the sixteenth century, was born at Dunfermline, in 1539. He was descended from an ancient and respectable family; his father, William Blackwood, was slain in battle ere he was ten years of age, (probably at Pinkie-field); his mother, Helen Reid, who was niece to Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney, died soon after, of grief for the loss of her husband. By his uncle, the Bishop, he was sent to the university of Paris, but was soon obliged to return, on account of the death of his distinguished relation. Scotland, at this time, was undergoing the agonies of the reformation, under the regency of Mary of Lorrain. Blackwood found it no proper sphere for his education; and therefore soon returned to Paris, where, by the liberality of his youthful sovereign, Queen Mary, then residing at the court of France, he was enabled to complete his studies, and to go through a course of civil law at the university of Thoulouse. Having now acquired some reputation for learning and talent, he was patronized by James Beaton, the expatriated Archbishop of Glasgow, who recommended him very warmly to Queen Mary and her husband, the

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Dauphin, by whose influence he was chosen a member of the parliament of Poitiers, and afterwards appointed to be professor of civil law at that court.

Poitiers was henceforth the constant residence of Blackwood, and the scene of all his literary exertions. His first work was one entitled, "De Vinculo Religionis et Imperii, Libri Duo," Paris, 1575, to which a third book was added in 1612. The object of this work is to show the necessity under which rulers are laid, of preserving the true—*i. e.* the Catholic, religion, from the innovations of heretics, as all rebellions arise from that source. Blackwood, by the native tone of his mind, the nature of his education, and the whole train of his associations, was a faithful adherent of the church of Rome, and of the principles of monarchical government. His next work developed these professions in a more perfect manner. It was entitled, "Apologia pro Regibus," and professed to be an answer to George Buchanan's work, "De Jure Regni apud Scotos." Both of these works argue upon extreme and unfair principles. Buchanan seeks to apply to the simple feudal government of Scotland—a monarchical aristocracy—all the maxims of the Roman republicans. Blackwood, on the other hand, is a slavishly devout advocate for the divine right of kings. In replying to one of Buchanan's positions, the apologist of kings says, very gravely, that if one of the scholars at St Leonard's College were to argue in that manner, he would richly deserve to be whipt. Both of the above works are in Latin. He next published, in French, an account of the death of his benefactress, Queen Mary, under the title, "Martyre de Maria Stuart, Reyne d'Escosse," Antwerp, 8vo., 1588. This work is conceived in a tone of bitter resentment regarding the event to which it refers. He addresses himself, in a vehement strain of passion, to all the princes of Europe, to avenge her death; declaring that they are unworthy of royalty, if they are not roused on so interesting and pressing an occasion. At the end of the volume, is a collection of poems in Latin, French, and Italian, upon Mary and Elizabeth; in which the former princess is praised for every excellence, while her murderess is characterised by every epithet expressive of indignation and hate. An anagram was always a good weapon in those days of conceit and false taste; and one which we find in this collection was no doubt looked upon as a most poignant stab at the Queen of England:

ELIZABETA TEUDERA
VADE, JEZEBEL TETRA.

In 1598, Blackwood published a manual of devotions under the title, "Sanctarum precationum proemia," which he dedicated to his venerable patron, the Archbishop of Glasgow. The cause of his writing this book was, that by reading much at night he had so weakened his eyes, as to be unable to distinguish his own children at the distance of two or three yards: in the impossibility of employing himself in study, he was prevailed upon, by the advice of the Archbishop, to betake himself to a custom of nocturnal prayer, and hence the composition of this book. In 1606, Blackwood published a Latin poem on the inauguration of James VI., as king of Great Britain. In 1609, appeared at Poitiers, a complete collection of his Latin poems. He died, in 1623, in the 74th year of his age, leaving four sons (of whom one attained to his own senatorial dignity in the parliament of Poitiers), and seven daughters. He was most splendidly interred in St Porcharius' church at Poitiers, where a marble monument was reared to his memory, charged with a long panegyrical epitaph. In 1644, appeared his "Opera Omnia," in one volume 4to., edited by the learned Naudeus, who prefixes an elaborate eulogium upon the author. Blackwood was not only a man of consummate learning and great genius, but is allowed to have also fulfilled, in life, all the duties of a good man.

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BLACKWOOD, HENRY, brother to the subject of the preceding article, and his senior by some years, was educated under nearly similar circumstances, and, in 1551, taught philosophy in the university of Paris. Having afterwards applied himself to the study of medicine, he rose to be dean of that faculty at Paris, an office of the very highest dignity which could then be reached by a member of the medical profession. He appears to have been one of the earliest modern physicians who gave a sanction to the practice of letting blood. He published various treatises on medicine, and also upon philosophy, of which a list is preserved in Mackenzie's Lives of Scots Writers. He acted at one time as physician to the Duke of Longueville, with a salary of two hundred pistoles. At another time, when the plague prevailed at Paris, he remained in the city, and exerted himself so zealously in the cure of his numerous patients, as to gain universal applause. He died, in 1613 or 1614, at a very advanced age.

BLAIR, HUGH, D.D. one of the most eminent divines and cultivators of polite literature, of the eighteenth century, was born at Edinburgh, April 7, 1718. His father, John Blair, a merchant of Edinburgh, and who at one time occupied a respectable office in the magistracy, was grandson to Robert Blair, an eminent divine of the seventeenth century, whose life is commemorated in its proper place in this work. John Blair was thus cousin-german to the author of the Grave, whose life follows, in the present work, that of his distinguished ancestor. John Blair, having impaired his fortune by engaging in the South Sea scheme, latterly held an office in the excise. He married Martha Ogston, and the first child of this marriage was the subject of the following memoir.

Hugh Blair was early remarked by his father to possess the seeds of genius. For this reason, joined to a consideration, perhaps, of his delicate constitution, he was educated for the church. He commenced his academic career at the university of Edinburgh, October, 1730, and as his weakly health disabled him from enjoying the usual sports of boyhood, his application to study was very close. Among the numerous testimonies to his proficiency, which were paid by his instructors, one deserves to be particularly mentioned, as, in his own opinion, it determined the bent of his genius towards polite literature. An essay, Περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ, that is, upon the BEAUTIFUL,[1] written by him when a student of logic in the usual course of academical exercises, had the good fortune to attract the notice of professor Stevenson, and, with circumstances honourable to the author, was appointed to be read in public at the conclusion of the session. This mark of distinction, which occurred in his sixteenth year, made a deep impression on his mind; and the essay which merited it, he ever after recollected with partial affection, and preserved to the day of his death, as the first earnest of his fame.

At this time Dr Blair commenced a method of study, which contributed much to the accuracy and extent of his knowledge, and which he continued to practise occasionally even after his reputation was fully established. It consisted in making abstracts of the most important works which he read, and in digesting them according to the train of his own thoughts. History, in particular, he resolved to study in this manner; and in concert with some of his youthful associates, he constructed a very comprehensive scheme of chronological tables, for receiving into its proper place every important fact which should occur. The scheme devised by this young student for his own private use was afterwards improved, filled up, and given to the public, by his learned relative Dr John Blair, Prebendary of Westminster, in his valuable work, "The Chronology and History of the World."

[1] A technical Greek phrase, expressing the abstract idea of the perfection of beauty in objects of taste. A devotion to the "To kalon" in that nation, was similar to what the moderns understand by a correct taste.

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In 1739, on taking the degree of Master of Arts, Blair printed his thesis, "De Fundamentis et Obligatione Legis Naturæ," which contains a brief outline of those moral principles afterwards developed in his sermons, and displays the first dawnings of that virtuous sensibility, by which he was at all periods of his public life so highly distinguished. On the 21st of October, 1741, he was licensed as a preacher by the presbytery of Edinburgh, and soon began, in the usual manner, to exhibit himself occasionally in the pulpit. Heretofore, the only popular style of preaching in Scotland was that of the *high-flying* party, which consisted chiefly in an impassioned address to the devotional feelings of the audience. The *moderate* party, who were of course least popular had neither lost the practice of indulging in tedious theological disquisitions, nor acquired that of expatiating on the moral duties. The sermons of this young licentiate, which presented sound practical doctrines, in a style of language almost unknown in Scotland, struck the minds of the audience as something quite new. In the course of a very few months, his fame had travelled far beyond the bounds of his native city. A sermon which he preached in the West Church, produced an extraordinary impression, and was spoken of in highly favourable terms to the Earl of Leven. His lordship accordingly presented the preacher to the parish church of Colessie in Fife, which happened to be then vacant. He was ordained to this charge, September 23, 1742, but was not long permitted to labour in so confined a scene. In a few months, he was brought forward by his friends as candidate for the second charge of the church of Canongate, which may almost be considered a metropolitan situation. In the popular election which followed, he was successful against a very formidable competitor, Mr Robert Walker, then a favourite preacher. He was inducted to this charge, July 14, 1743, when he had little more than completed his twenty-fifth year. On the occasion of the insurrection of 1745, Blair preached a sermon, in the warmest strain of loyalty to the existing government, and which he afterwards printed. During the eleven years which he spent in the Canongate, his sermons attracted large audiences from the adjoining city, and were alike admired for their eloquence and piety. They were composed with uncommon care; and, occupying a middle place between the dry metaphysical discussion of one class of preachers, and the loose incoherent declamation of the other, they blended together in the happiest manner the light of argument with the warmth of exhortation, and exhibited captivating specimens of what had hitherto been rarely heard in Scotland, the polished, well-compacted, and regular didactic oration.

On the 11th of October, 1754, he was called by the town council of Edinburgh to accept of one of the city charges, that of Lady Yester's church, and on the 15th of June, 1758, he was promoted by the same body to the highest situation attainable by a Scottish clergymen, one of the charges of the High Church. This latter removal took place, according to the records of the town-council, "because they had it fully ascertained, that his translation would be highly acceptable to persons of the most distinguished character and eminent rank in this country, who had seats in said church." In truth, this place of worship might have been styled, in the absence of an episcopal system, the *metropolitan* church of Scotland. In it sat the lords of Session, and all the other great law and state officers, besides the magistrates and council, and a large congregation of the most respectable inhabitants of the town. It might now, therefore, be said, that the eloquence of Blair had at last reached a fit theatre for its display. In the year previous to this last translation, he had been honoured by the university of St Andrews with the degree of D. D. which was then very rare in Scotland.

Hitherto, Blair's attention seems to have been chiefly devoted to his profession.

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No production of his pen had yet been given to the world by himself, except two sermons preached on particular occasions, some translations of passages of Scripture, for the psalmody of the church, and the article on Hutcheson's system of Moral Philosophy for the *Edinburgh Review*, a periodical work begun in 1755, by Hume, Robertson, and others, and which only extended to two numbers. Standing, as he now did, at the head of his profession, and released by the labour of former years from the drudgery of weekly preparation for the pulpit, he began to think seriously on a plan for teaching to others the art which had contributed so much to his own fame. Some years before, Dr Adam Smith had delivered in Edinburh a series of lectures on rhetoric and elegant literature, which had been well received. In 1759, Dr Blair commenced, with the approbation of the university, a course upon the principles of literary composition. His most zealous friends to this undertaking were David Hume and Lord Kames, the latter of whom had devoted much attention to the subject. The approbation bestowed upon the lectures was so very high, and their fame became so generally diffused, that the town-council resolved to institute a rhetorical class in the university, under his direction; and, in 1762, this professorship was taken under the protection of the crown, with a salary of seventy pounds a year. Dr Blair continued to deliver his lectures annually till 1783, when he published them for the more extensive benefit of mankind. They are not by any means, nor were they ever pretended to be, a profound or original exposition of the laws of the belles lettres. They are acknowledged to be a compilation from many different sources, and only designed to form a simple and intelligible code for the instruction of youth in this department of knowledge. Regarded in this light, they are entitled to very high praise, which has accordingly been liberally bestowed by the public. These lectures have been repeatedly printed, and still remain an indispensable monitor in the study of every British scholar.

In 1763, Dr Blair made his first appearance before the world as an author or critic. He had, in common with his friend John Home, taken a deep interest in the exertions of Macpherson, for the recovery of the Highland traditionary poetry. Relying without suspicion upon the faith of the collector, he prefixed to the "Poems of Ossian" a dissertation pointing out the beauties of those compositions. The labour must of course be now pronounced in a great measure useless; but nevertheless it remains a conspicuous monument of the taste of Dr Blair.

It was not till 1777, that he could be prevailed upon to offer to the world any of those sermons with which he had so long delighted a private congregation. We have his own authority for saying that it was his friend Lord Kames who was chiefly instrumental in prompting him to take this step. For a long period, hardly any sermons published either in England or Scotland, had met with success. The public taste seemed to have contracted an aversion to this species of composition. We are informed by Boswell in his life of Johnson, that when Blair transmitted a volume to Mr Strahan, the King's printer, that gentleman, after letting it lie beside him for some time, returned a letter discouraging the publication. It is probable that this opinion, which seems to have been given only on general grounds, might have caused Dr Blair to abandon his intention; but fortunately, Mr Strahan had sent one of the sermons to Dr Johnson for his opinion, and after his unfavourable letter to Dr Blair had been sent off, he received from Johnson, on Christmas eve, 1776, a note, of which the following is a paragraph: "I have read over Dr Blair's first sermon, with more than approbation; to say it is good is to say too little." Mr Strahan had very soon after this time a conversation with Dr Johnson, concerning the sermons; and then he very candidly wrote again to Dr Blair, enclosing Johnson's note, and agreeing

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to purchase the volume, with Mr Cadell, for one hundred pounds. The sale was so rapid and extensive, and the approbation of the public so high, that, to their honour be it recorded, the proprietors made Dr Blair a present, first of one sum, and afterwards of another, of fifty pounds; thus voluntarily doubling the stipulated price. Perhaps, in no country, not even in his own, were these compositions so highly appreciated as in England. There they were received with the keenest relish, not only on account of their abstract excellence, but partly from a kind of surprise as to the quarter from which they came—no devotional work, produced by Scotland, having ever before been found entitled to much attention in the southern section of the island. The volume speedily fell under the attention of George III., and his virtuous consort, and was by them very highly admired. His majesty, with that wise and sincere attention to the interests of religion and virtue, which has given to his reign a respectability above all that military or political glory can purchase, was graciously pleased to judge the author worthy of a public reward. By a royal mandate to the exchequer in Scotland, dated July 25, 1780, a pension of £200 a-year, was bestowed on Dr Blair. It is said that the sermons were first read in the royal closet, by the Earl of Mansfield; and there is little reason to doubt that they were indebted in some degree to the elocution of the "elegant Murray" for the impression which they produced upon the royal family.

During the subsequent part of his life, Dr Blair published three other volumes of sermons; and it might safely be said that each successive publication only tended to deepen the impression produced by the first. These compositions, which were translated into almost every language in Europe, formed only a small part of the discourses which he prepared for the pulpit. The number of those which remained, was creditable to his professional character, and exhibited a convincing proof that his fame as a public teacher had been honourably purchased, by the most unwearied application to the private and unseen labours of his office. Out of his remaining manuscripts, he had prepared a fifth volume, which appeared after his death; the rest, according to an explicit injunction in his will, were committed to the flames. The last sermon which he composed was one in the fifth volume, "on a life of dissipation and pleasure." Though written at the age of eighty-two, it is a dignified and eloquent discourse, and may be regarded as his solemn parting admonition to a class of men whose conduct is highly important to the community, and whose reformation and virtue he had long laboured most zealously to promote.

The Sermons of Blair, are not now, perhaps, to be criticised with that blind admiration which ranked them, in their own time, amidst the classics of English literature. The present age is now generally sensible that they are deficient in that religious unction which constitutes the better part of such compositions, and are but little calculated to stir and rouse the heart to a sense of spiritual duty. Every thing, however, must be considered more or less relatively. Blair's mind was formed at a time when the fervours of evangelical divinity were left by the informed classes generally, to the lowly and uninstructed hearts, which, after all, are the great citadels of religion in every country. A certain order of the clergy, towards the end of the eighteenth century, seemed to find it necessary, in order to prevent an absolute revolt of the higher orders from the standards of religion, to accommodate themselves to the prevailing taste, and only administer moral discourses, with an insinuated modicum of real piety, where their proper purpose unquestionably is to maintain spiritual grace in the breasts of the people, by all the weapons which the gospel has placed within their reach. Thus, as Blair preached to the most refined congregation in Scotland, he could hardly have failed to fall into this prevalent fashion; and he perhaps considered, with

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perfect sincerity, that he was justified by the precept of St Paul, which commands the ministers of religion to be "all things to all men." Religion has always been modified by time and place; and I do not apprehend it to be impossible that the mind of Hugh Blair, existing at the time of his celebrated ancestor, might have exerted itself in maintaining the covenant, and inspiring the populace with the afflatus necessary for that purpose; while the intellect and heart of his predecessor, if interchanged, might have spent their zeal in behalf of Henry Viscount Melville, and in gently pleasing the minds of a set of modern indifferents, with one grain of the gospel dissolved into a large cooling-draught of moral disquisition.

The remaining part of the life of Blair hardly affords a single additional incident. He had been married, in 1748, to his cousin, Katherine Bannatyne, daughter of the Rev James Bannatyne, one of the ministers of Edinburgh. By this lady he had a son who died in infancy, and a daughter, who survived to her twenty-first year, the pride of her parents, and adorned with all the accomplishments which belong to her age and sex. Mrs Blair, herself a woman of great good sense and spirit, was also taken from him a few years before his death, after she had shared with the tenderest affection in all his fortunes, and contributed nearly half a century to his happiness and comfort. The latter part of his life was spent in the enjoyment of a degree of public respect which falls to the lot of few men, but which was eminently deserved by him, both on account of his high literary accomplishments, and the singular purity and benevolence of his private character. He latterly was enabled, by the various sources of income which he enjoyed, to set up a carriage; a luxury enjoyed, perhaps, by no predecessor in the Scottish church, and by very few of his successors. He also maintained an elegant hospitality, both at his town and country residences, which were much resorted to by strangers of distinction who happened to visit Edinburgh.

It may be curious to know in what manner those discourses were delivered from the pulpit, which have so highly charmed the world in print. As might be easily supposed, where there was so much merit of one kind, there could scarcely, without a miracle, be any high degree of another and entirely different kind. In truth, the elocution of Dr Blair, though accompanied by a dignified and impressive manner, was not fit to be compared with his powers of composition. His voice was deformed by a peculiarity which I know not how to express by any other term than one almost too homely for modern composition, a *burr*. He also wanted all that charm which is to be derived from gesticulation, and, upon the whole, might be characterized as a somewhat formal preacher.

In what is called church politics, Dr Blair was a strenuous moderate, but never took an active share in the proceedings of the church. A constitutional delicacy of organization unfitted him for any scene where men have to come into strong and personal collision. In temporal politics, he was a devout admirer of the existing constitution, and a zealous supporter of the tory government which flourished during the greater part of the reign of George III. With Viscount Melville, to whose father he had dedicated his thesis in early youth, he maintained a constant interchange of civilities. At the breaking out of the French revolution, he exerted himself in the most energetic manner to stop the tide of disaffection and irreligion, which at one particular crisis seemed to threaten all existing institutions. He declared in the pulpit that none but a good subject could be a good Christian; an expression so strongly akin to the ancient doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, that it can only be excused by the particular circumstances of the time. The mind of Blair was too fastidiously exact and elegant to display any thing of the majestic. Possessing more taste than genius,

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he never astonished in conversation by any original remark. In company, he made a far less striking appearance than the half-instructed peasant Burns, who, at his first visit to Edinburgh, was warmly patronized by Dr Blair. In some points of view, his mind bore an unprepossessing aspect. He was content to read, and weak enough to admire the wretched fictitious compositions which appeared in that age under the denomination of novels. He would talk profusely of the furniture of the room in which he was sitting, criticising every object with a sincere and well-weighed attention, which would not have been ill-bestowed upon the most solemn subjects. In his dress, and in almost all points of mere *externe* and ceremonial form, he was minutely fastidious. He was also so fond of the approbation of his fellow-creatures—in moderation, a most useful feature of character—that even very marked flattery was received by him not only without displeasure, but with an obviously keen relish, that said little either for his discrimination or his modesty. Yet, with these less worthy points of character, Blair had no mean moral feelings. He was incapable of envy; spoke liberally and candidly of men whose pursuits and opinions differed from his own; and was seldom betrayed into a severe remark upon any subject unconnected with actual vice.

Though his bodily constitution was by no means robust, yet by habitual temperance and by attention to health, his life was happily prolonged beyond the usual period. For some years he had felt himself unequal to the fatigue of instructing his very large congregation from the pulpit; and under the impression which this feeling produced, he has been heard to say, with a sigh, that, "he was left almost the last of his contemporaries." Such, nevertheless, was the vigour of his mind, that, in 1799, when past the eightieth year of his age, he composed and preached one of the most effective sermons he ever delivered, on behalf of the fund for the benefit of the sons of the clergy. He was also employed during the summer of 1800, in preparing his last volume for the press; and for this purpose, he copied the whole with his own hand. He began the winter, pleased with himself on account of this exertion; and his friends were flattered with the hope that he might live to enjoy the accession of emolument and fame which he expected it would bring. But the seeds of a mortal disease were lurking within him. On the 24th of December, he felt slight pain in his bowels, with which neither he nor his friends were alarmed. On the afternoon of the 26th, this pain encreased, and violent symptoms began to appear; the causes of which were then unfortunately unknown both to himself and his physician. He had for a few years laboured under an inguinal hernia. This malady, which he was imprudently disposed to conceal, he considered as trifling; and he understood that by taking the ordinary precautions, nothing was to be apprehended from it. It settled, however, into a stoppage of the bowels, and ere the physician was made aware of his condition, an inflammation had taken place, and he consequently survived only till the morning of the 27th, thus expiring almost at the same time with that century of the Christian epoch, of which he had been one of the most distinguished ornaments. He died in the eighty-third year of his age, and the fifty-ninth of his profession as a minister of the gospel.

BLAIR, James, an eminent divine, was reared for the episcopal church of Scotland, at the time when it was struggling with the popular dislike in the reign of Charles II. Discouraged by the equivocal situation of that establishment in Scotland, he voluntarily abandoned his preferments, and removed to England, where he was patronized by Compton, Bishop of London. By this prelate he was prevailed upon to go as a missionary to Virginia, in 1685, and, having given the greatest satisfaction by his zeal in the propagation of religion, he was, in 1689, preferred to the office of commissary to the bishop, which was the high-

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est ecclesiastical dignity in that province. His exertions were by no means confined to his ordinary duties. Observing the disadvantage under which the province laboured through the want of seminaries for the education of a native clergy, he set about, and finally was able to accomplish, the honourable work of founding the college of Williamsburgh, which was afterwards, by his personal intervention, endowed by king William III., with a patent, under the title of the William and Mary College. He died in 1743, after having been president of this institution for about fifty, and a minister of the gospel for above sixty years. He had also enjoyed the office of president of the council of Virginia. In the year before his death, he had published at London, his great work, entitled, "Our Saviour's Divine Sermon on the Mount Explained, and the Practice of it Recommended, in divers sermons and discourses," 4 vols. 8vo., which is styled by Dr Waterland, the editor of a second edition, a "valuable treasure of sound divinity and practical Christianity."

BLAIR, JOHN, a churchmen of noble family, who, being compelled by the tyranny of Edward I. in Scotland to join the bands of Sir William Wallace, became chaplain to that hero, and did not scruple also to take a share in his battles. He wrote an account of the deeds of Wallace, which is now lost, but is supposed to have furnished materials to Blind Harry. Another work of Blair's was styled, "De Liberata Tyrannide Scotia."

BLAIR, JOHN, L.L.D. an eminent chronologist, was, as already mentioned in the memoir of Dr Hugh Blair, a relative of that distinguished personage. He received a clerical education at Edinburgh, and afterwards went in search of employment to London, along with Mr Andrew Henderson, author of a "History of the Rebellion of 1745," and many other works, and who, for some years, kept a bookseller's shop in Westminster Hall. As Henderson describes himself as residing in Edinburgh at the time of the battle of Prestonpans, it is probable that Blair's removal to London took place after that event. Henderson's first employment was that of an usher at a school in Hedge Lane, in which he was succeeded by Blair. The attention of the latter had probably been directed to chronology by the example of Dr Hugh Blair, who, as already mentioned, commenced a series of tables of events, for his own private use, which ultimately formed the groundwork of the work given to the world, in 1754, under the title of "The Chronology and History of the World, from the Creation to the year of Christ, 1753; illustrated in fifty-six tables, of which four are introductory, and contain the centuries prior to the first Olympiad, and each of the remaining fifty-two contain, in one expanded view, fifty years, or half a century. By the Rev. John Blair, LL. D." This large and valuable work was published by subscription, and was dedicated to Lord Chancellor Hardwicke. In January, 1755, Dr John Blair was elected F. R. S. and in 1761, F. A. S. In 1756, he published a new edition of his "Chronology," In September, 1757, he was appointed chaplain to the Dowager Princess of Wales, and mathematical tutor to the Duke of York, (brother to George III.); and on Dr Townshend's promotion to the deanery of Norwich, the services of Dr Blair were rewarded, March, 1761, with a prebendal stall in Westminster abbey. Such a series of rapidly accumulating honours has fallen to the lot of very few Scottish adventurers. But this was not destined to be the end of his good fortune. He had only been prebend of Westminster six days, when the death of the vicar of Hinckley, in Leicestershire, enabled the Dean and Chapter to present him to that valuable living, to which was soon after added, the rectory of Burtoncoggles in Lincolnshire. In 1763-4, he made the tour of the continent, in company with his royal pupil. A new and enlarged edition of his "Chronology" appeared in 1768, and in 1771 he was presented, by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, to the vicarage of St Bride's in the

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city of London, which made it necessary for him to resign Hinckley. In 1776, he resigned St Bride's, in order to succeed to the rectory of St John the Evangelist in Westminster; and in June that year, he obtained a dispensation to hold this benefice along with that of Horton, near Colebrooke, in Buckinghamshire. In the memorable sea-fight of the 12th of August, 1782, his brother, Captain Blair, in the command of the Anson, was one of three distinguished officers who fell, and to whom the country afterwards voted a monument. This event gave such a shock to the venerable doctor, who at that time suffered under influenza, that he died, at his house in Dean's Yard, Westminster, on the 24th of June following. A work entitled, "Lectures on the Canons of the Old Testament," appeared after his death; but his best monument unquestionably will be his Chronology, the value of which has been so amply acknowledged by the world.

BLAIR, PATRICK, M. D. an eminent botanist in the earlier period of the existence of that science in Britain, was first known as a practitioner of surgery and physic at Dundee, where he brought himself into prominent notice as an anatomist, 1706, by the dissection of an elephant which died near that place. He was a non-juror or Scottish episcopalian, and so far attached to the exiled family of Stuart, as to be imprisoned during the insurrection of 1715, as a suspected person. He afterwards removed to London, where he recommended himself to the attention of the Royal Society by some discourses on the sexes of flowers. His stay in London was short, and after leaving it, he settled at Boston in Lincolnshire, where Dr Pulteney conjectures that he practised physic during the remainder of his life. The same writer, in his "Historical and Biographical Sketches of English Botany," supposes that his death happened soon after the publication of the seventh *Decad* of his *Pharmacobotanologia*, in 1728.

Dr Blair's first publication was entitled, "Miscellaneous Observations in Physic, Anatomy, Surgery, and Botanicks, 8vo, 1718." In the botanical part of this work, he insinuates some doubts relating to the method suggested by Petion and others, of deducing the qualities of vegetables from the agreement in natural characters; and instances the *Cynoglossum*, as tending to prove the fallacy of this rule. He relates several instances of the poisonous effects of plants, and thinks the Echium Marinum (*Pulmonaria Maritima* of Linnæus) should be ranked in the genus Cynoglossum, since it possesses a narcotic power. He describes and figures several of the more rare British plants, which he had discovered in a tour made into Wales; for instance, the Rumex Digynus, Lobelia Dortmanna, Alisma Ranunculoides, Pyrola Rotundifolia, Alchemilla Alpina, etc. But the work by which he rendered the greatest service to botany, originated with his "Discourse on the Sexes of Plants," read before the Royal Society, and afterwards greatly amplified, and published, at the request of several members of that body, under the title of "Botanical Essays, 8vo, 1720." This treatise is divided into two parts, containing five essays; the three first respecting what is proper to plants, and the two last, what is proper to plants and animals. This is acknowledged, by an eminent judge, to have been the first complete work, at least in the English language, on that important department of botanical science, the sexes of the plants. The author shows himself well acquainted, in general, with all the opinions and arguments which had been already circulated on the same subject. The value of the work must not be estimated by the measure of modern knowledge, though even at this day it may be read by those not critically versed in the subject, with instruction and improvement. A view of the several methods then invented, cannot be seen so connectedly in any other English author. Dr Blair strengthened the arguments in proof of the sexes of plants, by sound reasoning and some new experiments. His reasons against Morland's opinion of the entrance of the *Farina* into the Vasculum Seminale,

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and his refutation of the Lewenhœkian theory, have met with the sanction of the greatest names in modern botany. Dr Blair's last distinct publication, which he did not live to complete, was "*Parmacobotanologia*, or an Alphabetical and Classical Dissertation on all the British indigenous and garden plants of the New Dispensatory," 4to, 1723—28. In this work, which was carried no further than the letter H, the genera and species are described, the sensible qualities and medicinal powers are subjoined, with the pharmaceutical uses, and the author also notices several of the more rare English plants, discovered by himself in the environs of Boston. Dr Blair's fugitive writings consist of various papers in the Philosophical Transactions, of which one of the most remarkable is an account of the Anatomy and Osteology of the Elephant, drawn up from his observations in dissecting the animal above alluded to at Dundee.

BLAIR, Robert, an eminent divine of the seventeenth century, was the sixth and youngest son of John Blair of Windyedge in Ayrshire, and Beatrix Muir, a lady of the honourable house of Rowallan. He was born at Irvine in 1593, and received his education at the college of Glasgow. After acting for some time as assistant to a teacher in that city, he was appointed, in the twenty-second year of his age, to be a regent or professor in the college. In 1616, he was licensed as a minister of the gospel. Happening soon after to preach before the celebrated Robert Bruce, and being anxious to have the judgment of so great and good a man upon his discourse, he took the liberty of directly asking him how he liked the sermon: Bruce said, "I found your sermon very polished and well digested, but there is one thing I did miss in it—to wit, the spirit of God; I found not that." This criticism made a deep and useful impression upon the young preacher. The prospects of Mr Blair at Glasgow were clouded in 1622, by the accession of Cameron to the office of Principal in the College. This divine, having been imbued in France with the tenets of Arminius, became a zealous promoter of the views of the court, for the introduction of Episcopacy into Scotland. Blair speedily became obnoxious to his evil offices, and found it necessary to resign his charge. For some years he officiated to a Presbyterian congregation at Bangour in Ireland, but, in 1632, was suspended, along with the equally famous preacher Livingstone, by the Bishop of Down. He then went over to court, to implore the interference of the King, who at length gave a favourable answer to his petition, writing with his own hand upon the margin, "Indulge these men, for they are Scotsmen;" an expression certainly honourable to the heart of the unfortunate monarch. Blair was one of those divines, who were reputed in Scotland to have direct communications with heaven, and a power of prophetic vision. While waiting anxiously for the return of his petition, he asked, and, as it is recorded by his biographer, received, a sign from heaven, assuring him that his wishes would be realised. He also "had from Ezekiel xxiv. 16. a strange discovery of his wife's death, and the very bed whereon she was lying, and the particular acquaintances attending her; and although she was in good health at his return home, yet in a little all this came to pass,"[1] He had not been long re-established at Bangour, when the bishop found further fault with him, and again sentenced him to be expelled. He now joined in a scheme set on foot by various Presbyterian clergymen in similar circumstances, for fitting up a ship, and emigrating to New England. But being driven back by a storm, they conceived that the Almighty will was opposed to their resolution, and accordingly abandoned the scheme. Blair returned to Scotland to mingle in the tumultuous scenes of the covenant. He preached for some time at Ayr, and was afterwards settled by the General Assembly at St Andrews. In 1640, he accompanied the Scottish army into England, and assisted at the negotiations for the

[1] Scots Worthies, new edition, 1827, p. 302.

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peace of Rippon. After the first burst of the Irish rebellion of 1641, when the Presbyterians supplicated the General Assembly for a supply of ministers, Blair was one of those who went over. He soon returned, however, to his charge at St. Andrews. In autumn 1645, when the Scottish estates and General Assembly were obliged by the prevalence of the plague at Edinburgh to sit in St Andrews, Blair took a conspicuous part in the prosecution of Sir Robert Spottiswoode and other adherents of Montrose, who had been taken prisoners at Philiphaugh. Sir Robert, who had accompanied Montrose as a mere civilian, upon an embassage from the King, was sentenced, by a flagrant violation of the law, to be beheaded as a traitor. In reality this dignified and respectable person was sacrificed as an atonement for the exertions of his father, Archbishop Spottiswoode, to introduce Episcopacy. At this period, when toleration was sincerely looked upon as a fatal and deadly error, it was conceived, that to permit this person to escape would draw down the wrath of God upon the land. Blair, who entertained all these notions in the most earnest manner, was nevertheless anxious that an exertion should be made to turn Sir Robert from the errors of his faith, so that he might at least die in the profession of the true religion. He therefore attended him in jail, and even at the scaffold, trying all his eloquence to work a conversion. Spottiswoode, who was one of the most learned and enlightened men of his age, appears to have looked upon these efforts in a different spirit from that in which they were made. He was provoked, upon the very scaffold, to reject the prayers of his pious monitor; in language far from courtly. Mr. Blair was equally unsuccessful with Captain Guthrie, son of the ex-bishop of Moray, who was soon after executed at the same place.

Blair was one of the Scottish divines appointed, in 1645, to reason the King out of his Episcopal prepossessions at Newcastle. The celebrated Cant, one of his co-adjutors in this task, having one day accused his Majesty of favouring Popery, Mr Blair interrupted him, and hinted that this was not a proper time or place for making such a charge. The unfortunate monarch, who certainly had a claim to this amount upon the gratitude of Blair, appears to have felt the kindness of the remark. At the death of Henderson, his Majesty appointed Blair to be his successor, as chaplain for Scotland. In this capacity, he had much intercourse with the King, who, one day, asked him if it was warrantable in prayer to determine a controversy. Blair, taking the hint, said, that in the prayer just finished, he did not think that he had determined any controversy. "Yes," said the King, "you determined the Pope to be Antichrist, which is a controversy among divines." Blair said he was sorry that this should be disputed by his Majesty; for certainly it was not so by his father. This remark showed great acuteness in the divine, for Charles, being a constant defender of the opinions of his father, whose authority he esteemed above that of all professional theologians, was totally unable to make any reply. The constancy of the King in his adherence to a church, which his coronation oath had obliged him to defend, rendered, as is well known, all the advices of the Scottish divines unavailing. After spending some months with his Majesty, in his captivity at Newcastle, Mr Blair returned to Scotland.

In 1648, when Cromwell came to Edinburgh for the first time, the Commission of the Church sent three divines, including Mr Blair, to treat with him for a uniformity of religion in England. The sectarian general, who looked upon the Scottish Presbytery as no better than English Episcopacy, but yet was anxious to conciliate the northern divines, entertained this legation with smooth speeches, and made many solemn appeals to God, as to the sincerity of his intentions. Blair, however, had perceived the real character of Cromwell, and thought it necessary to ask explicit answers to the three following categories:—1, What

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was his opinion of monarchical government? To this he answered, that he was for monarchial government; which exactly suited the views of the Scottish Presbyterians. 2, What was his opinion anent toleration? He answered confidently that he was altogether against toleration; which pleased, if possible, still better. 3, What was his opinion concerning the government of the church? "Oh, now," said Cromwell, "Mr Blair, you article me too severely; you must pardon me that I give you not a present answer to this." When the deputation left him Mr David Dickson said to Mr Blair, "I am glad to hear this man speak no worse;" to which the latter replied, "If you knew him as well as I, you would not believe a word he says; for he is an egregious dissembler."

Blair continued to be a zealous and useful minister during the usurpation of Cromwell, but after the Restoration, fell speedily under the censure of his metropolitan, Archbishop Sharpe. For some years, he had no regular place of worship, but preached and ministered when he met with a favourable opportunity. During his later years, being prohibited from coming within twenty miles of St Andrews, he lived at Meikle Couston, in the parish of Aberdour, where he died, August 27, 1666, in the 73d year of his age. He was buried in the church-yard of Aberdour, where there is a small tablet to his memory.

Robert Blair was the author of a Commentary on the Book of Proverbs, and also of some political pieces, none of which have come down to modern times. His abilities were singularly revived in more than one branch of his numerous progeny, particularly in his grandson, the author of "The Grave," and his two great-grandsons, Dr Hugh Blair, and the late Robert Blair, President of the Court of Session.

BLAIR, Robert, author of "The Grave, a Poem," was the eldest son of the Rev. David Blair, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and chaplain to the King, who, in his turn, was son to the subject of the preceding article. The mother of the author of "The Grave," was a Miss Nisbet, daughter of Mr Nisbet of Carfin. He was born in the year 1699, and after the usual preparatory studies, was ordained in 1731, minister of Athelstaneford, in East Lothian, where he spent the remainder of his life. Possessing a small fortune in addition to his stipend as a parish-clergyman, he lived, we are told, rather in the style of a country gentleman than of a minister, keeping company with the neighbouring gentry, among whom Sir Francis Kinloch of Gilmerton, patron of the parish, was one of his warmest friends. Blair, we are further informed, was at once a man of learning, and of elegant taste and manners. He was a botanist and florist, which he showed in the cultivation of his garden; and was also conversant in optical and microscopical knowledge, on which subjects he carried on a correspondence with some learned men in England. He was a man of sincere piety, and very assiduous in discharging the duties of his clerical functions. As a preacher, he was serious and warm, and discovered the imagination of a poet. He married Miss Isabella Law, daughter of Mr Law of Elvingston, who had been Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh; by this lady, who survived him, he had five sons and one daughter. His fourth son, who bore his own name, arose, through various gradations of honour at the Scottish bar, to be President of the Court of Session.

Blair had turned his thoughts, at an early period of life, to poetry. While still very young, he wrote some verses to the memory of his future father-in-law, Mr Law, who was also his blood relation. We have his own testimony for saying, that his "Grave" was chiefly composed in that period of his life which preceded his ordination as a parochial clergyman. An original manuscript of the poem, in the possession of his son the Lord President, was dated 1741-2; and it appears, from a letter written by the author to Dr Doddridge, in February

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that year, that he had just been endeavouring, through the influence of his correspondent, Dr Isaac Watts, to induce the London booksellers to publish it. It was rejected by two of these patrons of literature, to whom it had been recommended by Dr Watts; but was finally printed at London, in 1743, "for Mr Cooper." The author appears to have been seriously anxious that it should become a popular work, for he thus writes to Dr Doddridge:—"In order to make it more generally liked, I was obliged sometimes to go cross to my own inclination, well knowing that, whatever poem is written upon a serious argument, must, upon that very account, be under serious disadvantages; and therefore proper arts must be used to make such a piece go down with a licentious age, which cares for none of those things." This is not very clearly intelligible, but perhaps alludes to the plain, strong, rational, and often colloquially familiar language of the poem, which the plurality of modern critics will allow to be its best feature. "The Grave" is now to be esteemed as one of the standard classics of English poetical literature, in which rank it will probably remain longer than many works of greater contemporary, or even present fame.

BOECE, Hector, whose name was otherwise spelled Boyis, Boyes, Boiss, and Boice, an eminent, though credulous, historian, was born about the year 1465-6, at Dundee, and hence he assumed the surname of Deidonanus. His family were possessed of the estate of Panbride, or Balbride, in the county of Angus, which had been acquired by his grandfather, Hugh Boece, along with the heiress in marriage, in consequence of his services to David II., at the battle of Dupplin. The rudiments of his education he received in his native town, which at that time, and for a long time after, was celebrated for its schools: he afterwards studied at Aberdeen, and finally at Paris, where, in 1497, he became a professor of philosophy in the college of Montacute. Of a number of the years of his life about this period, there is evidently nothing to be told. The garrulous and sometimes fabling Dr Mackenzie has filled up this part of his life with an account of his fellow-students at Paris, all of whose names, with one exception, have sunk into oblivion. That exception is the venerated name of Erasmus, who, as a mark of affection for Boece, dedicated to him a catalogue of his works, and maintained with him in after life as regular a correspondence as the imperfect communication of those times would permit. In the year 1500, Bishop Elphinstone, who had just founded the College of Aberdeen, invited Boece home to be the principal. The learned professor, reluctant to quit the learned society he enjoyed at Paris, was only persuaded to accept this invitation, as he informs us himself, "by means of gifts and promises;" the principal inducement must of course have been the salary, which amounted to forty merks a-year—equal to two pounds three shillings and fourpence sterling—a sum, however, which Dr Johnson remarks, was then probably equal, not only to the needs, but to the rank of the President of King's College.

On his arrival at Aberdeen he found, among the Chanon Regulars, a great many learned men, and became a member of their order. From this order, indeed, the professors seem to have been selected. As colleague in his new office, Hector Boece associated with himself Mr William Hay, a gentleman of the shire of Angus, who had studied along with him under the same masters both at Dundee and Paris. Alexander Hay, a Chanon of Aberdeen, was the first teacher of scholastic theology in that university. David Guthry and James Ogilvy are mentioned as professors of civil and canon law; but whether they were contemporary teachers or succeeded each other in the same chair, is not quite clear. Henry Spital was the first who taught philosophy at Aberdeen, and for this purpose he wrote An Easy Introduction to the philosophy of Aristotle. Another of the learned professors was Alexander Galloway, rector of Kinkell, who

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was author of a treatise on the Ebudae or Western Isles, with an account of the *Clag* or *Claik Geese*, and the trees upon which they were found to grow; a work no longer to be found, but the best parts of which are probably embodied in Boece's history of Scotland. Arthur Boece, brother to the principal, was also one of his assistants. He was a tutor of the canon law, and a licentiate in the civil; a man of great eloquence and singular erudition. Besides these, Beece has commemorated several others, who were his assistants, and reflected lustre upon the dawn of learning in the north. Some of them were, according to the learned principal's account, men of high eminence, whose influence was great in the days in which they lived, and whose example extended even to after ages. He particularly refers to John Adam, who was the first to receive the degree of Doctor of theology in the University; after which he was made principal of the Dominican order, which, from the vicious lives, the poverty, and the ignorance of its members, had sunk into great contempt, but which he raised into high respectability, both for piety and learning. On the death of his patron Bishop Elphinstone, in 1514, Boece, out of gratitude for his friendship, and respect for his great learning and exemplary virtue, resolved to give to the world an account of his life, in composing which he was so struck with the exemplary conduct of others who had filled that see, that he determined to write the history of the lives of the whole of the bishops of Aberdeen. This laborious undertaking he completed in Latin, after the custom of the age, and gave to the world in the year 1522. It was printed at Paris by Badius Ascensius.

His next, and by far his greatest work, was a history of Scotland, from the earliest accounts. To this work he was probably stimulated by the example of John Mair or Major, a tutor of the Sorbonne, and principal of the college of St Salvadore at St Andrews, whose history of Scotland, in six books, was published at Paris in the year 1521. The *Scotichronicon* had been originally written by John Fordun a canon of Aberdeen and continued by Walter Bower or Bowmaker to the death of James I., nearly a century previous to this, as had also the metrical *Chronykil* of Scotland by Andrew Winton prior of Lochleven, but all of them written in a style beneath the dignity of history, and disguised by the most contemptible fables. Mair was more studious of truth, but his narrative is meagre and his style loose and disjointed. Boece was a man of high talent, and one of the best Latin scholars which his country has at any period produced; but he was credulous in a high degree, and most unquestionably has given his authority, such as it was, to many fables, if he did not himself absolutely invent them; and he has rested the truth of his facts upon authors that never existed except in his own imagination. Of the "Inglis lyis," which Buchanan complains had cost him so much trouble to purge out of the "story of Scotland," perhaps he had not preserved the greatest number, but he certainly had more of the "Scottis vanitie" than even that great man was willing to part with. In imitation of some other historians he has introduced his history with the cosmography of the country, in which he has been followed by Buchanan. Some passages we have selected from this part of the work, illustrative of his taste for, and his knowledge of, natural history. The extracts are taken from the translation of John Bellenden archdeacon of Murray, which was made for the benefit of King James V., who, from a defective education, was unable to read the original. That they may afford the reader a genuine specimen of our ancient Scottish prose, we have given these few extracts in their original orthography. The first is the result of the inquiries of Hector Boece into the claicks or claggeese that were supposed to grow upon trees.

"Sum men belevis that thir claiks grows on treis by the nobbis, bot thair opinion is vane. And because the nature and procreation of thir claikis is

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strange,' we have maid na little laubore and diligence to serch the truth and veritie thairof. We have sailit throw the seis quhare they ar brede, and find by grit experience that the nature of the seis is maire relevant cause of their procreation than ony other thyng; for all treis that are cussen in the seis be process of tyme apperis first worme etin, and in the small hollis and boris thairof growis small wormis. First they schaw thair heid and feit, and last of all they schaw thair plumis and wingis. Finally, quhen they are cumin to the just measure and quantitie of geis, they fle in the aire as othir fowlis. Thairfore because the rude and ignorant pepyll saw oftymes the fruitis that fell off the treis quhilk stude nair the see, convertit within short tyme in geis, they belevit that thir geis grew upon the treis hingand be thair nobbis, sic like as apillis and uthir fruitis, bot thair opinion is nocht to be sustainit." This absurd nonsense is by the vulgar in some places believed to this day. The Barnacle has somewhat the appearance of a fowl in miniature inclosed in a shell, and this they suppose to be the young of the claik-goose. The following will not appear less wonderful to the greater part of readers than the procreation of the claiks. "The wolffis ar richt noysum to the tame bestial in all pairts of Scotland, except ane pairt thairof, named Glenmore; in quhilk the tame bestial gets lytill damage of wyld bestial, especially of toddis. For ilk hous nurises ane young todd certane days, and mengis the fleshe thairof after it be slane, with sic meit as they gif to thair fowlis or uthir small beistis, and sae mony as eits of this meit ar preservit twa months after fra ony damage be the toddis, for toddis will gust na fleshe that gusts of thair ain kynd; and be thair bot ane beist or fowl that has nocht gustit of this meit the todd will chais it out amang ane thousand."

Could the following art be re-discovered it would be a great saving in the article barley, and would besides render the malt duty of non-effect. "In all the desertis and muires of this realme growis an herbe namit hadder, bot [without] ony seid, richt nutritive baith to beistis and fowlis, speciallie to beis. This herbe in the month of Julie has ane floure of purpure hew, als sweet as honey. The Pychts maid of this herbe sum tyme ane richt delicious and halsume drynk, nochtheless the manier of the making of it is perist be the extermination of the said Pychtis, for they schaw nevir the craft of the making of this drink bot to thair awn blude."

The following particular description of gum found among the isles, probably ambergrese, is singularly characteristic of the author. "Amang the cragges of the islis growis ane maneir of goum, hewit like gold, and sa attractive of nature that it drawis strae, flax, or hemmis of claithis, to it, in the samin maneir as does ane adamant stane. This goum is generat of see froth quhilk is cussin up be the continual repercussion of the wavis againis the see wallis, and throw ithand motion of the see it growis als teuch as glew, ay mair and mair, quhill at last it falls down of the crag in the see. Twa yeir afore the cumin of this beuk to light, arriwit ane grit lump of this goum in Buchquhane, als meikle as ane hors, and was brocht hame by the herdis, quhilkis war kepand thair beistis to thair housis and cussen in the fire, and because they fand ane smell and odour thairwith, they schaw to thair maister, that it was ganand for the sens [incense] that is maid in the kirks. Thair maister was ane rude man, as they war, and tuke bot ane lytill pairt thairof. The maist pairt was destroyit afore it cum to ony wyse maneiris, and sa the proverb was verifyit, 'The soū curis na balme.'"

Of the miraculous the two following are tolerable specimens. "In Orkney is ane grit fische, mair than onie hors, of marvelous and incredible sleip. This fische, whan she begins to sleip, fesnis hir teith fast on ane crag abave the water. Als soon as the marineris fynis hir on sleip, they come with ane stark cabill in ane boat, and efter they have borit ane hole threw hir tail, they fesne hir to the

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samyn. Als soon as this fische is awalknit, she maks her to loup with grit fure into the see, and fra she fynd hirseff fast she wrythis hir out of hir awn skin and deis. Of the fatness that scho hes is maid oulie in grit quantitie, and of hir skin is maid strang cabilla."

"In Murrayland, in the kirke of Pette, the bains of lytill John remains in grit admiration of the pepill. He has been fourteen feit of hight, with square members effeiring thairto. Sax yeirs afore the cumin of this werk to light, we saw his hansh bain als meikle as the haill bain of ane man, for we shut our arm in the mouth thairof, by quhilk appeirs how strang and square pepill grew in our region afore they war effeminat with lust and intemperance of mouth." Spare diet seems to have been, in the estimation of our author, the all in all of human excellence, whether mentally or corporeally, and its disuse has certainly never been more eloquently bewailed than in the following paragraph:—"I belief nane hes now sic eloquence nor fouth [plenty] of language that can sufficiently declare how far we in thir present dayis ar differènt fra the virtew and temperance of our eldaris. For quhare our eldaris had sobreatie, we have ebreitie and drunkness; quhare they had plentie with sufficence, we have immoderate desiris with superfluities; as he war maist nobyl and honest that could devore and swelly maist; throw quhilk we engorge and fillis ourself day and nycht sa full of meitis and drinkis, that we can nocht abstane quhill our wambe be sa swon, that it is unable to ony virtewous occupation, and nocht allanerly may surfect denners and sowpar suffice, bot also we must continue our shameful vorasitie with dubell denners and sowpars, throw quhilk mony of us gangis to na uthir bisines bot to fill and tume our wambe. Na fische in the see, nor fowle in the aire, nor beist in the wood, may haif rest, bot ar socht here and thair to satisfy the hungry appetitis of gluttonis. Nocht allanerly are wynis socht in France, bot in Spayne, Italy, and Greece, and sumtyme baith Aphrick and Asya ar socht for new delicious meitis and wynis to the samyn effect. The young pepill and bairnis follow thir unhappie customes of thair faderis, and givis themself to lust and insolence, havind all vertewous craftis in contemption, and sa whan tyme of weir occurris, they are sa effeminat and soft, that they pass on hors as heavie martis, and are sae fat and grown that they may do na thing in compare of the soverane manheid of thair antecessors. Als sun as they ar returnit hame becaus thair guddis ar not sufficient to nuris them in voluptuous life and pleasur of thair wambe, they are given to all maneir of avarice, and outhir castis them to be strang and maisterful theves, or else sawers of dissention amang the nobyllis."

Perhaps, after all, the last paragraph of Boece's Cosmography of Scotland might have been sufficient to attest his character: "Thus it were needful to put an end to our Cosmographie, were not an uncouth history tarryis a litill my pen. Mr Jame Ogilby, with uther nobylmen, wes send as ambassatouris frae the maist nobill prince king James the feird to the kyng of France, and be tempest of see they war constrainit to land in Norway, quhare they saw nocht far fra thaim mony wild men nakit and ruch, on the sam maner as they war painted. At last they got advertising by landwart pepill that they war doum beestis under the figur of men, quha in tyme of nicht usit to come in grit companies to landwart villages, and quhan they fand na doggis they brek up doris, and slays all the pepill that they fynd thair intill. They are of sa huge strenth that they pull up treis by the rutis and fechts thairwith amang thaimself. The ambassatouris war astonist at thir monstouris, and made strick watches with grit fyres birnand all nicht, and on the morrow they pullit up sails and depairtit. Forther the Norway men schow that there wes also nocht far fra thaim an pepill that swomit all the symer, like fische in the see, leifand on fische, bot in the winter, because the

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water is cauld, they leif upon wild beistis that descendis fra the mountainis, and sa endis here the Cosmographie of Scotland." Such are specimens of what passed for veritable history in Scotland scarcely three centuries ago, and such was the weakness of a man who was certainly in his own day, even by foreigners, reckoned an ornament to his country. The truth is, knowledge in those days was most deplorably limited by the difficulty of travelling, and the paucity of books. A geographical writer sat in his study, ignorant personally of every thing except what was immediately around him, and liable to be imposed upon by the stories of credulous or lying travellers, which he had no means of correcting or disproving. The philosophical writer was equally liable to be imposed upon by false and superstitious systems, which the age produced in great abundance.

Boece's history was published at Paris in 1526, in a folio volume, under the title of "Scotorum Historiæ, a prima gentis origine, cum aliarum et rerum et gentium illustratione non vulgari." This edition, which was printed by Badius, contains seventeen books. A second was printed at Lausanne, and published at Paris in 1574, about forty years after the death of Boece. In this, were added the eighteenth and part of a nineteenth book, written by himself; and a continuation of the history to the end of the reign of James III., by Ferrarius, a learned Piedmontese, who came to Scotland in 1528, in the train of Robert Reid, Abbot of Kinloss, and afterwards Bishop of Orkney.

Soon after the publication of his history, (1527,) James V. bestowed upon Boece a pension of £50 Scots yearly, which was to be paid by the sheriff of Aberdeen out of the king's casualties. Two years afterwards, a new precept was issued, directing this pension to be paid by the customers of Aberdeen, until the king should promote him to a benefice of 100 merks Scots of yearly value. By a subsequent regulation, the pension was partly paid by the king's comptroller, and partly by the treasurer.

As the payment appears for the last time in the treasurer's books for 1534, it is probable that about that time the king carried into effect his intention of exchanging the pension for a benefice. The benefice so given was the Rectory of Fyvie in Aberdeenshire, which he held at his death in 1536, as appears from the record of the presentation of his successor. According to Gordon of Straloch, the death of the reverend historian happened at Aberdeen; he was then about seventy years of age.

In estimating the character of Hector Boece, many circumstances must be taken into account. It is certainly impossible to read his history without feeling contempt for his understanding as well as for his veracity; yet when we consider the night of ignorance, imbecility, and error, in which he lived, contempt gives place to strong compassion, and we feel disposed to apologize for, rather than to blame him. Lord Hailes has bitterly remarked that the Scots were reformed from popery, but not from Boece, and Pinkerton inveighs against him, as "the most egregious historical impostor that ever appeared in any country!" It is enough, however, for the vindication of this elegant writer, that he fulfilled all the duties that could be demanded from a historian in his own time, and could not be expected, to use a more just expression of Dalrymple, to be a philosopher before philosophy revived. That he was incapable of designed imposture, appears incontestibly proved by the testimonies of his contemporaries; Erasmus, in particular, styling him a man who "knew not what it was to make a lie."

The highest honours have been bestowed upon the learning and genius of Boece. The same distinguished friend says, that he was a man of an extraordinary and happy genius, and possessed of great eloquence. Ferrarius, who

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continued his history, styles him a man of singular learning and erudition, and one who had transmitted to posterity, in a most decent style, the noble and heroic achievements of our kings and predecessors, and he believes that there is no man on the like subject could have done it more significantly, or to better purpose. Paul Jovius, in his description of Britain, says, that Boece wrote the history of the Scots kings down to James III. "with equal eloquence and diligence." Of his description of Scotland, the very subject upon which we have animadverted, he says that he made it his business, being led on by curiosity and the love of his country, to leave nothing unobserved that was praiseworthy, either in our deserts or mountains, or in our lakes and seas. Joannes Gualterius says, that he was exquisitely versed in all the parts of philosophy and theology, and a most eminent historian. Bishop Lesly affirms that his style has the purity of Cæsar's, and that for the nervousness of his words and reasonings, he seems to have transferred to himself that of Livy. Bishop Spotswood says, that he was a great philosopher, and much commended by Erasmus for his eloquence, and though he has been by some English writers traduced for a fabulous and partial historian, they who take the trouble to peruse his history will perceive this to be spoken out of passion and malice, not from any just cause. Even Buchanan, though he charges him with having, in his description of Scotland, delivered some things not true, and with having drawn others into mistakes, as well as with being over credulous of those to whom he committed the inquiry after many of his matters, and in consequence published their opinions in preference to the truth, admits that he was not only notably learned in the liberal sciences above the condition of those times, but also of an exceeding courteous and humane inclination." Bartholomew Latomas, a well known annotator on Cicero, Terence, and Horace, honoured his memory by the following very beautiful epitaph:—

Quisquis ad tumulum obstupescis istum,
Tædas perpetua micare luce,
Lucem perpetuis adesse tædis;
Et quis sic statuit cupis doceri?
Fiat: hic recubat Boethius Hector
Ille qui patriæ suæ tenebras,
Atque illas patrias nitore linguæ
Invecto Latiæ fugavit ultra
Thulen et vitrei vigoris Arcton.
Persolvent Scotides proin Camœnæ,
Cum passim incipiant queantque haberi,
Romanæ meritas suo Parenti
Gratias, et tumulum volunt ad istum,
Tædas perpetua micare luce,
Lucem perpetuis adesse tædis.

To the merely English scholar, the following imitation will give some faint idea of this epitaph.

That in this tomb the never-fading light
Streams bright from blazing torches unconsumed.
Art thou amazed, and would'st thou read aright?
Hector Boethius, know, lies here inhumed.
He who his country's hills and vales illumed
With all the lustre of the Latian lore,
Chasing the shades of darkness deep, fore-doom'd,
Beyond the freezing pole and Thule's shore.

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For this adora'd, graceful in Roman dress,
Deserved thanks the Scotian Muses pay
To him who gave them life—decreeing thus
Upon his tomb unfading light shall play,
From torches burning bright, that ne'er shall know decay.

BOGUE, David, the Father, as he has been called, of the London Missionary Society, was born at Hallydown in the Parish of Coldingham, Berwickshire, on the 18th February, 1750. His father, who farmed his own estate, was descended of a respectable family which had been long settled in the county. His studies are said to have been carried on at Dunse under the superintendence of the distinguished Cruikshanks, not less remembered for the success of his tuition, than for the severity of his discipline. He afterwards removed to the university of Edinburgh, and studied moral philosophy under Adam Ferguson, the well-known author of the "History of Civil Society." After undergoing the usual course of study, and being licensed as a preacher in connection with the church of Scotland, from want, perhaps, of very flattering prospects in his native country, he removed to London (1771), and was for some time employed in the humble, but meritorious, capacity of usher in an academy at Edmonton, afterwards at Hampstead, and finally with the Rev. Mr Smith of Camberwell, whom he also assisted in the discharge of his ministerial duties both at Camberwell and at Silver Street, London, where he held a lectureship, the duties of which were at one time performed by the celebrated John Home. The zeal with which Mr Bogue discharged his duties in both of these capacities, contributed not less to the satisfaction of Mr Smith, than to the increase of his own popularity. At length, on the resignation of the minister of an independent chapel at Gosport, Mr Bogue was unanimously chosen to fill the vacant charge. The duties of his new situation were such as to require all the strength of judgment and uncompromising inflexibility, tempered with Christian meekness, which entered so largely into his character. The charge was one of great difficulty, and of peculiar importance. The members of the congregation were divided among themselves, and part of them had indeed withdrawn from the communion altogether, during the ministry of his predecessor, and formed themselves into a separate congregation, under a rival minister; but the exemplary conduct of Mr Bogue, and his zeal in the discharge of his duties, were such, that he had scarce occupied the pulpit twelve months when a re-union was effected. His fame, as a solid and substantial scholar, and an evangelical and indefatigable minister, now spread rapidly; and, early in March 1780, he entered into the design of becoming tutor to an establishment for directing the studies of young men destined for the Christian ministry in connexion with the Independent communion. For the ability with which this establishment was conducted, both now and when it afterwards became a similar one for those destined for missionary labours, his praise is indeed in all the churches. It was in this period, though occupied with the details of what most men would have felt as a full occupation of their time, that his ever-active mind turned its attention to the formation of a grand missionary scheme, which afterwards resulted in the London Missionary Society. The influence which the establishment of this institution was calculated to have on the public mind was grand and extensive, and the springing up of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the Religious Tract Society at short intervals, proves how much good was effected by the impetus thus given by one master-mind. In the establishment of both of these he likewise took an active part, contributing to the latter body the first of a series of publications which have been of great usefulness. In the year 1796, Mr Bogue called upon to show whether he, who had professed himself such a friend

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to missionary enterprise, was sufficiently imbued with the spirit of the gospel to enable him to forsake home and the comforts of civilized society, to devote himself to its sacred cause. The call alluded to, was made—and it was not made in vain—by Robert Haldane, Esq. of Airdrie, who, to furnish funds for this grand enterprise, sold his estate. Their design was, in conjunction with two other divines, who had recently left the established church of Scotland, and become Independent ministers, to preach the gospel to the natives of India, and likewise to form a seminary for the instruction of fellow-labourers in the same field. The names of the two other ministers who intended to join in this, perhaps the noblest enterprise of Christian philanthropy of which our age can boast, and which will ever reflect a lustre on the church with which it originated, were the Rev. Greville Ewing of Glasgow, and the Rev. W. Innes of Edinburgh. But the design was frustrated by the jealousy of the East India Company, who refused their sanction to the undertaking—a most fortunate circumstance, as it afterwards appeared, in as far as the missionaries were individually concerned; for a massacre of Europeans took place at the exact spot where it was intended the mission should have been established, and from which these Christian labourers could scarcely have hoped to escape. In 1815, Mr Bogue received the diploma of Doctor of Divinity, from the Senatus academicus of Yale college, North America, but such was the modesty of his character that he always bore this honour meekly and unwillingly.

His zeal for the cause of missions, to which he consecrated his life, continued to the last: he may truly be said to have died in the cause. He annually made tours in different parts of the country in behalf of the Missionary Society; and it was on a journey of this kind, in which he had been requested to assist at a meeting of the Sussex Auxiliary Society, that he took ill at the house of the Rev. Mr Goulty of Brighton, and, in spite of the best medical advice, departed this life in the morning of the 25th of October, 1825, after a short illness. The effect of this event upon the various churches and religious bodies with which Dr Bogue was connected, was great: no sooner did the intelligence reach London, than an extraordinary meeting of the Missionary Society was called, (October 26,) in which resolutions were passed expressive of its sense of the bereavement, and of the benefits which the deceased had conferred upon the society, by the active part he had taken in its projection and establishment, and subsequently "by his prayers, his writings, his example, his journeys, and, above all, by his direction and superintendence of the missionary seminary at Gosport."

The only works of any extent for which we are indebted to the pen of Dr Bogue, are, "An Essay on the Divine Authority of the New Testament." "Discourses on the Millennium," and a "History of Dissenters," which he undertook in conjunction with his pupil and friend Dr Bennet. The first of these he commenced at the request of the London Missionary Society, with the purpose of its being appended to an edition of the New Testament, which the society intended to circulate extensively in France. In consideration of the wide diffusion of infidelity in that country, he wisely directed his attention to the evidence required by this class of individuals—addressing them always in the language of kindness and persuasion, "convinced," as he characteristically remarks, "that the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God,"—and if usefulness be taken as a test of excellence, this work is so in a very high degree. No work of a religious character, if we except perhaps the Pilgrim's Progress, has been so popular and so widely circulated: it has been translated into the French, Italian, German, and Spanish languages, and has been widely circulated on the continent of Europe, where, under the divine blessing, it has been eminently useful. In France, in particular, and on the distant shores of America, its influence has been

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felt in the convincing and converting of many to the cause of Christ. It is, indeed, the most useful of all his works. The discourses on the millennium are entirely practical and devotional, and though they want the straining for effect, and the ingenious speculations with which some have clothed this subject, and gained for themselves an ephemeral popularity—for to all such trickery Dr Bogue had a thorough aversion—they will be found strikingly to display the enlarged views and sterling good sense of their venerable author.

BOSTON, Thomas, an eminent doctrinal writer, was born in the town of Dunse, March 7th, 1676, and received the rudiments of his education at his native town, first under a woman who kept a school in his father's house, and afterwards under Mr James Bullerwill, who taught what is called the grammar school. His father was a nonconformist, and, being imprisoned for his recusancy, retained the subject of this memoir in prison along with him, for the sake of company; which, notwithstanding his youth, seems to have made a lasting impression on the memory of young Boston. Whether the old man was brought at length to conform, we have not been able to learn; but during his early years, Mr Boston informs us that he was a regular attendant at church, "where he heard those of the episcopal way, that being then the national establishment." He was then, as he informs us, living without God in the world, and unconcerned about the state of his soul. Toward the end of summer, 1687, upon the coming out of king James's indulgence, his father carried him to a presbyterian meeting at Whitsome, where he heard the Rev. Mr Henry Erskine, who, before the Restoration, was minister of Cornhill, and father to the afterwards celebrated Messrs Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine. It was through the ministrations of this celebrated preacher, that Boston was first brought to think seriously about the state of his soul, being then going in the twelfth year of his age. After this he went back no more to the church till the curates were expelled, with whom, it was the general report of the country, no one remained after he became serious and in earnest about the salvation of his soul.—While at the grammar school, he formed an intimacy with two boys, Thomas Trotter and Patrick Gillies, who regularly met with him, at stated times, in a chamber of his father's house, for reading the Scriptures, religious conference, and social prayer, "whereby," he says, "they had some advantage, both in point of knowledge and tenderness." Mr Boston made a rapid progress at the school, and before he left it, which was in the harvest of 1689, had gone through all the books commonly taught in such seminaries, and had even begun the Greek, in which language he had read part of John's gospel, Luke, and the Acts of the apostles, though he was then but in his fourteenth year. After leaving the grammar school, two years elapsed before he proceeded farther in his studies, his father being doubtful if he was able to defray the expense. This led to several attempts at getting him into a gratuitous course at the university, none of which had any success. In the mean time he was partly employed in the composing and transcribing law papers by a Mr Cockburn, a public notary, from which he admits that he derived great benefit in after life. All his plans for a gratuitous academical course having failed, and his father having resolved to strain every nerve to carry him through the classes, he entered the university of Edinburgh as a student of Greek, December 1st, 1691, and studied for three successive sessions. He took out his laureation in the summer of 1694, when his whole expenses for fees and maintenance, were found to amount to one hundred and twenty eight pounds, fifteen shillings and eight pence, Scots money, less than eleven pounds sterling. That same summer he had the bursary of the presbytery of Dunse conferred on him as a student of theology, and in the month of January, 1695, entered the theological class in the college of Edinburgh, then taught by Mr George Campbell, "a

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man," says Boston, "of great learning, but excessively modest, undervaluing himself, and much valuing the tolerable performances of his students. During this session, the only one Boston appears to have regularly attended in divinity, he also for a time attended the Hebrew class, taught by Mr Alexander Rule, but remarks that he found no particular advantage from it. After returning from the university, Mr Boston had different applications made to him, and made various attempts to settle himself in a school, but with no good effect, and in the spring of 1696, he accepted of an invitation from Lady Mersington to superintend the education of her grand-child, Andrew Fletcher of Aberlady, a boy of nine years of age, whose father having died young his mother was married again to lieutenant-colonel Bruce of Kennet, in Clackmannanshire. This he was the rather induced to undertake, because the boy being in Edinburgh at the High School, it gave his preceptor the power of waiting upon the divinity lectures in the college. In less than a month, however, his pupil was taken home to Kennet, whither Boston accompanied him, and never had another opportunity of attending the college. In this situation Mr Boston continued for about a year, and during that period was pressed, once and again, by the united presbyteries of Stirling and Dumblane, to take license as a preacher, which, for reasons not very obvious, he declined. In the month of March, 1697, he returned to Dunse, and by his friend Mr Colden, minister of that place, was induced to enter upon trials for license before the united presbyteries of Dunse and Churnside, by which he was licensed as a probationer in the Scottish church, June 15th, 1697. In this character Mr Boston officiated, as opportunity offered, for two years and three months, partly within the bounds of his native presbytery, and partly within the bounds of the presbytery of Stirling. It was first proposed by his friends of the presbytery of Dunse to settle him in the parish of Foulden, the episcopal incumbent of which was recently dead, and, on the first day he officiated there, he gave a remarkably decisive proof of the firmness of his principles. The episcopal precentor was, under the protection of the great men of the parish, still continued. Boston had no freedom to employ him without suitable acknowledgements, which, not being clothed with the ministerial character, he could not take. On the morning, therefore, of the first Sabbath, he told this official, that he would conduct the psalmody himself, which accordingly he did, and there was nothing said about it. In the parish of Foulden, however, he could not be settled without the concurrence of Lord Ross, who had had a great hand in the enormous oppressions of the preceding period. A personal application on the part of the candidate was required by his lordship, and the presbytery were urgent with Boston to make it, but to this he could not bring his mind, so the project came to nothing. He was next proposed for the parish of Abbey; but this scheme also was frustrated through the deceitfulness of the principal heritor, who was a minister himself, and found means to secure the other heritors, through whose influence he was inducted by the presbytery to the living, though the parishioners were reclaiming, and charging the presbytery with the blood of their souls, if they went on with the settlement. "This," remarks Boston, "was the ungospel-like way of settling, that even then prevailed in the case of planting of churches, a way which I ever abhorred." After these disappointments, Mr Boston removed to his former situation in Clackmannanshire, where he remained for a twelvemonth, and in that time was proposed for Carnock, for Clackmannan, and for Dollar, all of which proposals were fruitless, and he returned to Dunse in the month of May, 1699.

Mr Boston had no sooner returned to his native place, than he was proposed by his friend Mr Colden for the parish of Simprin, where, after a great deal of hesitation on his part, and some little chicanery on the part of the presbytery

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and the people, he was ordained minister, September 21, 1699. In Simprin he continued conscientiously performing the duties of his calling till the year 1707, when, by synodical authority, he was transported to Ettrick. His introduction to his new charge took place on the 1st of May that year, the very day when the union between Scotland and England took effect; on which account he remarks that he had frequent occasion to remember it, the spirits of the people of Ettrick being imbittered on that event against the ministers of the church, which was an occasion of much heaviness to him, though he had never been for the union, but always against it from the very beginning. Simprin, now united to the parish of Swinton, both of which make a very small parish, contained only a few families, to whose improvement he was able greatly to contribute with comparatively little exertion, and the whole population seem to have been warmly attached to him. Ettrick, on the contrary, is a parish extending nearly ten miles in every direction, and required much labour to bring the people together in public, or to come in contact with them at their own house. Several of them, too, were society men or old dissenters, who had never joined the Revolution church from what they supposed to be radical defects in her constitution, as well as from much that had all along been offensive in her general administration. Of her constitution, perhaps, Mr Boston was not the warmest admirer, for he has told us in his memoirs, that, after having studied the subject of baptism, he had little fondness for national churches, strictly and properly so called, and of many parts of her administration he has again and again expressed decided disapprobation; but he had an undefined horror at separation, common to the greater part of the presbyterians of that and the preceding generation, which led him to regard almost every other ecclesiastical evil as trifling. Of course, he was shocked beyond measure with the conduct of a few of the families of Ettrick, who chose to adhere to Mr John Macmillan, or Mr John Hepburn, and has left on record accounts of some interviews with them, shortly after entering upon his charge, which, we have no hesitation in saying, bring not only his candour, but his veracity, very strongly into question. He was, however, a conscientious and diligent student, and had already made great progress in the knowledge of the doctrine of grace, which seems to have been but imperfectly understood by many very respectable men of that period. In this he was greatly forwarded by a little book, "The Marrow of Modern Divinity," which he found by accident in the house of one of his parishioners in Simprin, and which had been brought from England by a person who had been a soldier there in the time of the civil wars. Of this book he says, "I found it to come close to the points I was in quest of, and showed the consistency of those which I could not reconcile before, so that I rejoiced in it as a light which the Lord had seasonably struck up to me in my darkness." The works of Jerome Zanchrius, Luther on the Galations, and Beza's Confession of Faith, which he seems to have fallen in with at the same period, (that is, while he was yet in Simprin, about the year 1700,) also contributed greatly to the same end, and seems to have given a cast of singularity to his sermons, which was highly relished, and which rendered them singularly useful in promoting the grouth of faith and holiness among his hearers. In 1702, he took the oath of allegiance to queen Anne, the sense of which, he says, he endeavoured to keep on his heart, but never after took another oath, whether of a public or private nature. He was a member of the first general assembly held under that queen in the month of March, 1703, of which, as the person that was supposed to be most acceptable to the commissioner, the earl of Seafield, Mr George Meldrum was chosen moderator. The declaration of the intrinsic power of the church was the great object of the more faithful part of her ministers at this time; but they were told by the leading party,

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that they already possessed it, and that to make an act asserting what they possessed, was only to waste time. While this very assembly, however, was in the midst of a discussion upon an overture for preventing the marriage of Protestants with papists, the commissioner, rising from his seat, dissolved the assembly in her majesty's name. "This having come," Boston remarks, "like a clap of thunder, there were from all corners of the house protestations offered against it, and for asserting the intrinsic power of the church, with which," he adds, "I joined in: but the moderator, otherwise a most grave and composed man, being in as much confusion as a schoolboy when beaten, closed with prayer, and got away together with the clerk, so that nothing was then got marked. This was one of the heaviest days," he continues, "that ever I saw, beholding a vain man trampling under the privileges of Christ's house, and others crouching under the burden; and I could not but observe how Providence rebuked their shifting the act to assert as above said, and baffled their design in the choice of the moderator, never a moderator since the revolution to this day, so far as I can guess, having been so ill-treated by a commissioner." This reflection in his private journal, however, with the exception of an inefficient speech in his own synod, appears to be all that ever Boston undertook for the vindication of his church on this occasion. It does not indeed appear that his feelings on this subject were either strong or distinct, as we find him at Ettrick, in the month of January, 1708, declaring that he had no scruple in observing a fast appointed by the court, though he thought it a grievance that arose from the union, and the taking away of the privy council. On this occasion he acknowledges that many of his hearers broke off and left him, several of whom never returned, but he justifies himself from the temper of the people, who, had he yielded to them in this, would have dictated to him ever afterwards. This same year he was again a member of the General Assembly, where application was made by persons liable to have the abjuration oath imposed upon them for an act declaring the judgment of the Assembly regarding it. The Assembly refused to do any thing in this matter; which was regretted by Mr Boston, and he states it as a just retribution which brought it to ministers' own doors in 1712, only four years afterwards. On this occasion also he was in the Assembly, but whether as a spectator or a member he does not say. The lawfulness of the oath was in this Assembly keenly disputed, and Boston failed not to observe that the principles on which the answers to the objections were founded were of such latitude, that by them any oath might be made passable. They were indeed neither more nor less than the swearer imposing his own sense upon the words employed, which renders an oath altogether nugatory. In this manner did Principal Carstairs swear it before the justices in Edinburgh, to the great amusement of the Jacobites, and being clear for it, he, in the assembly, by his singular policy, smoothed down all asperities, and prevented those who had not the same capacity of conscience from coming to any thing like a rupture with their brethren, for which cause, says Boston, I did always thereafter honour him in my heart! Boston, nevertheless, abhorred the oath, and could not bring his mind to take it, but determined to keep his station in the church, till thrust out of it by the civil authorities. He made over to his eldest son a house in Dunse, which he had inherited from his father, and made an assignation of all his other goods to his servant, John Currie, so that, when the law took effect, he might elude the penalty of five hundred pounds sterling, that was attached to the neglect or the refusal to take the oath within a proscribed period. The memory of the late persecuting reigns was, however, still fresh, and no one appeared willing to incur the odium of imitating them; and, so far as we know, the penalty was never in one single instance

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exacted. The subject of this memoir, at least, was never brought to any real trouble respecting it.

Amid all Mr Boston's attention to public affairs he was still a most diligent minister; and instead of relaxing any thing of his labours since leaving Simprin, had greatly increased them by a habit he had fallen into of writing out his sermons in full, which in the earlier part of his ministry he scarcely ever did. This prepared the way for the publication of his sermons from the press, by which they have been made extensively useful. The first suggestion of this kind seems to have come from his friend Dr Trotter, to whom he paid a visit at Dunse, after assisting at the sacrament at Kelso, in the month of October, 1711; on which occasion the notes of the sermons he had preached on the state of man were left with the Doctor for his perusal, and they formed the foundation of that admirable work, the Fourfold State, which was prepared for publication before the summer of 1714, but was laid aside for fear of the Pretender coming in and rendering the sale impossible. In the month of August, the same year, he preached his action sermon from Hosea ii, 19; which met with so much acceptance, that he was requested for a copy with a view to publication. This he complied with, and in the course of the following winter, it was printed under the title of *the Everlasting Espousals*, and met with a very good reception, twelve hundred copies being sold in a short time, which paved the way for the publication of the Fourfold State, and was a means of urging him forward in the most important of all his public appearances, that in defence of the Marrow of Modern Divinity.

During the insurrection of 1715, he was troubled not a little with the want of military ardour among his parishioners of Ettrick, and, in the year 1717, with an attempt to have him altogether against his inclination transported to the parish of Closeburn, in Dumfries-shire. In the meantime, the Fourfold State had been again and again transcribed, and had been revised by Mr John Flint at Edinburgh; and, in 1718, his friends, Messrs Simson, Gabriel Wilson, and Henry Davidson, offered to advance money to defray the expense of its publication. The MS., however, was sent at last to Mr Robert Wightman, treasurer to the city of Edinburgh, who ultimately became the prefacer and the publisher of the book, with many of his own emendations, in consequence of which there was a necessity for cancelling a number of sheets and reprinting them, before the author could allow it to come to the public; nor was it thoroughly purged till it came to a second edition. The first came out in 1720.

The oath of abjuration, altered, in a small degree, at the petition of the greater part of the presbyterian nonjurors, was again imposed upon ministers in the year 1719, when the most of the ministers took it, to the great grief of many of their people, and to the additional persecution of the few who still wanted freedom to take it, of which number Mr Boston still continued to be one. Mr Boston was at this time employed by the synod to examine some overtures from the assembly regarding discipline; and having been, from his entrance on the ministry, dissatisfied with the manner of admitting to the Lord's table, and planting vacant churches, he set himself to have these matters rectified, by remarks upon, and enlargements of these customs. The synod did not, however, even so much as call for them, and, though they were by the presbytery laid before the commission, they were never taken into consideration. "And I apprehend," says Boston, "that the malady will be incurable till the present constitution be violently thrown down." Though the judicatures were thus careless of any improvement in discipline, they were not less so with regard to doctrine. The Assembly, in 1717, had dismissed professor Simson without censure, though he had gone far into the regions of error; and they condemned the whole presby-

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tery of Auchterarder, for denying that any pre-requisite qualification was necessary on the part of the sinner for coming to Christ; and this year, 1719, they, at the instigation of Principal Haddow of St Andrews, commenced a prosecution against Mr James Hog of Carnock, who had published an edition of the Marrow, Alexander Hamilton minister of Airth, James Brisbane minister at Stirling, and John Warden minister at Gargunnock, who had advocated its principles: which ended in an act of the General Assembly, forbidding all under their inspection in time coming to teach or preach any such doctrines. This act of Assembly was by Boston and his friends brought before the presbytery of Selkirk, who laid it before the synod of Merse and Teviotdale. Nothing to any purpose was done in the synod; but the publicity of the proceedings led to a correspondence with Mr James Hog, Mr Ralph Erskine, and others, by whom a representation and petition was given into the Assembly, 1721. This representation, however, was referred to the commission. When called before the commission, on Thursday, May 18, Mr Hog not being ready, and Mr Bonar of Torphichen gone home, Mr Boston had the honour of appearing first in that cause. On that day they were borne down by universal clamour. Next day, however, Principal Haddow was hardly pushed in argument by Mr Boston, and Logan of Culcross was completely silenced by Mr Williamson of Inveresk. The commission then gave out to the twelve representing brethren twelve queries, to which they were required to return answers against the month of March next. These answers, luminous and brief beyond any thing of the kind in our language, were begun by Mr Ebenezer Erskine, but greatly extended and improved by Mr Gabriel Wilson of Maxton. For presuming thus to question the acts of Assembly, the whole number were admonished and rebuked. Against this sentence they gave in a protestation, on which they took instruments in due form; but it was not allowed to be read. In the meantime, Mr Boston prepared an edition of the Marrow, illustrated by copious notes, which was published in 1726, and has ever since been well known to the religious public. The Assembly, ashamed, after all, of the act complained of, remodelled it in such a way as to abate somewhat its grossness, though, in the process, it lost little of its venom.

Following out his plan of illustrating gospel truth, Boston preached to his people a course of sermons on the covenants of works and of grace, which have long been in the hands of the public, and duly prized by judicious readers. His last appearance in the General Assembly was in the year 1729, in the case of Professor Simson, where he dissented from the sentence of the Assembly as being no just testimony of the church's indignation against the dishonour done by the said Mr Simson to our glorious Redeemer, the Great God and our Saviour, nor agreeable to the rule of God's word in such cases, nor a fit means to bring the said Mr Simson himself to repentance, of which, he added, he had yet given no evidence. This dissent, however, for the sake of the peace of the church, which some said it might endanger, he did not insist to have recorded on the Assembly's books. His last public work was a letter to the presbytery, which met at Selkirk, May 2, 1732, respecting the overture for settling vacant parishes; which breathes all the ardour and piety of his more early productions, and in which he deprecates the turning of that overture into a standing law, as what cannot fail to be the ruin of the church, and he prays that his letter may be recorded as a testimony against it. His health had been for a number of years declining; he was now greatly emaciated; and he died on the twentieth of May, 1732, in the fifty-sixth year of his age. Mr Boston was married shortly after his settlement at Simprin to Katharine Brown, a worthy pious woman, by whom he had ten children, four of whom only survived him. Thomas, the youngest, was ordained to the pastoral care of the parish of Oxnam; but removing thence to Jedburgh

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without a presentation from the patron, or the leave of his presbytery, became one of the fathers of the Relief church. Of the fortunes of his other children we have not been informed. Of the character of Boston there can be but one opinion. Ardent and pious, his whole life was devoted to the promoting of the glory of God and the best interests of his fellow-men. As an author, though he has been lowered by the publication of too many posthumous works, he must yet be admitted to stand in the first class. Even the most incorrect of his pieces betray the marks of a highly original and powerful mind, and his Fourfold State of Man cannot fail to be read and admired so long as the faith of the gospel continues to be taught and learned in the language in which it is written.[1]

BOSWELL, JAMES, the friend and biographer of Dr Samuel Johnson, was born at Edinburgh, October 29, 1740.

The Boswells, or Bosvilles, are supposed to have "come in with the Conqueror," and to have migrated to Scotland in the reign of David I. [1124-53]. The first man of the family, ascertained by genealogists, was Robert Bosville, who figured at the court of William the Lion, and became proprietor of some lands in Berwickshire. Roger de Boswell, sixth in descent from this person, lived in the reign of David II., and acquired lands in Fife. His descendant, Sir John Boswell, who flourished in the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century, acquired the lands of Balmuto in Fife, which was afterwards the principal title of the family. David Boswell of Balmuto, the eleventh representative of the family in succession, had, besides his heir, Alexander, who succeeded to the family estates, a son named Thomas, who became a servant of James IV., and was gifted by that monarch with the lands of Auchinleck, in Ayrshire, which were then in the crown by recognition.[2] The charters, one of which is dated in 1504, the other in 1505, bear that the lands were granted, "pro bono et gratuito servitio nobis per dilectum nostrum familiarem Thomam Boswell impensis,"—and "pro bono servitio, et pro singulari favore quem erga ipsum Thomam gerimus." The lands of Auchinleck had previously belonged to a family of the same name. Thomas Boswell, first of Auchinleck, married a daughter of Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudoun; and fell bravely fighting with his master at Flodden. The estimation and quality of his descendants may be exemplified by the dignity of the families into which they married in succession. The following are the fathers of their respective brides:—James Earl of Arran,

[1] Mr Boston's name is still held in great reverence by the people of the south of Scotland. The editor of this work well recollects two questions which, in his youth, used to pass among the boys at a town not far from Ettrick—"who was the best, and who the worst man that ever lived?"—their minds evidently reflecting only upon modern times. The answer to the first query gave, "Mr Boston, the minister of Ettrick:" the *worst* man, I regret to say, was the Earl of March, father of the last Duke of Queensberry, whose fame, it may be guessed, was purely local.

[2] Thomas Boswell is frequently mentioned in the Treasurer's books under the reign of James IV. On the 15th May, 1504, is an entry, "Item, to *Thomas Boswell*, he laid downe in Leith to the wife of the kingis innis, and to the boy rane the kingis hors, 18*s*." On the 2nd August, is the following: "Item, for twa hidis to be jakkis to *Thomas Boswell* and Watte Trumbull, agane the Raid of Eskdale, [an expedition against the border thieves,] 56*s*." On the 1st of January, 1504-5, "Item, to Thomas Boswell and Pate Sinclair to by thaim daunsing geir, 28*s*." Under December 31st, 1505, "Item, to 30 dosane of bellis for dansaris, delyverit to *Thomas Boswell*, 4*l*. 10*s*." Mr Pitcairne, from whose valuable "Collection of Criminal Trials" these extracts are made, seems to think that Thomas Boswell was a *minstrel* to King James: it is perhaps as probable that he was chief of the royal train of James. If such he really was, and if the biographer of Johnson had been aware of the fact, he would have perhaps considered it a reason for moderating a little his family pride—though we certainly must confess that there is not altogether wanting some analogy between the professions of Laird Thomas and Laird James.

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who married the Princess Mary, daughter of king James II., and was ancestor of the Hamilton family; Sir Robert Dalzell of Glenae, ancestor of the Earls of Carnwath [the same gentleman had for his second wife, a daughter of Lord Ochiltree;] Crawford of Kerse; Sir John Wallace of Cairnhill [2nd wife, a daughter of Sir Archibald Stewart of Blackhall]; Cunningham of Glengarnock; Hamilton of Dalzell; Earl of Kincardine; Colonel John Erskine, grandson of the lord treasurer Earl of Mar.

James Boswell was the eldest son of Alexander Boswell of Auchinleck, and of Euphemia Erskine.[1] The father was an advocate of good practice at the Scottish bar; who was, in 1754, elevated to the bench, taking, on that occasion, the designation of Lord Auchinleck. James Boswell, father of Lord Auchinleck, had also been a Scottish barrister, but, as we learn from Lord Woodhouselee, only of ordinary ability; his wife was a daughter of Alexander Bruce, second Earl of Kincardine, whose mother was Veronica, a daughter of the noble house of Sommelsdyk in Holland. For an account of Auchinleck, reference may be made to Johnson's Journey to the Western Islands.

The father of the biographer was a stern and rigid presbyterian, and a zealous supporter of the House of Hanover: young Boswell, on the contrary, from his earliest years, showed a disposition favourable to the high church and the family of Stuart. Dr Johnson used to tell the following story of his biographer's early years, which Boswell has confessed to be literally true. "In 1745, Boswell was a fine boy, wore a white cockade, and prayed for King James, till one of his uncles (General Cochran) gave him a shilling, on condition that he would pray for King George, which he accordingly did." "So you see," adds Boswell, who has himself preserved the anecdote, "*whigs of all ages are made in the same way.*"

He received the rudiments of his education at the school of Mr James Mundell, in Edinburgh, a teacher of considerable reputation, who gave elemental instruction to many distinguished men. He afterwards went through a complete academical course at the college of Edinburgh, where he formed an intimacy with Mr Temple of Allardeen in Northumberland, afterwards vicar of St Gluvies in Cornwall, and known in literary history for a well-written character of Gray, which has been adopted both by Dr Johnson and Mason in their memoirs of that poet. Mr Temple and several other young English gentlemen were fellow-students of Boswell, and it is supposed that his intercourse with them was the original and principal cause of that remarkable predilection for English society and manners, which characterized him through life.

Boswell very early began to show a taste for literary composition; in which he was encouraged by Lord Somerville, of whose flattering kindness he ever preserved a grateful recollection. His lively and sociable disposition, and passion for distinguishing himself as a young man of parts and vivacity, also led him, at a very early period of life, into the society of the actors in the theatre, with one of whom, Mr David Ross, he maintained a friendship till the death of that individual, in 1791, when Boswell attended as one of the mourners at his funeral. While still at college, Lady Houston, sister of Lord Cathcart, put under his care a comedy, entitled, "The Coquettes, or the Gallant in the Closet," with a strict injunction that its author should be concealed. Boswell exerted his interest among the players to get this piece brought out upon the stage, and made himself further conspicuous by writing the prologue, which was spoken by Mr Parsons. It was condemned at the third performance, and not unjustly, for it was found to be chiefly a bad translation of one of the worst plays

[1] He had two brothers; John, a lieutenant in the army; David, a merchant at Valencia in Spain.

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of Corneille. Such, however, was the fidelity of Boswell, that, though universally believed to be the author, and consequently laughed at in the most unmerciful manner, he never divulged the name of the fair writer, nor was it known till she made the discovery herself.

After studying civil law for some time at Edinburgh, Boswell went for one winter to pursue the same study at Glasgow, where he, at the same time, attended the lectures of Dr Adam Smith on moral philosophy and rhetoric. Here he continued, as at Edinburgh, to adopt his companions chiefly from the class of English students attending the university; one of whom, Mr Francis Gentleman, on publishing an altered edition of Southern's tragedy of Oroonoko, inscribed it to Boswell, in a poetical epistle, which concludes thus, in the person of his Muse:

> "But where, with honest pleasure, she can find,
> Sense, taste, religion, and good nature joined,
> There gladly will she raise her feeble voice,
> Nor fear to tell that BOSWELL is her choice."

Inspired, by reading and conversation, with an almost enthusiastic notion of London life, Boswell paid his first visit to that metropolis in 1760, and his ardent expectations were not disappointed. The society, amusements, and general style of life which he found in the modern Babylon, and to which he was introduced by the poet Derrick, were suited exactly to his taste and temper. He had already given some specimens of a talent for writing occasional essays and poetical *jeux d'esprit*, in periodical works, and he therefore appeared before the wits of the metropolis as entitled to some degree of attention. He was chiefly indebted, however, for their friendship, to Alexander, Earl of Eglintoune, one of the most amiable and accomplished noblemen of his time, who, being of the same county, and from his earliest years acquainted with the family of Auchinleck, insisted that young Boswell should have an apartment in his house, and introduced him, as Boswell himself used to say, "into the circle of the great, the gay, and the ingenious." Lord Eglintoune carried his young friend along with him to Newmarket; an adventure which seems to have made a strong impression on Boswell's imagination, as he celebrated it in a poem called "the Cub at Newmarket," which was published by Dodsley, in 1762, in 4to. The *cub* was himself, as appears from the following extract:

> "Lord Eglintoune, who loves, you know,
> A little dash of whim or so,
> By chance a curious *cub* had got,
> On Scotia's mountains newly caught."

In such terms was Boswell content to speak of himself in print, even at this early period of life, and, what adds to the absurdity of the whole affair, he could not rest till he had read "the Cub at Newmarket" in manuscript to Edward Duke of York, and obtained permission from his royal highness to dedicate it to him.

It was the wish of Lord Auchinleck that his son should apply himself to the law, a profession to which two generations of the family had now been devoted, and in which Lord Auchinleck thought that his own eminent situation would be of advantage to the success of a third. Boswell himself, though, in obedience to his father's desire, he had studied civil law at the colleges of Edinburgh and Glasgow, was exceedingly unwilling to consign himself to the studious life of a barrister at Edinburgh, where at this time the general tone of society was the very reverse of his own temperament, being (if we are to believe Provost Creech) characterised by a degree of puritanical reserve and decorum, not much removed from the rigid observances of the preceding century, while only a very small circle of men of wit and fashion—an oasis in the dreary waste—carried on a

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clandestine existence, under the ban, as it were, of the rest of the world. Boswell had already cast his eyes upon the situation of an officer in the foot-guards, as calculated to afford him that indulgence in London society, which he so much desired, while it was, at the same time, not incompatible with his prospects as a Scottish country gentleman.

It was with some difficulty that his father prevailed upon him to return to Scotland, and consult about the choice of a profession. The old judge even took the trouble to put his son through a regular course of instruction in the law, in the hope of inspiring him with an attachment to it. But though he was brought the length of standing his trials as a civilian before a committee of the Faculty, he could not be prevailed upon to enter heartily into his father's views.

During part of the years 1761 and 1762, while confined to Edinburgh, and to this partial and unwilling study of the law, he contrived to alleviate the irksomeness of his situation by cultivating the society of the illustrious men who now cast a kind glory over Scotland and Scotsmen. Kames, Blair, Robertson, Hume, and Dalrymple, though greatly his seniors, were pleased to honour him with their friendship; more, perhaps, on account of his worthy and dignified parent, than on his own. He also amused himself at this time in contributing *jeux d'esprit* to "a Collection of Original Poems by Scottish Gentlemen," of which two volumes were successively published by Alexander Donaldson, an enterprising bookseller; being an imitation of the "Miscellanies" of Dodsley. Several of the pieces in this collection were noticed very favourably in the Critical Review; and the whole is now valuable as a record of Scottish manners at a particular era. Boswell's pieces were distinguished only by his initials. In one, he characterises himself, saying, as to *la belle passion*,

> Boswell does women adore,
> And never once means to deceive;
> He's in love with at least half a score,
> If they're serious, he laughs in his sleeve.

With regard to a more prominent trait of his character, he adds—

> —— Boswell is modest enough,
> Himself not *quite* Phœbus he thinks,
> * * * *
> He has all the bright fancy of youth,
> With the judgment of forty and five;
> In short to declare the plain truth,
> There is no better fellow alive!

At this time, he cultivated a particular intimacy with the Hon. Andrew Erskine, a younger brother of the musical Earl of Kelly, and who might be said to possess wit by inheritance, his father being remarkable for this property, (though not for good sense,) while his mother was the daughter of Dr Pitcairne. Erskine and Boswell were, in frivolity, *Arcades ambo*; or rather there seemed to be a competition betwixt them, which should exhibit the greater share of that quality. A correspondence, in which this contest seems to be carried on, was published in 1763, and, as there was no attempt to conceal names, the two letter-writers must have been regarded, in that dull and decorous age, as little better than fools—fools for writing in such a strain at all, but doubly fools for laying their folly in such an unperishable shape before the world.

At the end of the year, 1762, Boswell, still retaining his wish to enter the guards, repaired once more to London, to endeavour to obtain a commission. For this purpose he carried recommendations to Charles Duke of Queensberry—the amiable patron of Gay—who, he believed, was able to obtain for him what

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he wished. Owing, however, (as is understood,) to the backwardness of Lord Auchinleck to enforce his claims, his patrons put him off from time to time, till he was again obliged to return to Scotland. At length, in the spring of 1763, a compromise was made between the father and his son, the latter agreeing to relinquish his favourite project, and resume the study of the civil law for one winter at Utrecht, with the view of ultimately entering the legal profession, on the condition that, after the completion of his studies, he should be permitted to make what was then called "the grand tour."

Boswell set out for this purpose early, in 1763; and, according to the recollection of an ancient inhabitant of Glasgow, his appearance, in riding through that city, on his way from Auchinleck, was as follows:—"A cocked hat, a brown wig, brown coat, made in the court fashion, red vest, corduroy small clothes, and long military-looking boots. He was on horseback, with his servant at a most aristocratic distance behind, and presented a fine specimen of the Scottish country gentleman of that day."—*Edin. Lit. Jour.* ii, 327.

In Boswell's previous visits to London, he had never had the good fortune to make the acquaintance of Dr Samuel Johnson. He had now that pleasure. On the 16th of May, as he himself takes care to inform us, while sitting in the backshop of Thomas Davies, the bookseller, No. 8, Russell-street, Covent Garden, Johnson came in, and Boswell was introduced, by Davies, as a young gentleman "from Scotland." Owing to the antipathy of the lexicographer to that country, his conversation with Boswell was not at first of so cordial a description as at all to predicate the remarkable friendship they afterwards formed. Boswell, however, by the vivacity of his conversation, soon beguiled the doctor of his prejudices; and their intimacy was confirmed by a visit which he soon after paid to Johnson at his apartments in the Temple. During the few months which Boswell spent in town before setting out for Utrecht, he applied himself assiduously to cultivate this friendship, taking apartments in the Temple in order that he might be the oftener in the company of the great man. Even at this early period, he began that practice of noting down the conversation of Johnson, which eventually enabled him to compose such a splendid monument to their common memory.

He set out for Utrecht, in August 1763, and, after studying for the winter under the celebrated civilian Trotz, proceeded, according to the compact with his father, upon the tour of Europe. In company with the Earl Marischal, whose acquaintance he had formed, he travelled through Switzerland and Germany, visiting Voltaire at Ferney, and Rousseau in the wilds of Neufchatel; men whom his regard for the principles of religion might have taught him to avoid, if his itch for the acquaintance of noted characters—one of the most remarkable features of his character—had not forced him into their presence. He afterwards crossed the Alps, and spent some time in visiting the principal cities in Italy. Here he formed an acquaintance with Lord Mountstuart, the eldest son of the Earl of Bute; to whom he afterwards dedicated his law thesis on being admitted to the bar.

At this time, the inhabitants of the small island of Corsica were engaged in their famous struggle for liberty, against the Genoese, and Pasquale de Paoli, their heroic leader, was, for the time, one of the most noted men in Europe. Boswell, struck by an irrepressible curiosity regarding this person, sailed to Corsica, in autumn 1765, and introduced himself to Paoli at his palace, by means of a letter from Rousseau. He was received with much distinction and kindness, and noted down a good deal of the very striking conversation of the Corsican chief. After a residence of some weeks in the island, during which he made himself acquainted with all its natural and moral features, he returned through

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France, and arrived in London, February 1766, his journey being hastened by intelligence of the death of his mother. Dr Johnson received him, as he passed through London, with renewed kindness and friendship.

Boswell now returned to Scotland, and, agreeably to the treaty formed with Lord Auchinleck, entered (July 26, 1766) as a member of the faculty of advocates. His temper, however, was still too volatile for the studious pursuit of the law, and he did not make that progress in his profession, which might have been expected from the numerous advantages with which he commenced. The Douglas cause was at this time pending, and Boswell, who was a warm partizan of the young claimant, published (November 1767) a pamphlet, entitled, "The Essence of the Douglas Cause," in answer to one, entitled "Considerations on the Douglas Cause," in which a strenuous effort had been made to prove the claimant an impostor. It is said that Mr Boswell's exertions on this occasion were of material service in exciting a popular prepossession in favour of the doubtful heir. This, however, was the most remarkable appearance made by Mr Boswell, as a lawyer, if it can be called so.

His Corsican tour, and the friendship of Paoli, had made a deep impression on Boswell's mind. He conceived that he had seen and made himself acquainted with what had been seen and known by few; and he was perpetually talking of the islanders and their chief. This mania, which was rather, perhaps, to be attributed to his vain desire of showing himself off in connection with a subject of popular talk, than his appreciation of the noble character of the Corsican struggle, at length obtained him the nick-name of *Paoli*, or *Paoli Boswell*. Resolving that the world at large should participate in what he knew of Corsica, he published, in the spring of 1768, his account of that island, which was printed in 8vo by the celebrated brothers, Foulis, at Glasgow, and was well received. The sketches of the island and its inhabitants, are lively and amusing; and his memoir of Paoli, which follows the account of the island, is a spirited narrative of patriotic deeds and sufferings. The work was translated into the German, Dutch, French, and Italian languages, and every where infected its readers with its own enthusiastic feeling in behalf of the oppressed islanders. Dr Johnson thus expressed himself regarding it:—"Your journal is curious and delightful; I know not whether I could name any narrative by which curiosity is better excited or better gratified." On the other hand, Johnson joined the rest of the world in thinking that the author indulged too much personally in his enthusiasm upon the subject, and advised him, in a letter, dated March 23, 1768, to "empty his head of Corsica." Boswell was so vain of his book, as to pay a visit to London, in the spring court vacation, chiefly for the purpose of seeking Dr Johnson's approbation more at large.

In the following winter, a patent was obtained, for the first time, by Ross, the manager of the Edinburgh theatre; but, nevertheless, a violent opposition was still maintained against this public amusement by the more rigid portion of the citizens. Ross, being anxious to appease his enemies, solicited Boswell to write a prologue for the opening of the house, which request was readily complied with. The verses were, as Lord Mansfield characterised them, witty and conciliating; and their effect, being aided by friends properly placed in different parts of the house, was instantaneous and most triumphant; the tide of opposition was turned, the loudest plaudits were given, and Ross at once entered upon a very prosperous career.

In 1769, Boswell paid a visit to Ireland, where he spent six or seven weeks, chiefly at Dublin, and enjoyed the society of Lord Charlemont, Dr Leland, Mr Flood, Dr Macbride, and other eminent persons of that kingdom, not forgetting the celebrated George Falconer, the friend of Swift and Chesterfield. Viscount,

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afterwards Marquis Townshend, was then Lord Lieutenant, and the congeniality of their dispositions united them in the closest friendship. He enjoyed a great advantage in the union of one of his female cousins to Mr Sibthorpe, of the county of Down, a gentleman of high influence, who was the means of introducing him into much good society. Another female cousin, Miss Margaret Montgomery, daughter of Mr Montgomery of Lainshaw, accompanied him on the expedition; and not only added to his satisfaction by her own delightful company, but caused him to be received with much kindness by her numerous and respectable relations. This jaunt was the means of converting Boswell from a resolution, which he appears to have formed, to live a single life. He experienced so much pleasure from the conversation of Miss Montgomery, that he was tempted to seek her society for life in a matrimonial engagement. He had resolved, he said, never to marry—had always protested, at least, that a large fortune would be indispensable. He was now, however, impressed with so high an opinion of her particular merit, that he would wave that consideration altogether, provided she would wave his faults also, and accept him for better for worse. Miss Montgomery, who was really an eligible match, being related to the noble family of Eglintoune, while her father laid claim to the dormant peerage of Lyle, acceded to his proposal with corresponding frankness; and it was determined that they should be married at the end of the year, after he should have paid one parting visit to London.

Before this visit was paid, Mr Boswell was gratified in the highest degree, by the arrival of General Paoli, who, having been forced to abandon his native island, in consequence of the French invasion, had sought that refuge on the shores of Britain, which has never yet been refused to the unfortunate of any country. In autumn, 1769, General Paoli visited Scotland and Boswell; an account of his progress through the country, with Boswell in his train, is given in the Scots Magazine of the time. Both on this occasion, and on his subsequent visit to London, Boswell attended the exiled patriot with an obsequious fidelity, arising no doubt as much from his desire of appearing in the company of a noted character, as from gratitude for former favours of a similar kind. Among other persons to whom he introduced his Corsican friend, was Dr Johnson; an entirely opposite being, in destiny and character, but who, nevertheless, was at some pains to converse with the unfortunate stranger—Boswell acting as interpreter. It would be curious to know in what light Paoli, who was a high-minded man, beheld his eccentric *cicerone*.

During the time of his visit to London, September, 1769, the jubilee took place at Stratford, to celebrate the birth of Shakspeare. As nearly all the literary, and many of the fashionable persons of the day were collected at this solemnity, Boswell entered into it with a great deal of spirit, and played, it is said, many fantastic tricks, more suited to a carnival scene on the continent, than to a sober festival in England. To pursue a contemporary account, "One of the most remarkable masks upon this occasion was James Boswell, Esq. in the dress of an armed Corsican chief. He entered the amphitheatre about 12 o'clock. He wore a short, dark-coloured coat of coarse cloth, scarlet waistcoat and breeches, and black spatterdashes; his cap or bonnet was of black cloth; on the front of it was embroidered, in gold letters, *Viva la liberta;* and on one side of it was a handsome blue feather and cockade, so that it had an elegant, as well as a warlike appearance. On the breast of his coat was sewed a Moor's head, the crest of Corsica, surrounded with branches of laurel. He had also a cartridge-pouch, into which was stuck a stiletto, and on his left side a pistol was hung upon the belt of his cartridge-pouch. He had a fusee slung across his shoulder, *wore no powder in his hair!* but had it plaited at full

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length, with a knot of blue ribbons at the end of it. He had, by way of staff, a very curious vine all of one piece, with a bird finely carved upon it, emblematical of the sweet bard of Avon. He wore no mask; saying, that it was not proper for a gallant Corsican. So soon as he came into the room, he drew universal attention. The novelty of the Corsican dress, its becoming appearance, and the character of that brave nation, concurred to distinguish the armed Corsican chief. He was first accosted by Mrs Garrick, with whom he had a good deal of conversation. Mr Boswell danced both a minuet and a country dance with a very pretty Irish lady, Mrs Sheldon, wife to captain Sheldon of the 38th regiment of foot, who was dressed in a genteel domino, and before she danced, threw off her mask." *London Magazine, September*, 1769, where there is a portrait of the modern Xenophon in this strange guise.[1]

On the 25th of November, he was married, at Lainshaw, in Ayrshire, to Miss Montgomery,[2] and what is rather a remarkable circumstance, his father was married on the same day, at Edinburgh, to a second wife. With admirable sense, affection, and generosity of heart, the wife of James Boswell possessed no common share of wit and pleasantry. One of her bon mots is recorded by her husband. Thinking that Johnson had too much influence over him, she said, with some warmth, "I have seen many a bear led by a man, but I never before saw a man led by a bear." Once, when Boswell was mounted upon a horse which he had brought pretty low by *riding the country* for an election, and was boasting that he was a horse of *blood*, "I hope so," said she, drily, "for I am sure he has no *flesh*." Her good-humoured husband kept a collection of her good things, under the title of *Uxoriana*. Perhaps her best property was her discretion as a housewife and a mother; a quality much needed on *her* side of the house, since it was so deficient on that of her husband. In a letter from Auchinleck, 23d August, 1773, Dr Johnson thus speaks of her: "Mrs Boswell has the mien and manner of a gentlewoman, and such a person and manner as could not in any place be either admired or condemned. She is in a proper degree inferior to

[1] Mr Croker has mentioned, in his edition of the life of Johnson, that on this occasion he had the words "CORSICA BOSWELL" in a scroll of gilt letters round his hat. But perhaps the above account somewhat invalidates the statement. Boswell, however, is known to have been ambitious of some such prenomen as CORSICA, from an idea he entertained, that every man, aiming at distinction, should be known by a soubriquet, derived from the thing or place by which he had gained celebrity. He seems to have adopted this fancy from the Roman fashion, of which *Scipio Africanus* is an instance. Thus, he encouraged a proposal for calling Johnson by the epithet DICTIONARY JOHNSON.

[2] It has been already mentioned, that Boswell's courtship took place, or at least commenced in Ireland. I cannot help thinking that the following composition, published in his name by his son, must have had a reference to this transaction. It is stated by Sir Alexander to have been written to an Irish air:—

O Larghan Clanbrassil, how sweet is thy sound!
To my tender remembrance as Love's sacred ground;
For there Marg'ret Caroline first charm'd my sight,
And fill'd my young heart with a flutt'ring delight.

When I thought her my own, ah! too short seem'd the day
For a jaunt to Downpatrick, or a trip on the sea;
To express what I felt then, all language were vain,
'Twas in truth what the poets have *studied* to feign.

But, too late, I found even she could deceive,
And nothing was left but to sigh, weep, and rave;
Distracted, I flew from my dear native shore,
Resolved to see Larghan Clanbrassil no more.

Yet still in some moments enchanted I find
A ray of her fondness beams soft on my mind;
While thus in bless'd fancy my angel I see,
All the world is a Larghan Clanbrassil to me.

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her husband; she cannot rival him, nor can he ever be ashamed of her." She died in June, 1789, leaving two sons, Alexander and James, and three daughters, Veronica, Euphemia, and Elizabeth.

For two or three years after his marriage, Boswell appears to have lived a quiet professional life at Edinburgh, paying only short occasional visits to London. In autumn, 1773, Dr Johnson gratified him by coming to Edinburgh, and proceeding in his company on a tour through the north of Scotland and the Western Islands. On this occasion, Boswell kept a journal, as usual, of every remarkable part of Dr Johnson's conversation. The journey being made rather late in the season, the two travellers encountered some hardships, and a few dangers; but they were highly pleased with what they saw, and the reception they every where met with; Boswell, for his own part, declaring that he would not have missed the acquisition of so many new and delightful ideas as he had gained by this means, for five hundred pounds. Dr Johnson published an account of their trip, and the observations he made during its progress, under the title of a "Journey to the Western Islands;" and Boswell, after the death of his friend, (1785), gave to the world the journal he had kept, as a "Tour to the Hebrides," 1 volume 8vo. The latter is perhaps one of the most entertaining works in the language, though only rendered so, we must acknowledge, at the expense of the author's dignity. It ran through three editions during the first twelvemonth, and has since been occasionally reprinted.

For many years after the journey to the Hebrides, Boswell only enjoyed such snatches of Johnson's company and conversation, as he could obtain by occasional visits to London, during the vacations of the Court of Session. Of these interviews, however, he has preserved such ample and interesting records, as must make us regret that he did not live entirely in London. It appears that, during the whole period of his acquaintance with Johnson, he paid only a dozen visits to London, and spent with him only a hundred and eighty days in all; which, added to the time which they spent in their northern journey between August 18th and November 23d, 1773, makes the whole period during which the biographer enjoyed any intercourse with his subject, only two hundred and seventy-six days, or one hundredth part of Johnson's life.

The strangely vain and eccentric conduct of Boswell had, long ere this period, rendered him almost as notable a character as any of those whom he was so anxious to see. His social and good-humoured character gained him universal friendship; but this friendship was never attended with perfect respect. Men of inferior qualifications despised the want of natural dignity, which made him go about in attendance upon every great man, and from no higher object in life than that of being the commemorator of their conversations. It is lamentable to state that, among those who despised him, was his own father; and even other relations, from whom respect might have been more imperatively required, were fretted by his odd habits. "Old Lord Auchinleck," says Sir Walter Scott, "was an able lawyer, a good scholar, after the manner of Scotland, and highly valued his own advantages as a man of good estate and ancient family, and, moreover, he was a strict presbyterian and whig of the old Scottish cast." To this character, his son presented a perfect contrast—a light-headed lawyer, an aristocrat only in theory, an episcopalian, and a tory. But it was chiefly with the unsettled and undignified conduct of his son, that the old gentleman found fault. "There's nae hope for Jamie, man," he said to a friend about the time of the journey to the Hebrides; "Jamie's gane clean gyte: What do ye think, man? he's aff wi' the land-louping scoundrel of a Corsican; and whase tail do ye think he has pinned himself to now, man?" Here the old judge summoned up a sneer of most sovereign contempt. "A *dominie*, man, (meaning Johnson)

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an auld dominie, that keepit a schule, and ca'd it an academy!" By the death of Lord Auchinleck, in 1782, Boswell was at length freed from what he had always felt to be a most painful restraint, and at the same time became possessed of his paternal estate

Boswell's mode of life, his social indulgences, and his frequent desertion of business for the sake of London literary society, tended greatly to embarrass his circumstances; and he was induced to try if they could be repaired by exertions in the world of politics. In 1784, when the people were in a state of most alarming excitement in consequence of Mr Fox's India Bill, and the elevation of Mr Pitt, he wrote a pamphlet, entitled, "A Letter to the People of Scotland, on the Present State of the Nation." Of this work Dr Johnson has thus pronounced his approbation:—"I am very much of your opinion, and, like you, feel great indignation at the style in which the King is every day treated. Your paper contains very considerable knowledge of history and of the constitution, very properly produced and applied." The author endeavoured, by means of this pamphlet, to obtain the favourable notice of Mr Pitt; but we are informed that, though the youthful minister honoured the work with his approbation, both on this occasion, and on several others, his efforts to procure an introduction to political life were attended with a mortifying want of success. He was, nevertheless, induced to appear once more as a pamphleteer in 1785, when he published a second "Letter to the People of Scotland," though upon an humbler theme, namely, "on the alarming attempt to infringe the articles of Union, and introducing a most pernicious innovation, by diminishing the numbers of the Lords of Session." This proposal had been brought forward in the House of Commons; the salaries of the judges were to be raised, and, that the expense might not fall upon the country, their number was to be reduced to ten. Boswell (to use a modern phrase) immediately commenced a vehement *agitation* in Scotland, to oppose the bill; and among other measures which he took for exciting public attention, published this letter. His chief argument was, that the number of the judges was established immutably by the act of union; an act which entered into the very constitution of parliament itself, and how then could parliament touch it? He also showed that the number of fifteen, which Buchanan had pronounced too small to form a free or liberal institution, was little enough to avoid the character of a tyrannical junto. He further argued the case in the following absurd, but characteristic terms:—"Is a court of ten the same with a court of fifteen? Is a two-legged animal the same with a four-legged animal? I know nobody who will gravely defend that proposition, except one grotesque philosopher, whom ludicrous fable represents as going about avowing his hunger, and wagging his tail, fain to become cannibal, and eat his deceased brethren." The agitation prevailed, and the court remained as it had been, for another generation.

Boswell, whose practice at the Scottish bar was never very great, had long wished to remove to the English, in order that he might live entirely in London. His father's reluctance, however, had hitherto prevented him. Now that the old gentleman was dead, he found it possible to follow his inclination, and accordingly he began, from time to time, to keep his terms at the Inner Temple. His resolution was thus sanctioned by a letter to him from Dr Johnson, which exhibits at once a cautious and encouraging view of the mode of life he proposed to enter upon:—

"I remember, and entreat you to remember, that *virtus est vitium fugere;* the first approach to riches is security from poverty. The condition upon which you have my consent to settle in London, is that your expense never exceeds your annual income. Fixing this basis of security, you cannot be hurt, and

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you may be very much advanced. The loss of your Scottish business, which is all you can lose, is not to be reckoned any equivalent to the hopes and possibilities that open here upon you. If you succeed, the question of prudence is at an end; any body will think that done right which ends happily; and though your expectations, of which I would not advise you to talk too much, should not be totally answered, you can hardly fail to get friends who will do for you all that your present situation allows you to hope; and if, after a few years, you should return to Scotland, you will return with a mind supplied by various conversations and many opportunities of inquiry, with much knowledge and materials for reflection and instruction."

At Hilary Term, 1786, he was called to the English bar, and in the ensuing winter removed his family to London. His first professional effort is said to have been of a somewhat ominous character. A few of the idlers of Westminster Hall, conspiring to quiz poor *Bozzy*, as he was familiarly called, made up an imaginary case, full of all kinds of absurdities, which they caused to be presented to him for his opinion. He, taking all for real, returned a *bona-fide* note of judgment, which, while it almost killed his friends with laughter, covered himself with ineffaceable ridicule.

It is to be regretted that this decisive step in life was not adopted by Boswell at an earlier period, as thereby he might have rendered his Life of Johnson still more valuable than it is. Johnson having died upwards of a year before his removal, it was a step of little importance in a literary point of view; nor did it turn out much better in respect of professional profit.

So early as 1781, when Mr Burke was in power, that great man had endeavoured to procure an extension of the government patronage towards Boswell. "We must do something for you," he said, "for our own sakes," and recommended him to General Conway for a vacant place, by a letter, in which his character was drawn in glowing colours. The place was not obtained; but Boswell declared that he valued the letter more. He was now enabled, by the interest of Lord Lowther, to obtain the situation of Recorder of Carlisle; a circumstance which produced the following

WORDS TO BE SET FOR A RECORDER.

Boswell once flamed with patriot zeal,
His bow was never bent;
Now he no public wrongs can feel
Till LOWTHER nods assent.

To seize the throne while faction tries
And would the Prince command,
The Tory Boswell coolly cries,
My King's in *Westmoreland*.

The latter verse is an allusion to the famous Regency question; while, in the former, Boswell is reminded of his zealous exertions in behalf of monarchy in the pamphlet on the India Bill. It happening soon after that Dr John Douglas, a fellow-countryman of Boswell's, was made Bishop of Carlisle, a new and happier epigram appeared:—

Of old, ere wise concord united this isle,
Our neighbours of Scotland were foes at Carlisle;
But now what a change have we here on the Border,
When Douglas is Bishop and Boswell Recorder!

Finding this recordership, at so great a distance from London, attended with many inconveniences, Boswell, after holding it for about two years, resigned it.

It was well known at this time that he was very anxious to get into parliament;

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and many wondered that so sound a tory should not have obtained a seat at the hands of some great parliamentary proprietor. Perhaps this wonder may be explained by a passage in his last Letter to the People of Scotland. "Though ambitious," he says, "I am uncorrupted; and I envy not high situations which are attained by the want of public virtue in men born without it, or by the prostitution of public virtue in men born with it. Though power, and wealth, and magnificence, may at first dazzle, and are, I think, most desirable, no wise man will, upon sober reflection, envy a situation which he feels he could not enjoy. My friend—my 'Mæcenas atavis edite regibus'—Lord Mountstuart, flattered me once very highly without intending it. 'I would do any thing for you,' he said, 'but bring you into parliament, for I could not be sure but you would oppose me in something the very next day.' His lordship judged well. Though I should consider, with much attention, the opinion of such a friend before taking my resolution, most certainly I should oppose him in any measure which I was satisfied ought to be opposed. I cannot exist with pleasure, if I have not an honest independence of mind and of conduct; for, though no man loves good eating and drinking better than I do, I prefer the broiled blade-bone of mutton and humble port of 'downright Shippen,' to all the luxury of all the statesmen who play the political game all through."

He offered himself, however, as a candidate for Ayrshire, at the general election of 1790; but was defeated by the interest of the minister, which was exerted for a more pliant partizan. On this and all other proper occasions, he made no scruple to avow himself a Tory and a royalist; saying, however, in the words of his pamphlet just quoted, "I can drink, I can laugh, I can converse, in perfect good humour, with Whigs, with Republicans, with Dissenters, with Moravians, with Jews—they can do me no harm—my mind is made up—my principles are fixed—but I would vote with Tories, and pray with a Dean and Chapter."

If his success at the bar and in the political world was not very splendid, he consoled himself, so far as his own fancy was to be consoled, by the grateful task of preparing for the press his *magnum opus*—the Life of Dr Johnson. This work appeared in 1791, in two volumes, quarto, and was received with an avidity suitable to its entertaining and valuable character. Besides a most minute narrative of the literary and domestic life of Johnson, it contained notes of all the remarkable expressions which the sage had ever uttered in Mr Boswell's presence, besides some similar records from other hands, and an immense store of original letters. As decidedly the most faithful biographical portraiture in existence, and referring to one of the most illustrious names in literature, it is unquestionably the first book of its class; and not only so, but there is no other biographical work at all approaching to it in merit. While this is the praise deserved by the work, it happens, rather uncommonly, that no similar degree of approbation can be extended to the writer. Though a *great work*, it is only so by accident, or rather through the persevering assiduity of the author in a course which no man fit to produce a designedly great work could have submitted to. It is only great, by a multiplication and agglomeration of little efforts. The preparation of a second edition of the life of Dr Johnson, was the last literary performance of Boswell, who died, May 19, 1795, at his house in Great Poland Street, London, in the 55th year of his age; having been previously ill for five weeks of a disorder which had commenced as an intermitting fever. He was buried at the family seat of Auchinleck.

The character of Boswell is so amply shadowed forth by the foregoing account of his life, that little more need be said about it. That he was a good-natured social man, possessed of considerable powers of imagination and humour, and

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well acquainted with literature and the world of common life, is universally acknowledged. He has been, at the same time, subjected to just ridicule for his total want of that natural dignity by which men of the world secure and maintain the respect of their fellow-creatures in the daily business of life. He wanted this to such a degree, that even those relations whose respect was most necessary, according to the laws of nature, could scarcely extend it; and from the same cause, his intellectual exertions, instead of shedding a lustre upon his name, have proved rather a kind of blot in his pedigree. His unmanly obsequiousness to great men—even though some of these were great only by the respect due to talent—his simpleton drollery—his degrading employment as a chronicler of private conversations—his mean tastes, among which was the disgusting one of a fondness for seeing executions—and the half folly, half vanity, with which he could tell the most delicate things, personal to himself and his family, in print—have altogether conspired to give him rather notoriety than true fame, and, though perhaps leaving him affection, deprive him entirely of respect. It was a remarkable point in the character of such a man, that, with powers of entertainment almost equal to Shakspeare's description of Yorick, he was subject to grievous fits of melancholy in private. One of his works, not noticed in the preceding narrative, was a series of papers under the title of "The Hypochondriac," which appeared in the London Magazine for 1782, and were intended to embody the varied feelings of a man subject to that distemper.

Perhaps, it is only justice to Boswell, after expressing the severe character which the world has generally pronounced upon him,[1] to give his own description and estimate of himself, from his Tour to the Hebrides. "Think of a gentleman of ancient blood, the pride of which was his predominant passion. He was then in his 33d year, and had been about four years happily married: his inclination was to be a soldier; but his father, a respectable judge, had pressed him into the profession of the law. He had travelled a good deal, and seen many varieties of human life. He had thought more than any body supposed, and had a pretty good stock of general learning and knowledge. He had all Dr Johnson's principles, with some degree of relaxation. He had rather too little than too much prudence; and, his imagination being lively, he often said things, of which the effect was very different from the intention. He resembled sometimes 'the best-natured man with the worst-natured muse.' He cannot deny himself the vanity of finishing with the encomium of Dr Johnson, whose friendly partiality to the companion of his tour, represents him as one 'whose acuteness would help any inquiry, and whose gaiety of conversation, and civility of manners, are sufficient to counteract the inconveniencies of travel, in countries less hospitable than we have passed.'"

BOSWELL, Alexander and James, sons of the preceding. It has been remarked, as creditable to the memory of James VI., that he educated two sons, who were both, in point of personal and intellectual character, much above the standard of ordinary men. The same remark will apply to the biographer of Johnson, who, whatever may be thought of his own character, reared two sons who stood forth afterwards as a credit to his parental care. A wish to educate his children in the best manner, was one of the ruling passions of this extraordinary *littera-*

[1] Sir William Forbes, in his Life of Beattie, thus speaks of Boswell:—"His warmth of heart towards his friends was very great; and I have known few men who possessed a stronger sense of piety, or more fervent devotion, (tinctured, no doubt, with a little share of superstition, which had probably been in some degree fostered by his habits of intimacy with Dr Johnson) perhaps not always sufficient to regulate his imagination or direct his conduct, yet still genuine, and founded both in his understanding and his heart. For Mr Boswell I entertained a sincere regard, which he returned by the strongest proof in his power to confer, by leaving me the guardian of his children."

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teur in his latter years. He placed both his sons at Westminster school, and afterwards in the university of Oxford, at an expense which appears to have been not altogether justified by his own circumstances.

Alexander Boswell, who was born, October 9, 1775, succeeded his father in the possession of the family estate. He was distinguished as a spirited and amiable country gentleman, and also as a literary antiquary of no inconsiderable erudition. Perhaps his taste, in the latter capacity, was greatly fostered by the possession of an excellent collection of old manuscripts and books, which was gathered together by his ancestors, and has acquired the well-known title of the "AUCHINLECK LIBRARY." From the stores of this collection, in 1804, Sir Walter Scott published the romance of "Sir Tristram," which is judged by its learned editor to be the earliest specimen of poetry by a Scottish writer now in existence. Besides this invaluable present to the literary world, the Auchinleck Library furnished, in 1812, the black letter original of a disputation held between John Knox and Quentin Kennedy at Maybole in 1562, which was printed at the time by Knox himself, but had latterly become so scarce, that hardly another copy, besides that in the Auchinleck Library, was known to exist. Mr Boswell was at the expense of printing a fac-simile edition of this curiosity, which was accepted by the learned, as a very valuable contribution to our stock of historical literature.

The taste of Alexander Boswell was of a much manlier and more sterling character than that of his father; and instead of being alternately the active and passive cause of amusement to his friends, he shone exclusively in the former capacity. He possessed, indeed, a great fund of volatile talent, and, in particular, a most pungent vein of satire, which, while it occasionally inspired fear and dislike in those who were liable to become its objects, produced no admiration which was not also accompanied by respect. At an early period of his life, some of his poetical *jeux d'esprit* occasionally made a slight turmoil in that circle of Scottish society in which he moved. He sometimes also exercised his pen in that kind of familiar vernacular poetry which Burns again brought into fashion; and in the department of song-writing he certainly met with considerable success. A small volume, entitled, "Songs chiefly in the Scottish Dialect," was published by him, anonymously, in 1803, with the motto, "Nulla veneratio litera mixta joco," a motto which it would have been well for him if he had never forgot. In a brief note on the second folio of this little work, he mentioned that he was induced to lay these trivial compositions in an authentic shape before the public, because corrupted copies had previously made their appearance. The truth is, some of his songs had already acquired a wide acceptation in the public, and were almost as familiar as those of Burns.[1] The volume also contains some English compositions, which still retain a popularity—such as "Taste Life's Glad Moments," which, he tells us, he translated at Leipsig, in 1795, from the German song, "Freu't euch des Libens." Mr Boswell also appears, from various compositions in this little volume, to have had a turn for writing popular Irish songs. One or two of his attempts in that style, are replete with the grotesque character of the nation.[2]

[1] We may instance, "Auld Gudeman, ye're a Drucken Carle," "Jenny's Bawbee," and "Jenny Dang the Weaver."

[2] It is hardly worth while to say more of a few fugitive lyrics; but yet we cannot help pointing out a remarkably beautiful antithesis, in one styled "The Old Chieftain to his Sons:"—

"The auld will speak, the young maun hear,
Be canty, but be gude and leal;
Your ain ills aye hae heart to bear,
Anither's aye hae heart to feel."

to another he thus ludicrously adverts, in a fictitious character, to the changes which modern

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In 1810, Mr Boswell published a small volume under the title, "Edinburgh, or the Ancient Royalty, a Sketch of former Manners, by Simon Gray." It is a kind of city eclogue, in which a farmer, who knew the town in a past age, is supposed to converse regarding its modern changes, with a city friend. It contains some highly curious memorials of the simple manners which obtained in Edinburgh, before the change described in the song just quoted. At a subsequent period, Mr Boswell established a private printing-press at Auchinleck, from which he issued various trifles in prose and verse, some of which are characterised by much humour. In 1816, appeared a poetical tale, somewhat like Burns's "Tam o' Shanter," entitled, "Skeldon Haughs, or the Sow is Flitted!" being founded on a traditionary story regarding an Ayrshire feud of the fifteenth century.[1] In 1821, Mr Boswell was honoured with, what had been the chief object of his ambition for many years, a baronetcy of Great Britain. About this period, politics ran very high in the country, and Sir Alexander, who had inherited all the Tory spirit of his father, sided warmly with the ministry. In

manners, rather than time, have produced upon the external and internal economy of the Scottish capital:—

Hech! what a change hae we now in this town!
A' now are braw lads, the lasses a' glancin';
Folk maun be dizzy gaun aye in this roun',
For deil a hae't 's done now but feastin' and dancin'.
Gowd's no that scanty in ilk siller pock,
Whan ilka bit laddie maun hae his bit staigie;
But I kent the day when there was na a Jock,
But trotted about upon honest shanks-naigie.
Little was stown then, and less gaed to waste,
Barely a mullin for mice or for rattens;
The thrifty gudewife to the flesh-market paced,
Her equipage a'—just a gude pair o' pattens.
Folk were as gude then, and friends were as leal;
Though coaches were scant, wi' their cattle a' cantrin';
Right aire we were tell't by the housemaid or chiel,
'Sir, an ye please, here's yer lass and a lantern.'
The town may be cloutit and pieced till it meets,
A' neebors benorth and besouth without haltin'
Brigs may be biggit ower lums and ower streets,
The Nor-Loch itsel' heap'd as heigh as the Calton.
But whar is true friendship, and whar will you see
A' that is gude, honest, modest, and thrifty?
Tak gray hairs and wrinkles, and hirple wi' me,
And think on the seventeen-hundred and fifty.

[1] Kennedy of Bargeny *tethered* a sow on the lands of his feudal enemy Crawford of Kerse, and resolved that the latter gentleman, with all his vassals, should not be permitted to remove or "flit" the animal. To defeat this bravado at the very first, the adherents of Crawford assembled in great force, and entered into active fight with the Kennedies, who, with their sow, were at length driven back with great slaughter, though not till the son of the laird of Kerse, who had led his father's forces, was slain. The point of the poem lies in the dialogue which passed between the old laird and a messenger who came to apprise him of the event:—

"'Is the sow flittit? tell me, loon!
Is auld Kyle up and Carrick down?'
Mingled wi' sobs, his broken tale
The youth began; Ah, Kerse, bewail
This luckless day!—Your blythe son, John,
Ah, waes my heart, lies on the loan—
And he could sing like only merle!
'Is the sow flitted?' cried the carle;
'Gie me my answer—short and plain,—
Is the sow flitted, yammerin wean!'
'The sow (deil tak her) 's ower the water—
And at their backs the Crawfords batter—
The Carrick couts are cowed and bitted!'
'My thumb for Jock! THE SOW IS FLITTED.'"

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the beginning of the year 1821, a few gentlemen of similar prepossessions, conceived it to be not only justifiable, but necessary, that the fervour of the radical press, as it was called, should be met by a corresponding fervour on the other side, so that the enemies of the government might be combated with their own weapons. Hence arose a newspaper in Edinburgh styled the Beacon, to which Sir Alexander Boswell contributed a few *jeux d'esprit*, aimed at the leading men on the other side, and alleged to have far exceeded the proper line of political sarcasm. These being continued in a subsequent paper, which was published at Glasgow, under the name of the Sentinel, at length were traced to their author by James Stuart, Esq. younger of Dunearn, who had been the object of some of the rudest attacks, and repeatedly accused of cowardice. The consequence of this discovery was a challenge from Mr Stuart to Sir Alexander, and the hostile parties having met near Auchtertool in Fife, March 26, 1822, the latter received a shot in the bottom of the neck, which terminated his existence next day. Mr Stuart was tried for this offence, by the High Court of Justiciary, but most honourably acquitted. Sir Alexander left a widow and several children.

BOSWELL, James, the second son of the biographer of Johnson, was, as already mentioned, educated at Westminster School. He was afterwards entered of Brazen-nose College, Oxford, and there had the honour to be elected fellow upon the Vinerian foundation. Mr Boswell possessed talents of a superior order, sound classical scholarship, and a most extensive and intimate knowledge of our early literature. In the investigation of every subject he pursued, his industry, judgment, and discrimination, were equally remarkable; his memory was unusually tenacious and accurate; and he was always as ready, as he was competent, to communicate his stores of information for the benefit of others. Mr Malone was influenced by these qualifications, added to the friendship which he entertained for Mr Boswell, to select him as his literary executor; and to his care this eminent commentator intrusted the publication of an enlarged and amended edition of Shakspeare, which he had long been meditating. As Mr Malone's papers were left in a state scarcely intelligible, it is believed that no man but one of kindred genius like Mr Boswell, could have rendered them at all available. This, however, Mr Boswell did in the most efficient manner; farther enriching the work with many excellent notes of his own, besides collating the text with all the earlier editions. This work, indeed, which extends to twenty-one volumes, 8vo, must be considered as not only the most elaborate edition of Shakspeare, but perhaps the greatest *edition* of any work in the English language. In the first volume, Mr Boswell has stepped forward to defend the literary reputation of Mr Malone against the severe attacks made by a writer of distinguished eminence, upon many of his critical opinions and statements; a task of great delicacy, and which Mr Boswell performed in so spirited and gentlemanly a manner, that his preface may be fairly quoted as a model of controversial writing. In the same volume are inserted "Memoirs of Mr Malone," originally printed by Mr Boswell for private circulation; and a valuable essay on the metre and phraseology of Shakspeare, the materials for which were partly collected by Mr Malone, but which was entirely indebted to Mr Boswell for arrangement and completion.

Mr Boswell inherited from his father a keen relish of the society of the metropolis, and accordingly he spent his life almost exclusively in the Middle Temple. Few men were better fitted to appreciate and contribute to the pleasures of social intercourse; his conversational powers, and the unfailing cheerfulness of his disposition, rendered him everywhere an acceptable guest; but it was the goodness of his heart, that warmth of friendship which knew no bounds

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when a call was made upon his services, which formed the sterling excellence, and the brightest feature of Mr Boswell's character. This amiable man and excellent scholar died, February 24, 1822, in the forty-third year of his age, and was buried in the Temple Church, by a numerous train of sorrowing friends. It is a melancholy circumstance, that his brother, Sir Alexander, had just returned from performing the last offices to a beloved brother, when he himself was summoned from existence in the manner above related.

BOWER, ARCHIBALD, a learned person, but of dubious fame, was born on the 17th of January, 1686, near Dundee. He was a younger son of a respectable Catholic family, which, for several centuries, had possessed an estate in Forfarshire. In 1702, he was sent to the Scots College at Douay, where he studied for the church. At the end of the year 1706, having completed his first year of philosophy, he went to Rome, and there, December 9, was admitted into the order of Jesus. After his noviciate, he taught classical literature and philosophy, for two years, at Fano, and subsequently he spent three years at Fermo. In 1717, he was recalled to Rome, to study divinity in the Roman College. His last vows were made at Arezzo, in 1722.

Bower's fame as a teacher was now, according to his own account, spread over all the Italian states, and he had many invitations to reside in different places, to none of which he acceded, till the College of Macerata chose him for their professor. He was now arrived at the mature age of forty; and it was not to have been expected that any sudden change, either in his religious sentiments or in his moral conduct, would take place after that period of life. Probably, however, Bower had never before this time been exposed to any temptation. Being now appointed confessor to the nunnery of St Catherine at Macerata, he is alleged to have commenced a criminal intercourse with a nun of the noble family of Buonacorsi. Alarmed, it is said, for the consequences of his imprudence, he determined upon flying from the dominions of the Pope; a step which involved the greatest danger, as he had previously become connected, in the capacity of counsellor, with the Holy Inquisition, which invariably punished apostasy with death. Bower's own account of his flight sets forth conscientious scruples on the score of religion, as having alone urged him to take that step; but it is hardly credible that a man in his situation could expose his life to imminent danger from a sudden access of scrupulosity. The circumstances of his flight are given in the following terms by himself:

"To execute that design with some safety, I purposed to beg leave of the Inquisitor to visit the virgin at Loretto, but thirteen miles distant, and to pass a week there, but, in the meantime, to make the best of my way to the country of the Grisons, the nearest country to Macerata out of the reach of the Inquisition. Having, therefore, after many conflicts with myself, asked leave to visit the neighbouring sanctuary, and obtained it, I set out on horseback the very next morning, leaving, as I purposed to keep the horse, his full value with the owner. I took the road to Loretto, but turned out of it at a small distance from Recenati, after a most violent struggle with myself, the attempt appearing to me, at that juncture, quite desperate and impracticable; and the dreadful doom reserved for me, should I miscarry, presenting itself to my mind in the strongest light. But the reflection that I had it in my power to avoid being taken alive, and a persuasion that a man in my situation might lawfully avoid it, when every other means failed him, at the expense of his life, revived my staggering resolution; and all my fears ceasing at once, I steered my course to Calvi in the dukedom of Urbino, and from thence through the Romagna into the Bolognese, keeping the by-roads, and at a good distance from the cities of Fano, Pisaro, Rimini, Forli, Faenza, and Tivola, through which the high road passed. Thus I advanced very

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slowly, travelling, generally speaking, in very bad roads, and often in places where there was no road at all, to avoid, not only the cities and towns, but even the villages. In the meantime, I seldom had any other support than some coarse provisions, and a very small quantity even of them, that the poor shepherds and wood-cleavers could spare me. My horse fared not better than myself; but, in choosing my sleeping-place, I consulted his convenience as much as my own; passing the night where I found most shelter for myself, and most grass for him. In Italy there are very few solitary farm-houses or cottages, the country people there all living together in villages; and I thought it far safer to lie where I could be any way sheltered, than to venture into any of them. Thus I spent seventeen days before I got out of the ecclesiastical state; and I very narrowly escaped being taken or murdered on the very borders of that state. It happened thus:

"I had passed two whole days without any kind of subsistence whatever, meeting nobody in the by-roads that would supply me with any, and fearing to come near any house. As I was not far from the borders of the dominions of the Pope, I thought I should be able to hold out till I got into the Modenese, where I believed I should be in less danger than while I remained in the papal dominions; but finding myself, about noon of the third day, extremely weak and ready to faint, I came into the high road that leads from Bologna to Florence, at a few miles distance from the former city, and alighted at a post-house that stood quite by itself. Having asked the woman of the house whether she had any victuals ready, and being told that she had, I went to open the door of the only room in the house, (that being a place where gentlemen only stop to change horses,) and saw, to my great surprise, a placard pasted on it, with a most minute description of my whole person, and the promise of a reward of 800 crowns, about £200 English money, for delivering me up alive to the inquisition, being a fugitive from the holy tribunal, and 600 crowns for my head. By the same placard, all persons were forbidden, on pain of the greater excommunication, to receive, harbour, or entertain me, to conceal or to screen me, or to be any way aiding or assisting to me in making my escape. This greatly alarmed me, as the reader may well imagine; but I was still more affrighted when entering the room I saw two fellows drinking there, who, fixing their eyes upon me as soon as I came, continued looking at me very steadfastly. I strove, by wiping my face, by blowing my nose, by looking out at the window, to prevent their having a full view of me. But one of them saying, 'The gentleman seems afraid to be seen,' I put up my handkerchief, and turning to the fellow, said boldly, 'What do you mean, you rascal? Look at me, I am not afraid to be seen.' He said nothing, but, looking again stedfastly at me, and nodding his head, went out, and his companion immediately followed him. I watched them, and seeing them with two or three more in close conference, and no doubt consulting whether they should apprehend me or not, I walked that moment into the stable, mounted my horse unobserved by them; and, while they were deliberating in the orchard behind the house, rode off at full speed, and in a few hours got into the Modenese, where I refreshed, both with food and rest, as I was there in no immediate danger, my horse and myself. I was indeed surprised that those fellows did not pursue me; nor can I any other way account for it, but by supposing, what is not improbable, that, as they were strangers as well as myself, and had all the appearance of banditti or ruffians flying out of the dominions of the pope, the woman of the house did not care to trust them with her horses."

Bower now directed his course through the cantons of Switzerland, and as some of these districts were Catholic, though not under the dominion of the inquisition, he had occasionally to resume the mode of travelling above described, in order to avoid being taken. At length, May 1726, he reached the Scots

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College at Douay, where he threw himself upon the protection of the rector. According to his own narrative, which, however, has been contradicted in many points, he thus proved, that, though he had fled from the horrors of the holy tribunal, and had begun to entertain some doubts upon several parts of the Catholic doctrines, he was not disposed to abandon entirely the profession of faith in which he had been educated. He even describes a correspondence which he entered into with the superior of his order in France, who at length recommended him to make the best of his way to England, in order that he might get fairly beyond the reach of the inquisition. This he did under such circumstances of renewed danger, that he would have been detained at Calais, but for the kindness of an English nobleman, Lord Baltimore, who conveyed him over to Dover in his own yacht. He arrived at London in July or August 1726.

His first friend of any eminence in England was Dr Aspinwall, who, like himself, had formerly belonged to the order of Jesus. His conversations with this gentleman, and with the more celebrated Dr Clarke, and Berkeley bishop of Cloyne, produced, or appeared to produce, such a change in his religious sentiments, that he soon after abjured the Catholic faith. For six years, he continued a protestant, but of no denomination. At length he joined the communion of the church of England, which he professed to consider "as free in her service as any reformed church from the idolatrous practices and superstitions of popery, and less inclined, than many others, to fanaticism and enthusiasm." By his friends he was recommended to Lord Aylmer, who wanted a person to assist him in reading the classics. While thus employed, he conducted a review or magazine, which was started in 1730, under the title "Historia Literaria," and was finished in eight volumes, in 1734. Being little acquainted with the English tongue, he composed the early part of this work in Italian, and had it translated by an English student; but before the work was concluded, he had made himself sufficiently acquainted with English, to dispense with his translator. After its conclusion, he was engaged by the publishers of the Ancient Universal History, for which work he wrote during a space of nine years, contributing, in particular, the article *Roman History*. It is said that the early part of this production is drawn out to an undue length, considering that there were various other abridgments of that portion of the history of Rome; while the latter part, referring to the Eastern empire, though comparatively novel and valuable, was, from the large space already occupied, cut down into as many paragraphs as it ought to have occupied pages. The second edition of the Universal History was committed for revisal to Mr Bower's care, and it is said that, though he received £300 from the publishers, he performed his task, involving though it did a very large commercial interest, in the most superficial and unsatisfactory manner. His writings had been so productive before the year 1740, that he then possessed £1100 in South Sea annuities. It is alleged that he now wished to be restored to the bosom of the church, in order that he might share in its bounty as a missionary. In order to conciliate its favour, and attest his sincerity, he is said to have offered to it, through father Shirburn, then provincial of England, the whole of his fortune on loan. The money was received on the conditions stipulated by himself, and was afterwards augmented to £1350, for which, in August 1743, a bond was given, allowing him an annuity equal to seven per cent. upon the principal. He is said to have been so far successful in his object that, in 1744 or 1745, he was re-admitted into, or rather reconciled to the order of Jesus—though it does not appear that he ever received the employment which he expected. In 1747, having been tempted by a considerable offer to write a history of the popes in a style agreeable to protestant feeling, he is alleged to have commenced a correspondence with father Shirburn for the purpose of get-

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ting back his money, lest, on breaking again with the church, the whole should be forfeited. He pretended that he had engaged in an illicit intercourse with a lady, to whom the money in reality belonged, and that, in order to disengage himself from a connection which lay heavily upon his conscience, he wished to refund the money. Accordingly, on the 20th of June, 1747, he received it back. If we are to believe himself, he did not lend the money to Shirburn, but to Mr Hill, a Jesuit, who transacted money affairs in his capacity as an attorney. He retracted it, he said, in order to be able to marry. The letters shown as having been written by him to father Shirburn, were, he said, forgeries prepared by catholics in order to destroy his popularity with the protestants. But the literary world has long settled the question against Bower. The letters were published in 1756, by his countryman Dr John Douglas, afterwards bishop of Salisbury, along with a commentary proving their authenticity. The replies of Bower, though ingenious, are by no means satisfactory, and it is obvious that the whole transaction proves him to have been a man who little regarded principle, when he had the prospect of improving his fortune.

The first volume of his History of the Popes, was published in 1748; and he was soon after, by the interest of Lord Lyttleton, appointed librarian to Queen Caroline. It must be remarked that this irreproachable nobleman remained the friend of Bower, while all the rest of the world turned their backs upon him; and it must be confessed, that such a fact is calculated to stagger the faith of many even in the acuteness of Bishop Douglas. On the 4th of August, 1749, when he had just turned the grand climacteric, he married a niece of Bishop Nicholson, with a fortune of £4000. In 1751, he published his second volume, and, in 1753, his third, which brought down the history to the death of Pope Stephen. This work, partly from the circumstances of the author, appears to have been received with great favour by the dissenters and more devout party of the church. Bower is alleged by his enemies to have kept up the interest of the publication, by stories of the danger in which he lay from the malignity of the Catholics, who, as he gave out, attempted on one occasion to carry him off by water from Greenwich. Lord Lyttleton, in April 1754, appointed him clerk of the buck warrants. It was in 1756, that his personal reputation received its first grand shock from the exposure of Dr Douglas, who next year published a second tract, as fully condemnatory of his literary character. This latter production, entitled, "Bower and Tillemont Compared," showed that a great part of his History of the Popes was nothing more than a translation of the French historian. He endeavoured to repel the attack in three laboured pamphlets; but Dr Douglas, in a reply, confirmed his original statements by unquestionable documents. Before the controversy ended, Bower had issued his fourth volume, and, in 1757, an abridgment of what was published appeared at Amsterdam. The fifth volume appeared in 1761, during which year he also published "Authentic Memoirs concerning the Portuguese Inquisition, in a series of letters to a friend," 8vo. The History of the Popes was finally completed in seven volumes; and on the 3rd of September, 1766, the author died at his house in Bond Street, in the eighty-first year of his age.[1] He was buried in Mary-le-bone church-yard, where there is a monument to him, bearing the following inscription:

"A man exemplary for every social virtue. Justly esteemed by all who knew him for his strict honesty and integrity. A faithful friend and a sincere Christian.

"False witnesses rose up against him, and laid to his charge things that he

[1] A letter written at the request of his widow to notify his death to his nephew in Scotland (which I have seen,) mentions that he bore a final illness of three weeks "in every way suitable to the character of a good Christian."

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knew not; they imagined wickedness in their hearts and practised it: their delight is in lies: they conspired together, and laid their net to destroy him guiltless: the very abjects came together against him, they gaped upon him with their mouths, they sharpened their tongues like a serpent, working deceitfully; they compassed him about with words of malice, and hated, and fought against him without a cause.

"He endured their reproach with fortitude, suffering wrongfully."

"Unhappy vanity!" exclaims Samuel Ayscough, who preserves the inscription, "thus endeavouring, as it were, to carry on the deception with God, which he was convicted of at the bar of literary justice: how much better would it have been to let his name sink in oblivion, than thus attempt to excite the pity of those only who are unacquainted with the history of his life; and, should it raise a desire in any person to inquire, it must turn their pity into contempt."

In Bower, we contemplate a man of considerable merit in a literary point of view, debased by the peculiar circumstances in which he entered the world. A traitor to his own original profession of faith, he never could become a good subject to any other. His subsequent life was that of an adventurer and a hypocrite; and such at length was the dilemma in which he involved himself by his unworthy practices, that, for the purpose of extricating himself, he was reduced to the awful expedient of denying upon oath the genuineness of letters which were proved upon incontestible evidence to be his. Even, however, from the evil of such a life, much good may be extracted. The infamy in which his declining years were spent, must inform even those to whom good is not good alone for its own sake, that the straight paths of candour and honour are the only ways to happiness, and that money or respect, momentarily enjoyed at the expense of either, can produce no permanent or effectual benefit.

BOWER, Walter, an historical writer of the fifteenth century, was born at Haddington, in 1385. At the age of eighteen, he assumed the religious habit; and after finishing his philosophical and theological studies, visited Paris in order to study the laws. Having returned to his native country, he was unanimously elected Abbot of St Colm, in the year 1418. After the death of Fordoun, the historian, (see that article,) he was requested, by Sir David Stewart of Rossyth, to undertake the completion of the Scotichronicon, or Chronicles of Scotland, which had been brought up by the above writer only to the 23d chapter of the fifth book. In transcribing the part written by Fordoun, Bower inserted large interpolations. He completed the work in sixteen books, which brought the narrative to the death of James the First; and he is said to have been much indebted for materials to the previous labours of Fordoun. Bower, like Fordoun, wrote in a scholastic and barbarous Latin; and their work, though it must be considered as one of the great fountains of early Scottish history, is characterised by few of the essential qualities of that kind of composition.

BOYD, Mark, an extraordinary genius, who assumed the additional name of Alexander, from a desire of assimilating himself to the illustrious hero of Macedon, was a younger son of Robert Boyd of Pinkell in Ayrshire, who was great-grandson to Robert Boyd, great Chamberlain of Scotland. Mark Boyd was born on the 13th of January, 1562. His father having died while he was a child, he was educated under the care of his uncle, James Boyd of Trochrig, titular Archbishop of Glasgow. His headstrong temper showed itself in early youth, in quarrels with his instructors, and before he had finished his academical course, he left the care of his friends, and endeavoured to obtain some notice at court. It affords a dreadful picture of the character of Boyd, that, even in a scene ruled by such a spirit as Stuart, Earl of Arran, he was found too violent: one duel and numberless broils, in which he became engaged, rendered it necessary that he

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should try his fortune elsewhere. By the advice of his friends, who seem to have given up all hope of his coming to any good in his own country, he travelled to France, in order to assume the profession of arms. While lingering at Paris, he lost his little stock of money at dice. This seems to have revived better feelings in his breast. He began to study under various teachers at Paris; then went to the university of Orleans, and took lessons in civil law from Robertus; lastly, he removed to Bourges, where he was received with kindness by the celebrated Cujacius. This great civilian happening to have a crazy fondness for the writings of the early Latin poets, Boyd gained his entire favour by writing a few poems in the barbarous style of Ennius. The plague breaking out at Bourges, he was obliged to fly to Lyons, whence he was driven by the same pestilence into Italy. After spending some time in this country, he returned to France, and is supposed to have there acted for some time as private tutor to a young gentleman named Dauconet. In 1587, commenced the famous wars of the League. Boyd, though a protestant, or afterwards professing to be so, joined with the Catholic party, in company with his pupil, and for some time led the life of a soldier of fortune. His share in the mishaps of war, consisted of a wound in the ankle. In 1588, the Germans and Swiss being driven out of France, the campaign terminated, and Boyd retired to Thoulouse, where he re-commenced the study of civil law. His studies were here interrupted by a popular insurrection in favour of the Catholic interest, but in which he took no part. Being rather under some suspicion, probably on account of his country, he was seized by the insurgents, and thrown into prison. By the intercession of some of his learned friends, he was relieved from this peril, and permitted to make his escape to Bourdeaux. He has left a most animated account of the insurrection, from which it may be gathered that the expedients assumed in more recent periods of French history, for protecting cities by barricades, chains, and other devices, were equally familiar in the reign of Henry the Great. For several years, Boyd lived a party-coloured life, alternating between study and war. He had a sincere passion for arms, and entertained a notion that to live entirely without the knowledge and practice of military affairs was only to be *half a man*. It is to be regretted, that his exertions as a *soldier* were entirely on the side adverse to his own and his country's faith; a fact which proves how little he was actuated by principle. In the midst of all the broils of the League, he had advanced considerably in the preparation of a series of lectures on the civil law; but he never found an opportunity of delivering them. He also composed a considerable number of Latin poems, which were published in one volume at Antwerp, in 1592. Having now turned his thoughts homewards, he endeavoured, in this work, to attract the favourable attention of James VI., by a very flattering dedication. But it does not seem to have had any effect. He does not appear to have returned to his native country for some years after this period. In 1595, when his elder brother died, he was still in France. Returning soon after, he is said to have undertaken the duty of travelling preceptor to John, Earl of Cassillis; and when his task was accomplished, he returned once more. He died of a slow fever, April 10th, 1601, and was buried in the church of Daily.

Mark Alexander Boyd left several compositions behind him, of which a few have been published. The most admired are his "Epistolæ Heroidum," and his "Hymni," which are inserted in the "Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum," published at Amsterdam, in 1637. His style in Latin poetry is shown by Lord Hailes to be far from correct, and his ideas are often impure and coarse. Yet when regarded as the effusions of a soaring genius, which seems to have looked upon every ordinary walk of human exertion as beneath it, we may admire the general excellence, while we overlook mean defects. The Tears of Venus on the

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Death of Adonis, which has been often extracted from his Epistolæ, seems to me to be a beautiful specimen of Latin versification, and in impassioned feeling almost rivalling Pope's Eloise. An exact list of the remainder of his composition, which still lie in manuscript in the Advocates' Library, is given in his life by Lord Hailes, which was one of the few *tentamina* contributed by that great antiquary towards a Scottish Biographical Dictionary. Lord Hailes represents the vanity of Boyd as having been very great; but it is obvious that he could offer as high incense to others as to himself. He has the hardihood to compliment the peaceful James VI. as superior to Pallas or Mars: in another place, he speaks of that monarch as having distinguished himself at battles and sieges. It is well known that neither the praise nor the facts were true; and we can only account for such inordinate flattery, by supposing, what there is really much reason to believe, that panegyric in those days was a matter of course, and not expected to contain any truth, or even *vraisemblance*. This theory receives some countenance from a circumstance mentioned by Lord Hailes. The dedication, it seems, in which King James was spoken of as a hardy warrior, was originally written for a real warrior; but the name being afterwards changed, it was not thought necessary to alter the praise; and so the good Solomon, who is said to have shrunk from the very sight of cold iron, stands forth as a second Agamemnon.

BOYD, Robert, of Trochrig an eminent divine of the seventeenth century, was born at Glasgow in 1578. He was the son of James Boyd, "Tulchan-archbishop" of Glasgow, and Margaret, daughter of James Chalmers of Gaitgirth, chief of that name. On the death of his father, which happened when he was only three years old, his mother retired to the family residence in Ayrshire, and Boyd, along with Thomas, his younger brother, was in due time sent to the grammar school of the county town. From thence he was removed to the university of Edinburgh, where he studied philosophy under Mr Charles Ferme, (or Fairholm,) one of the regents, and afterwards divinity under the celebrated Robert Rollock. In compliance with the custom of the times, he then went abroad for the purpose of pursuing his studies, and France was destined to be the first sphere of his usefulness. He taught various departments of literature in the schools of Tours and Montauban, at the first of which places he became acquainted with the famous Dr Rivet. In 1604, he was ordained pastor of the church at Verteuil, and in 1606 he was appointed one of the Professors in the university of Saumur, which had been founded in 1593, by the amiable Philip de Mornay, better known by the title of Du Plessis. Boyd also discharged the duties of a pastor in the church at the same town, and, soon after, became Professor of Divinity. As he had now the intention of remaining for some years abroad, he bethought himself of entering into the married state, and having met with "an honest virgin of the family of Malivern," says Wodrow, "he sought her parents for their consent, who having received a satisfactory testimonial of the nobility of his birth, and the competency of his estate, they easily yielded, and so he took her to wife, with the good liking of the church and the university, who hoped that by this means he would be fixed among them, so as never to entertain thoughts of returning to Scotland to settle there." But in this they were soon disappointed, for king James having heard through several noblemen, relations of Mr Boyd, of his worth and talents, offered him the principalship of the university of Glasgow.

The duties of principal in that college were, by the charter of this monarch, not confined even to those connected with that institution. He was required to teach theology on one day, and Hebrew and Syriac the next, alternately; but this was not all. The temporalities of the rectory and vicarage of Govan had

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been annexed to it, under the condition that the principal should preach on Sunday in the church of that parish. Under these circumstances, it could not be expected that Mr Boyd could have much leisure to premeditate his lectures. Wodrow informs us, that he did not read them, "but uttered all in a continued discourse, without any hesitation, and with as much ease and freedom of speech, as the most eloquent divine is wont to deliver his sermons in his mother tongue." It will be remembered, that the prelections were then delivered in Latin, and Principal Baillie, who studied under Mr Boyd, mentions that, at a distance of thirty years, the tears, the solemn vows, and the ardour of the desires produced by the Principal's Latin prayers, were still fresh in his memory.[1]

From the assimilation which was then rapidly taking place to the episcopalian form of church government, Mr Boyd felt his situation peculiarly unpleasant. He could not acquiesce in the decisions of the Perth assembly, and it could not be expected that he would be allowed to retain his office under any other condition than that of compliance. He therefore preferred voluntarily resigning his office, and retiring to his country residence. Soon after this period, he was appointed Principal of the university of Edinburgh, and one of the ministers of that city; but there he was not long allowed to remain. His majesty insisted upon his compliance with the Perth articles, and an intimation to that effect having been made to him, he refused, and, to use the quaint expression of the historian, "swa took his leave of them." He was now ordered to confine himself within the bounds of Carrick. His last appointment was to Paisley, but a quarrel soon occurred with the widow of the Earl of Abercorn, who had lately turned papist, and this was a source of new distress to him. Naturally of a weakly constitution, and worn down by a series of misfortunes, he now laboured under a complication of diseases, which led to his death at Edinburgh, whither he had gone to consult the physicians, on the 5th of January, 1627, in the 49th year of his age.

Of his works, few of which are printed, the largest and best known is his "Prælectiones in Epistolam ad Ephesios." From the circumstances which occurred in the latter part of his life, he was prevented getting it printed as he intended. After his death, a copy of the MS. was sent to Dr Rivet, who agreed with Chouet of Geneva for the printing, but when returning to that place with the MS. in his possession, the ship was taken by the Dunkirkers, and the work was seized by some Jesuits, who would part with it "nec prece nec pretio." Fortunately the original still remained, and it was, after many delays, printed "Impensis Societatis Stationariorum," in 1652, folio. To the work is prefixed a memoir of the author, by Dr Rivet; but as their acquaintance did not commence till 1598 or 1599, there are several errors in his account of the earlier part of Boyd's life, all of which Wodrow has with great industry and accuracy corrected. The only other prose work of Mr Boyd, ever published, is his "Monita de filii sui primogeniti Institutione, ex Authoris MSS. autographis per R(obertum) S(ibbald), M. D. edita," 8vo, 1701. The style of this work, according to Wodrow, is pure, the system perspicuous; and prudence, observation, and piety, appear throughout. Besides these, the "Hecatombe ad Christum," the ode to Dr Sibbald, and the laudatory poem on king James, are in print. The two first are printed in the "Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum." The Hecatombe has been reprinted at Edinburgh in 1701, and subsequently in the "Poetarum Scotorum Musæ Sacræ." The verses to king James have been printed in Adamson's "Muses' Welcome;" and it is remarkable, that it seems to have been altogether overlooked by Wodrow. All these poems justify the opinion, that had

[1] Bodii Prælectiones in Epist. ad Ephes. Præfat. ad Lectorem.

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Boyd devoted more of his attention to the composition of Latin poetry, he might have excelled in that elegant accomplishment.

In the time of Wodrow, several MSS. still remained in the possession of the family of Trochrig, consisting of Sermons in English and French, his Philotheca, a kind of obituary, extracts from which have lately been printed in the second part of the Miscellany of the Bannatyne Club. His life has been written at great length by the venerable historian of the sufferings of the Scottish church, already frequently quoted. Those who wish to know more of this learned man, than the limits of our work will permit, are referred to the very interesting series of the Wodrow biographies in the library of the university of Glasgow—article Boyd.

BOYD, Zachary, an eminent divine and religious writer of the seventeenth century, was born before the year 1590, and was descended from the family of the Boyds of Pinkell in Carrick (Ayrshire). He was cousin to Mr Andrew Boyd, bishop of Argyle, and Mr Robert Boyd of Trochrig, whose memoirs have already been embodied in this work. He received the rudiments of his education at the school of Kilmarnock, and passed through an academical course in the college of Glasgow. About the year 1607, he had finished his studies in his native country. He then went abroad, and studied at the college of Saumur in France, under his relation Robert Boyd. He was appointed a regent in this University, in 1611, and is said to have been offered the principalship, which he declined. According to his own statement, he spent sixteen years in France, during four of which he was a preacher of the gospel. In consequence of the persecution of the protestants, he was obliged, in 1621, to return to his native country. He relates, in one of his sermons, the following anecdote of the voyage:—"In the time of the French persecution, I came by sea to Flanders, and as I was sailing from Flanders to Scotland, a fearfull tempest arose, which made our mariners reele to and fro, and stagger like drunken men. In the mean time, there was a Scots papist who lay near mee. While the ship gave a great shake, I observed the man, and after the Lord had sent a calme I said to him, 'Sir, now ye see the weaknesse of your religion; as long as yee are in prosperitie, yee cry to this sainct and that sainct: in our great danger, I heard yee cry often, Lord, Lord; but not a word yee spake of our Lady.'" On his reaching Scotland, he further informs us that he "remained a space a private man at Edinburgh, with Doctor Sibbald, the glory and honour of all the physitians of our land." Afterwards, he lived successively under the protection of Sir William Scott of Elie, and of the Marquis of Hamilton and his lady at Kinneil; it being then the fashion for pious persons of quality in Scotland, to retain one clergyman at least, as a member of their household. In 1623, he was appointed minister of the large district in the suburbs of Glasgow, styled the Barony Parish, for which the crypts beneath the cathedral church then served as a place of worship; a scene well fitted by its sepulchral gloom, to add to the impressiveness of his Calvinistic eloquence. In this charge he continued all the remainder of his life. In the years 1634-35 and 45, he filled the office of Rector of the University of Glasgow; an office which appears from its constituency to have then been very honourable.

In 1629, Mr Zachary—to use the common mode of designating a clergyman in that age—published his principal prose work, "The Last Battell of the Soule in Death; whereby are shown the diverse skirmishes that are between the soule of man on his death-bed, and the enemies of our salvation, carefully digested for the comfort of the Sicke, by &c. Printed at Edinburgh for the heires of Andro Hart." This is one of the few pious works not of a controversial nature, produced by the Scottish church before a very recent period; and it is by no means the meanest in the list. It is of a dramatic, or at least a conversational form; and the *dramatis personæ*, such as, "Pastour, Sicke Man, Spirituall Friend,

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Carnal Friend, Sathan, Michael," &c., sustain their parts with such spirit, as to show, in connexion with his other works of the like nature, that he might have excelled in a department of profane literature, for which, no doubt, he entertained the greatest horror, namely, writing for the stage. The first volume of the work is dedicated, in an English address to King Charles I., and then in a French one, to his consort Henrietta Maria. It says much for the dexterity of Mr Zachary, that he inscribes a religious work to a Catholic Princess, without any painful reference to her own unpopular faith. He dedicates the second volume to the Electress Palatine, daughter of James VI., and adds a short piece, which he styles her "Lamentations for the death of her son," who was drowned while crossing in a ferry-boat to Amsterdam. The extravagant grief which he describes in this little work is highly amusing. It strikes him that the Electress must have conceived a violent antipathy to water, in consequence of the mode of her son's death, and he therefore makes her conclude her lamentations in the following strain:

"O cursed waters! O waters of Marah, full bitter are yee to me! O element which of all others shall be most detestable to my soule, *I shall never wash mine hands with thee, but I shall remember what thou hast done to my best beloved sonne*, the darling of my soul! *I shall for ever be a friend to the fire, which is thy greatest foe.* Away rivers! away seas! Let me see you no more. If yee were sensible creatures, my dear brother Charles, Prince of the European seas, should scourge you with his royal ships; *with his thundering cannons, he should pierce you to the bottom.*

"O seas of sorrowes, O fearfull floodes, O tumbling tempests, O wilfull waves, O swelling surges, O wicked waters, O dooleful deepes, O feartest pooles, O botchful butcher boates, was there no mercy among you for such an hopefull Prince? O that I could refraine from teares, and *that because they are salt like yourselves!*" &c.

Childish as this language is in spirit, it is perhaps in as good taste as most of the elegies produced either by this or by a later age.

Mr Zachary appears to have been naturally a high loyalist. In 1633, when Charles I. visited his native dominions, to go through the ceremony of his coronation, Mr Zachary met him, the day after that solemnity, in the porch of Holyrood Palace, and addressed him in a Latin oration couched in the most exalted strains of panegyric and affection. He afterwards testified this feeling under circumstances more apt to test its sincerity. When the attempt to impose the episcopal mode of worship upon Scotland, caused the majority of the people to unite in a covenant for the purpose of maintaining the former system, the whole of the individuals connected with Glasgow college, together with Mr Zachary, set themselves against a document, which, however well-meant and urgently necessary, was certainly apt to become a stumbling-block in the subsequent proceedings of the country. These divines resolved rather to yield a little to the wishes of their sovereign, than fly into open rebellion against him. Mr Robert Baillie paid them a visit, to induce them to subscribe the covenant, but was not successful: "we left them," says he, "resolved to celebrate the Communion on Pasch in the High Church, *kneeling.*"[1] This must have been about a month after the subscription of the covenant had commenced. Soon afterwards, most of these recusants, including Mr Zachary, found it necessary to conform, for where the majority is very powerful or very violent, no minority can exist. Baillie says, in a subsequent letter,[2] "At our townsmen's desire, Mr Andrew Cant and Mr J. Rutherford were sent by the nobles to preach in the High Kirk, and receive the oaths of that people to the covenant. Lord Eglintoune was appointed to be a

[1] Baillie's Letters, i, 46.

[2] Ibid. i, 66.

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witness there. With many a sigh and tear, by all that people the oath was made. Provost, bailies, council, all, except three men, held up their hands; *Mr Zacharias*, and Mr John Bell younger, has put to their hands. The College, it is thought, will subscribe, and almost all who refused before."

Though Boyd was henceforth a faithful adherent of this famous bond, he did not take the same active share with some of his brethren, in the military proceedings by which it was supported. While Baillie and others followed the army, "as the fashion was, with a sword and pair of Dutch pistols at their saddles,"[2] he remained at home in the peaceful exercise of his calling, and was content to sympathize in their successes by hearsay. He celebrated the fight at Newburnford, August 28, 1640, by which the Scottish covenanting army gained possession of Newcastle, in a poem of sixteen 8vo. pages, which is written, however, in such a homely style of versification, that we would suppose it to be among the very earliest of his poetical efforts. It opens with a panegyric on the victorious Lesly, and then proceeds to describe the battle.

> The Scots cannons powder and ball did spew,
> Which with terror the Canterburians slew.
> Bals rushed at random, which most fearfully
> Menaced to break the portals of the sky.
>
> * * * *
>
> In this conflict, which was both sowre and surly,
> Bones, blood, and braines went in a *hurly-burly*.
> All was made *hodge-podge*, &c.

The pistol bullets were almost as bad as the cannon balls. They—

> ——— in squadrons came, like fire and thunder,
> Men's hearts and heads both for to pierce and plunder;
> Their errand was, (when it was understood,)
> To bathe men's bosoms in a scarlet flood.

At last comes the wail for the fallen—

> In this conflict, which was a great pitie,
> We lost the son of Sir Patrick Makgie.

In 1643, he published a more useful work in his "Crosses, Comforts, and Councels, needfull to be considered and carefully to be laid up in the hearts of the Godly, in these boysterous broiles, and bloody times." We also find from the titles of many of his manuscript discourses that, with a diligent and affectionate zeal for the spiritual edification of the people under his charge, he had improved the remarkable events of the time as they successively occurred.

That the reluctance of Mr Zachary to join the Covenanters did not arise from timidity of nature, seems to be proved by an incident which occurred at a later period of his life. After the death of Charles I. it is well known that the Scottish presbyterians made a gallant effort to sustain the royal authority against the triumphant party of independents. They invited home the son of the late king, and rendered him at least the limited monarch of Scotland. Cromwell, having crossed the Tweed with an army, overthrew the Scottish forces at Dunbar, September 3, 1650; and gained possession of the southern portion of the country. Glasgow was, of course, exposed to a visit from this unscrupulous adversary. "Cromwell," says Baillie, "with the whole body of his army, comes peaceably to Glasgow. The magistrates and ministers all fled away; I got to the isle of Cumray, with my Lady Montgomery, but left all my family and goods to Cromwell's courtesy, which indeed was great, for he took such measures with the sol-

[2] Baillie's Letters, i, 174.

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diers, that they did less displeasure at Glasgow than if they had been at London, *though Mr Zachary Boyd railed on them all to their very face in the High Church.*" This was on the 13th of October, and we learn from a manuscript note upon the preacher's own bible, that the chapter which he expounded on this occasion, was the eighth of the book of Daniel. In this is detailed the vision of the ram with two horns, which is at first powerful, but at length overcome and trampled down by a he-goat; being an allegory of the destruction of the kings of Media and Persia by Alexander of Macedon. It is evident that Mr Zachary endeavoured to extend the parable to existing circumstances, and of course made out Cromwell to be the *he-goat*. The preacher further chose for a text the following passage in the Psalms. "But I as a deaf man heard not; and I was as a dumb man that openeth not his mouth. Thus I was as a man that heareth not, and in whose mouth are no reproofs. For in thee, O Lord, do I hope: thou wilt hear, O Lord my God."—*Ps.* xxxviii, 13, 14, 15. This sermon was probably by no means faithful to its text, for certainly Mr Zachary was not the man to keep a mouth clear of reproofs when he saw occasion for blame. The *exposition*, at least, was so full of bitter allusions to the sectarian General, that one of his officers is reported to have whispered into his ear for permission "to pistol the scoundrel." Cromwell had more humanity and good sense than to accede to such a request. "No, no," said he, "we will manage him in another way." He asked Mr Zachary to dine with him, and gained his respect by the fervour of the devotions in which he spent the evening. It is said that they did not finish their mutual exercise till three in the morning.[4]

Mr Zachary did not long survive this incident. He died about the end of the year, 1653, or the beginning of 1654, when the famous Mr Donald Cargill was appointed his successor. "In the conscientious discharge of his duty as a preacher of God's word, which he had at the same time exercised with humility, he seems whether in danger or out of it, to have been animated with a heroic firmness. In a mind such as his, so richly stored with the noble examples furnished by sacred history, and with such a deep sense of the responsibility attached to his office, we are prepared to expect the same consistency of principle, and decision of conduct in admonishing men, even of the most exalted rank. * * * We have every reason to suppose that the tenor of his conduct in life became the high office of which he made profession. From the sternness with which he censures manners and customs prevalent in society, the conforming to many of which could incur no moral guilt, it is to be presumed that he was of the most rigid and austere class of divines. * * * We are ignorant of any of the circumstances attending his last moments, a time peculiarly interesting in the life of every man; but from what we know of him, we may venture to say, without the hazard of an erroneous conclusion, that his state of mind, at the trying hour, was that of a firm and cheerful expectation in the belief in the great doctrines of Christianity, which he had so earnestly inculcated, both from the pulpit and the press, with the additional comfort and support of a long and laborious life in his Master's service. About twenty-five years before his death, he was so near the verge of the grave, that his friends had made the necessary preparation for his winding sheet, which he afterwards found among his books. He seems to have recovered from the disease with a renewed determination to

[4] The accurate editor of a new edition of "The Last Battell of the Soule," (Glasgow, 1831,) from whose memoir of Mr Zachary most of these facts are taken, blames Mr Baillie in my opinion, unjustly, for having fled on this occasion, while Mr Zachary had the superior courage to remain. It should be recollected that Mr Baillie had particular reason to dread the vengeance of Cromwell and his army, having been one of the principal individuals concerned in the bringing home of the King, and consequently in the provocation of the present war.

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employ the remainder of his life in the cause to which he had been previously devoted: he pursued perseveringly to near its termination, this happy course, and just lived to complete an extensive manuscript work, bearing for its title, 'The Notable places of the Scripture expounded,' at the end of which he adds, in a tremulous and indistinct hand-writing, 'Heere the author was neere his end, and was able to do no more, March 3d, 1653.'"[5]

Mr Zachary had been twice married, first, to Elizabeth Fleming, of whom no memorial is preserved, and secondly, to Margaret Mure, third daughter of William Mure of Glanderston, (near Neilston, Renfrewshire.) By neither of his wives had he any offspring. The second wife, surviving him, married for her second husband the celebrated Durham, author of the Commentary on the Revelation—to whom, it would appear, she had betrayed some partiality even in her first husband's lifetime. There is a traditional anecdote, that, when Mr Zachary was dictating his last will, his spouse made one modest request, namely, that he would bequeath something to Mr Durham. He answered, with a sarcastic reference to herself, "I'll lea' him what I canna keep frae him." He seems to have possessed an astonishing quantity of worldly goods for a Scottish clergyman of that period. He had lent eleven thousand merks to Mure of Rowallan, five thousand to the Earl of Glencairn, and six thousand to the Earl of Loudon; which sums, with various others, swelled his whole property in money to £4527 Scots. This, after the deduction of certain expenses, was divided, in terms of his will, between his relict and the college of Glasgow. About £20,000 Scots is said to have been the sum realized by the College, besides his library and manuscript compositions; but it is a mistake that he made any stipulation as to the publication of his writings, or any part of them. To this splendid legacy, we appear to be chiefly indebted for the present elegant buildings of the College, which were mostly erected under the care of Principal Gillespie during the period of the Commonwealth. In gratitude for the munificent gift of Mr Zachary, a bust of his figure was erected over the gateway within the court, with an appropriate inscription. There is also a portrait of him in the Divinity Hall of the College. Nineteen works, chiefly devotional and religious, and none of them of great extent, were published by Mr Zachary during his lifetime; but these bore a small proportion to his manuscript writings, which are no less than eighty-six in number, chiefly comprised within thirteen quarto volumes, written in a very close hand, apparently for the press. Besides those contained in the thirteen volumes, are three others—"Zion's Flowers, or Christian Poems for Spiritual Edification." 2 vols. 4to. "The English Academie, containing precepts and purpose for the weal both of Soul and Body," 1 vol. 12mo. and "The Four Evangels in English verse."

"Mr Boyd appears to have been a scholar of very considerable learning. He composed in Latin, and his qualifications in that language may be deemed respectable. His works also bear the evidence of his having been possessed of a critical knowledge of the Greek, Hebrew, and other languages. As a prose writer, he will bear comparison with any of the Scottish divines of the same age. He is superior to Rutherford, and, in general, more grammatically correct than even Baillie himself, who was justly esteemed a very learned man. His style may be considered excellent for the period. Of his characteristics as a writer, his originality of thought is particularly striking. He discusses many of his subjects with spirit and ingenuity, and there is much which must be acknowledged as flowing from a vigorous intellect, and a fervid, and poetical imagination. This latter tendency of his genius is at all times awake, and from which may be inferred his taste for metaphor, and love of colouring, so conspicuous in his

[5] Life prefixed to new edition of "The Last Battell of the Soule."

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writings. He has great fertility of explication, amounting often to diffuseness, and, in many cases, it would have been well had he known where to have paused. With extensive powers of graphic delineation, he is an instructive and interesting writer, though dwelling too much upon minute circumstances. He seems naturally to have been a man of an agreeable temperament, and as a consequence, at times, blends, with the subject on which he dilates, a dash of his own good nature, in some humorous and witty observations. His irony, often well-timed and well-turned, comes down with the force of illustration, and the sneer of sarcastic rebuke. A close observer of mankind and their actions, the judgment he forms respecting them, is that of a shrewd, sagacious, and penetrating mind. Like a skilful master of his profession, he discovers an intimate knowledge of the manifold, and secret workings of the depravity of the human heart; and though some of the disclosures of its wickedness may not be conveyed in the most polished terms, we commend the honesty, and simplicity of his heart, who had invariably followed the good old practice of a sincere and wholesome plainness. His prayers breathe the warm, and powerful strains of a devotional mind, and a rich vein of feeling and piety runs through the matter of all his meditations. We have now to notice Mr Boyd in the character in which he has hitherto been best known to the world, namely, in that of a poet. One of his most popular attempts to render himself serviceable to his country was in preparing a poetical version of the Book of Psalms for the use of the church. It had been previous to 1646 that he engaged in this, as the Assembly of 1647, when appointing a committee to examine Rous's version, which had been transmitted to them by the Assembly at Westminster, 'recommended them to avail themselves of the psalter of Rowallan, and of Mr Zachary Boyd, and of any other poetical writers.' It is further particularly recommended to Mr Zachary Boyd to translate the other Scriptural Songs in metre, and to report his travails therein to the commission of that Assembly: that after their examination thereof they may send the same to the presbyteries to be there considered until the next General Assembly. (*Assembly Acts, Aug.* 28, 1647.)' Mr Boyd complied with this request, as the Assembly, Aug. 10, 1648, 'recommends to Mr John Adamson, and Mr Thomas Crawfurd to revise the labours of Mr Zachary Boyd upon the other Scripture Songs, and to prepare a report thereof to the said commission for publick affairs,' who, it is probable, had never given in any 'report of their labours.' Of his version, Baillie had not entertained a high opinion, as he says, 'Our good friend, Mr Zachary Boyd, has put himself to a great deal of pains and charges to make a psalter, but I ever warned him his hopes were groundless to get it received in our churches, yet the flatteries of his unadvised neighbours makes him insist in his fruitless design.' There seems to have been a party who did not undervalue Mr Boyd's labours quite so much as Baillie, and who, if possible, were determined to carry their point, as, according to Baillie's statement, 'The Psalms were often revised, and sent to presbyteries,' and, 'had it not been for some who had more regard than needed to Mr Zachary Boyd's psalter, I think they (*Rous's version*) had passed through in the end of last Assembly; but these, with almost all the references from the former Assemblies, were remitted to the next.' On 23d November, 1649, Rous's version, revised and improved, was sanctioned by the commission with authority of the General Assembly, and any other discharged from being used in the churches, or its families. Mr Boyd was thus deprived of the honour to which he aspired with some degree of zeal, and it must have been to himself and friends, a source of considerable disappointment.

"Among other works, he produced two volumes, under the title of 'Zion's Flowers, or Christian Poems for Spirituall Edification,' and it is these which

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are usually shown as his *bible*, and have received that designation. These volumes consist of a collection of poems on select subjects in Scripture history, such as that of Josiah, Jephtha, David and Goliah, &c. rendered into the dramatic form, in which various 'speakers' are introduced, and where the prominent facts of the Scripture narrative are brought forward, and amplified. We have a pretty close parallel to these poems, in the "Ancient Mysteries" of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and in the sacred dramas of some modern writers."

The preceding criticism and facts which we have taken the liberty to borrow from Mr Neil,[1] form an able and judicious defence of the memory of this distinguished man. As some curiosity, however, may reasonably be entertained respecting compositions which excited so much vulgar and ridiculous misrepresentation, we shall make no apology for introducing some specimens of Mr Boyd's poetry—both of that kind which seems to have been dictated when his Pegasus was careering through "the highest heaven of invention," and of that other sort which would appear to have been conceived while the sacred charger was cantering upon the mean soil of this nether world, which it sometimes did, I must confess, very much after the manner of the most ordinary beast of burden. The following Morning Hymn for Christ, selected from his work entitled, "The English Academie," will scarcely fail to convey a respectful impression of the writer:—

O Day Spring from on high,
Cause pass away our night;
Clear first our morning sky,
And after shine thou bright.

Of lights thou art the light,
Of righteousness the sun;
Thy beams they are most bright,
Through all the world they run.

The day thou hast begun
Thou wilt it clearer make;
We hope to see this Sun
High in our Zodiak.

O make thy morning dew
To fall without all cease;
Do thou such favour show
As unto Gideon's fleece.

O do thou never cease
To make that dew to fall—
The dew of grace and peace,
And joys celestial.

This morning we do call
Upon thy name divine,
That thou among us all
Cause thine Aurora shine.

Let shadows all decline,
And wholly pass away,
That light which is divine,
May bring to us our day.

A day to shine for aye,
A day that is most bright,
A day that never may
Be *followed with a night*.

O, of all lights the light,
The Light that is most true,
Now banish thou our night,
And still our light renew.

Thy face now to us show
O son of God most dear;
O Morning Star, most true,
Make thou our darkness clear.

Nothing at all is here,
That with thee may compare;
O unto us draw near,
And us thy children spare!

Thy mercies they are rare,
If they were understood;
Wrath due to us thou bare,
And for us shed thy blood.

Like beasts they are most rude,
Whom reason cannot move—
Thou most perfytely good,
Entirely for to love.

Us make mind things above,
Even things that most excell;
Of thine untainted love,
Give us the sacred seal.

O that we light could see
That shineth in thy face!
So, at the last, should we
From glory go to grace.

Within thy sacred place
Is only true content,
When God's seen face to face,
Above the firmament.

[1] Life of Zachary Boyd, prefixed to the new Edition of His "Last Battel of the Soule."

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O that our hours were spent,
Among the sons of men,
To praise the Omnipotent,
Amen, yea, and Amen!

The ludicrous passages are not many in number. The following is one which Pennant first presented to the world; being the soliloquy of Jonah within the whale's belly; taken from "The Flowers of Zion:"—

Here apprehended I in prison ly;
What goods will ransom my captivity?
What house is this, where's neither coal nor candle,
Where I nothing but guts of fishes handle?
I and my table are both here within,
Where day neere dawned, where sunne did never shine,
The like of this on earth man never saw,
A living man within a monster's maw.
Buried under mountains which are high and steep,
Plunged under waters hundreth fathoms deep.
Not so was Noah in his house of tree,
For through a window he the light did see;
Hee sailed above the highest waves—a wonder;
I and my boat are all the waters under;
Hee in his ark might goe and also come,
But I sit still in such a straitened roome
As is most uncouth, head and feet together,
Among such grease as would a thousand smother.
I find no way now for my shrinking hence,
But heere to lie and die for mine offence;
Eight prisoners were in Noah's hulk together
Comfortable they were, each one to other.
In all the earth like unto mee is none,
Far from all living, I heere lye alone,
Where I entombed in melancholy sink,
Choakt, suffocat, &c.

And it is strange that, immediately after this grotesque description of his situation, Pegasus again ascends, and Jonah begins a prayer to God, conceived in a fine strain of devotion.

BROWN, James, a traveller and scholar of some eminence, was the son of James Brown, M. D. who published a translation of two "Orations of Isocrates," without his name, and who died in 1733. The subject of this article was born at Kelso, May 23d, 1709, and was educated at Westminster School, where he made great proficiency in the Latin and Greek classics. In the year 1722, when less than fourteen years of age, he accompanied his father to Constantinople, where, having naturally an aptitude for the acquisition of languages, he made himself a proficient in Turkish, modern Greek, and Italian. On his return in 1725, he added the Spanish to the other languages which he had already mastered. About 1732, he was the means of commencing the publication of the London Directory, a work of vast utility in the mercantile world, and which has since been imitated in almost every considerable town in the empire. After having laid the foundation of this undertaking, he transferred his interest in it to Mr Henry Kent, a printer in Finch-Lane, Cornhill, who carried it on for many years, and eventually, through its means, acquired a fortune and an estate. In 1741, Brown entered into an engagement with twenty-four of the principal merchants in London, to act as their chief agent in carrying on a trade, through Russia, with Persia. Having travelled to that country by the Wolga and the

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Caspian Sea, he established a factory at Reshd, where he continued nearly four years. During this time, he travelled in state to the camp of the famous Kouli Khan, with a letter which had been transmitted to him by George II. for that monarch. He also rendered himself such a proficient in the Persic language, as to be able, on his return, to compile a copious dictionary and grammar, with many curious specimens of Persic literature, which, however, was never published. A sense of the dangerous situation of the settlement, and his dissatisfaction with some of his employers, were the causes of his return; and his remonstrances on these subjects were speedily found to be just, by the factory being plundered of property to the amount of L.80,000, and a period being put to the Persian trade. From his return in 1746 to his death, which took place in his house at Stoke Newington, November 30, 1788, he appears to have lived in retirement upon his fortune. In the obituary of the Gentleman's Magazine, he is characterised as a person of strict integrity, unaffected piety, and exalted, but unostentatious benevolence.

BROWN, JOHN, author of the "Self-Interpreting Bible," and many popular religious works, was born in the year 1722 at Carpow, a village in the parish of Abernethy and county of Perth. His father, for the greatest part of his life, followed the humble occupation of a weaver, and was entirely destitute of the advantages of regular education, but, nevertheless, seems to have been a man of superior intelligence and worth, and even to have possessed some portion of that zeal in the pursuit of knowledge, and that facility in acquiring it without the ordinary helps, which his son so largely inherited. In consequence of the circumstances of his parents, John Brown was able to spend but a very limited time at school in acquiring the elements of reading, writing, and arithmetic. "One month," he has himself told us, "without his parent's allowance, he bestowed upon Latin." His thirst for knowledge was intense, and excited him even at this early period to extraordinary diligence in all departments of study, but particularly to religious culture. The strong direction of his mind from the beginning to scholarship in general, and to that kind of it more closely connected with divinity in particular, seems to have early suggested to his mother the possibility of his one day finding scope for the indulgence of his taste in the service of the church, and made her often picture, in the visions of maternal fondness, the day when she should, to use her own homely expression, "see the crows flying over her bairn's kirk."

About the eleventh year of his age he was deprived by death of his father, and soon after of his mother, and was himself reduced, by four successive attacks of fever, to a state which made it probable that he was about speedily to join his parents in the grave. But having recovered from this illness, he had the good fortune to find a friend and protector in John Ogilvie, a shepherd venerable for age, and eminent for piety, who fed his flock among the neighbouring mountains. This worthy individual was an elder of the parish of Abernethy, yet, though a person of intelligence and religion, was so destitute of education as to be unable even to read—a circumstance which may appear strange to those accustomed to hear of the universal diffusion of elementary education among the Scottish peasantry, but which is to be accounted for in this case, as in that of the elder Brown, by the disordered state of all the social institutions in Scotland previous to the close of the seventeenth century. To supply his own deficiency, Ogilvie was glad to engage young Brown to assist him in tending his flock, and read to him during the intervals of comparative inaction and repose which his occupation afforded. To screen themselves from the storm and the heat, they built a little lodge among the hills, and to this their mountain *tabernacle* (long after pointed out under this name by the peasants) they frequently repaired to cele-

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brate their pastoral devotions. Often "the wilderness and the solitary place were glad for them, and the desert rejoiced even with joy and singing."

Ere long it happened that Ogilvie retired from his occupation as a shepherd, and settled in the town of Abernethy. In consequence of this change, young Brown entered the service of a neighbouring farmer, who maintained a more numerous establishment than his former friend. This step he laments as having been followed by much practical apostasy from God, and showed itself in a sensible decline of religious attainments, and a general lukewarmness in religious duty. Still, however, during the season of backsliding which he himself saw reason thus to deplore, his external character was remarkably distinguished by many virtues, and especially by the rare and truly Christian grace of meekness. In the year 1733, four ministers of the Church of Scotland, among whom was Mr Moncrieff of Abernethy, declared a secession from its judicatures, alleging as their reasons for taking this step the following list of grievances; "The sufferance of error without adequate censure; the infringement of the rights of the Christian people in the choice and settlement of ministers under the law of patronage; the neglect or relaxation of discipline; the restraint of ministerial freedom in opposing mal-administration, and the refusal of the prevailing party to be reclaimed." To this body our young shepherd early attached himself, and ventured to conceive the idea of one day becoming a shepherd of souls in that connection. He accordingly prosecuted his studies with increasing ardour and diligence, and began to attain considerable knowledge of Latin and Greek. These acquisitions he made entirely without aid from others, except that he was able occasionally to snatch an hour when the flocks were folded at noon, in order to seek the solution of such difficulties as his unaided efforts could not master, from two neighbouring clergymen—the one Mr Moncrieff of Abernethy, who has just been mentioned as one of the founders of the Secession, and the other Mr Johnston of Arngask, father of the late venerable Dr Johnston of North-Leith; both of whom were very obliging and communicative, and took great interest in promoting the progress of the studious shepherd-boy. An anecdote has been preserved of this part of his life and studies which deserves to be mentioned. He had now acquired so much knowledge of Greek as encouraged him to hope that he might at length be prepared to reap the richest of all rewards which classical learning could confer on him, the capacity of reading, in the original tongue, the blessed New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Full of this hope, he became anxious to possess a copy of the invaluable volume. One night, accordingly, having folded his flocks in safety, and his fellow-shepherd, whose sentiments towards him were now those of friendship and veneration, having undertaken to discharge his pastoral duties for the succeeding day, he set out on a midnight-journey to St Andrews, a distance of twenty-four miles. Having reached his destination in the morning, he repaired straightway to the nearest bookseller, and asked for a copy of the Greek New Testament. The master of the shop, though, situated as he was in a provincial Scottish University, he must have been accustomed to hear such books inquired for by youths whose appearance and habiliments were none of the most civilized, was nevertheless somewhat astonished by such an application from so unlikely a person, and was rather disposed to taunt him with its presumption. Meanwhile a party of gentlemen, said to have been professors in the university, entered the shop, and having understood the matter, questioned the lad about his employment and studies. After hearing his tale, one of them desired the bookseller to bring the volume, who accordingly produced it, and throwing it down upon the table, "Boy," said he, "read that book, and you shall have it for nothing." The offer was too good to be rejected, and young Brown, having acquitted himself to the admira-

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tion of his judges, carried off his cheaply-purchased Testament in triumph, and, ere the evening arrived, was studying it in the midst of his flock upon the hills of Abernethy.

His extraordinary acquisitions about this time subjected him to a suspicion, which was more generally entertained than would now appear credible, that he received a secret aid from the enemy of man, upon the pledge of his own soul. It was probably in consequence of the annoyance he experienced on this account, that he abandoned the occupation of a shepherd, and undertook that of pedlar or travelling-merchant. This mode of life was once of much greater importance and higher esteem in Scotland than at present, when the facilities of communication between all parts of the country and the greater seats of commerce have been multiplied to such a degree, and was often pursued by persons of great intelligence and respectability. Its peculiar tendency to imbue the mind with a love of nature, and form it to a knowledge of the world, have been finely illustrated by a great poet of our day: nor is the Scottish pedlar of the Excursion, though certainly somewhat too metaphysical and liberal, in every respect the unnatural character which it has been represented. It will not, however, be considered very surprising when we say, that young Brown did not shine in his new profession. During his mercantile peregrinations, which lay chiefly in the interior parts of Fife and Kinrosshire, he made it a rule to call at no house of which the family had not the character of being religious and given to reading. When he was received into any such dwelling, his first care was to have all the books it could furnish collected together, among which, if he did but light upon a new one, with avidity he fell to the literary feast, losing in the appetite of the soul, the hunger of the body, and in the traffic of knowledge forgetting the merchandise of pedlar's wares. It is related, and may well be believed, that the contents of his pack, on his return to head quarters from one of his expeditions, used to present a lively image of chaos, and that he was very glad to express his obligations to any neat-handed housewife who would take the arrangement of them upon herself. Many a time and oft was he prudently reminded of the propriety of attending more to his business, and not wasting his time on what did not concern him—till his monitors at last gave up the case in despair, and wisely shaking their heads, pronounced him "good for nothing but to be a scholar."

Soon after the close of the Rebellion of 1745, during which period he served as a volunteer in the regiment of militia raised by the county of Fife, in behalf of the government, he resolved to undertake the more dignified duties of schoolmaster. He established himself in the year 1747 at Gairney Bridge, a village in the neighbourhood of Kinross, and there laid the foundation of a school which subsisted for a considerable time, and, fifteen years after, was taught by another individual whose name has also become favourably known to the world—whose lot, however, was not like his predecessor's, to come to the grave "like a shock of corn fully ripe," but to wither prematurely "in the morn and liquid dew of youth,"—the tender and interesting young poet, Michael Bruce. During Mr Brown's incumbency, which lasted for two years, this school was remarkably successful, and attracted scholars from a considerable distance. He afterwards taught for a year and a half another school at Spittal, in the congregation of Linton, under Mr James Mair. The practical character of his talents, the accuracy of his learning, the intimate experience which, as a self-taught scholar, he must have had of elementary difficulties, and the best mode of solving them, and the conscientiousness and assiduity which always formed distinguishing features of his character—must have peculiarly qualified him for the discharge of his present duties. While active in superintending the studies of others, he did not relax in the prosecution of his own. On the contrary, his ardour seems to have led him

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into imprudent extremes of exertion. He would commit to memory fifteen chapters of the Bible as an evening exercise after the labours of the day, and after such killing efforts, allow himself but four hours of repose. To this excess of exertion he was probably stimulated by the near approach of the period to which he had long looked forward with trembling hope—the day which was to reward the toils and trials of his various youth, by investing him with the solemn function of an ambassador of Christ. During the vacations of his school, he was now engaged in the regular study of philosophy and divinity under the inspection of the Associate Synod, and the superintendence of the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine, and James Fisher, two of the original founders, and principal lights of the Secession church. At length, in the year 1751, having completed his preparatory course of study, and approved himself on trial before the Associate Presbytery of Edinburgh, he was licensed by that reverend body, at Dalkeith, to preach the gospel in their society. He entered upon the sacred work with deep impressions of its solemn responsibilities. He has himself mentioned that his mind, immediately previous to his receiving authority to preach, was very vividly affected by that awful text in Isaiah vi. 9, 10, "He said, Go and tell this people, Hear ye indeed, but understand not; see ye indeed, but perceive not; make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their hearts, and convert and be healed." He had not been long a probationer, when he received two nearly simultaneous calls to the settled discharge of ministerial duty; one from the congregation of Stow, a village in the shire of Edinburgh, and the other from that of Haddington, the principal town in the county of that name. The Presbytery of Edinburgh, within whose bounds both congregations were included, and which had therefore, according to the Presbyterian constitution, the right of deciding between their competing claims, submitted the matter to his own discretion. His choice was determined to Haddington, partly by his feelings of sympathy with that congregation for disappointments it had already experienced, and partly by his modest estimate of his own qualifications, to which he felt the smaller of the two charges more suitable. Over this congregation therefore he was finally ordained pastor in the month of June, 1751. It deserves to be mentioned, however, that he continued regularly to visit and examine the congregation of Stow until it was supplied with a regular minister.

To the duties of the sacred office he devoted himself with the most zealous and laborious industry. The smallness of his congregation enabled him at once to undertake the widest range of ministerial duty, and to execute it with the greatest minuteness and accuracy. Besides regularly preaching four discourses every Sunday during the summer, and three during winter in his own place of worship, and occasionally in the country during the week, he visited all his people annually in his pastoral capacity, and carried them twice in the same period through a course of public catechetical examinations. He was very assiduous in his visits to the sick and the afflicted, and that not merely to those of his own congregation, but to all, of every denomination, who desired his services. The peculiar characteristic of his manner of address on all these occasions, public and private, was an intense solemnity and earnestness, which extorted attention even from the scorner, and was obviously the genuine expression of his own overwhelming sense of the reality and importance of the message. "His grave appearance," says a late English divine, who had attended his ministry for some time, "his solemn, weighty, and energetic manner of speaking, used to affect me very much. Certainly his preaching was close, and his address to the conscience pungent. Like his Lord and Master, he spoke with authority and hallowed pathos, having tasted the sweetness and felt the power of what he delivered." To the same

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effect, the celebrated David Hume, having been led to hear him preach on one occasion at North Berwick, remarked, "That old man preaches as if Christ were at his elbow." Except for his overawing seriousness, and occasionally a melting sweetness in his voice, it does not appear that his delivery was by any means attractive. "It was my mercy," he says, with characteristic modesty, that "the Lord, who had given me some other talents, withheld from me a popular delivery, so that though my discourses were not disrelished by the serious, so far as I heard, yet they were not so agreeable to many hearts as those of my brethren, which it was a pleasure to me to see possessed of that talent which the Lord, to restrain my pride, had denied to me." His labours were not in vain in the Lord. The members of his congregation, the smallness of which he often spoke of as a mercy, seem to have been enabled to walk, in a great measure, suitably to their profession and their privileges; and he had less experience than most ministers of that bitterest of all trials attached to a conscientious pastor's situation—scandalous irregularities of practice among those in regard to whom he can have no greater joy than to see them walking in the truth. In ecclesiastical policy, he was a staunch Presbyterian and Seceder in the original sense of the term, as denoting an individual separated, not from the constitution of the established church, either as a church or as an establishment, but from the policy and control of the predominant party in her judicatures. At the unhappy division of the Secession church in 1745, commonly known by the name of the Breach, on the question of making refusal of the burgess oath a term of communion, though personally doubtful of the propriety of a Seceder's swearing the oath in question, he attached himself to that party, who, from declining peremptorily to pronounce it unlawful, obtained the popular appellation of Burghers,—justly considering that a difference of opinion on this point was by no means of sufficient importance to break the sacred bond of Christian fellowship. His public prayers were liberal and catholic, and he always showed the strongest affection for gospel ministers and true Christians of every name. In an unpublished letter to a noble lady of the episcopal communion, he expresses his hope "that it will afford her a delightful satisfaction to observe how extensive and important the agreement, and how small the difference of religious sentiments, between a professedly staunch Presbyterian and a truly conscientious Episcopalian, if they both cordially believe the doctrine of God's free grace reigning to men's eternal life, through the imputed righteousness of Jesus Christ our Lord." He made a point of regularly attending and acting in the church courts, though he avoided taking any leading part in the management of ecclesiastical business. The uniformity and universality of his habits of personal devotion were remarkable. Of him it might well be said, that he walked with God, and that in God he, as it were to his own consciousness, lived, and moved, and had his being. He had acquired a holy skill in deriving, from every scene of nature, and every incident of life, occasions of Christian thought, impulses of Christian feeling, motives to Christian duty. His "Christian Journal" seems to have been literally the picture of his daily course and association of ideas, and the beautiful motto he has prefixed to it, to have been the expression of his own experience: "The ear that is ever attentive to God never hears a voice that speaks not of Him; the soul, whose eye is intent on him, never sees an atom in which she doth not discern her Best Beloved." He could hold sweet communion with his heavenly Father in the most terrible displays of His majesty, not less than in the softer manifestations of His benignity. One day, hearing a tremendous crash of thunder, he smilingly exclaimed to those around, "That is the low whisper of my God." His seasons of prayer, stated and special, secret and domestic, were frequent beyond the rules of any prescribed routine. Often was he overheard, in the nightly and the

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morning watches, conversing with his God in prayer and praise, remembering his Maker upon his bed, and having his song with him in the night. Amidst the ordinary details of life, the devout aspirations of the heart were continually breaking forth in ejaculations of thanksgiving and holy desire: his conversation habitually dwelt on heavenly things; or, if secular objects were introduced, he would turn them with sanctifying ingenuity into divine emblems and spiritual analogies. His whole mind and life seemed impregnated with devotion, and all his days formed, as it were, one Sabbath. The extent of his pecuniary liberality was surprising. He considered it a binding duty on every individual to devote at least the tenth part of his revenue to pious uses; and out of an income which, during the greater part of his life, amounted to only forty pounds a year, and never exceeded fifty, and from which he had a numerous family to support, he generally exceeded that proportion. He distributed his benevolence with strict attention to the Saviour's command, "Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth."

He was aware of the importance of conversation among the various means of doing good, and, though he laments his own "sinful weakness and unskilfulness in pushing religious discourse," he was too conscientious to neglect the opportunities which presented themselves of promoting, in this way, the glory of God and the best interests of men. He made it a distinct principle never to leave any company in which he might be placed, without saying something which, by the blessing of God, might promote their spiritual good. It is related, that, having accidentally met Ferguson the poet walking in Haddington church-yard, and being struck with his pensive appearance, he modestly addressed him, and offered him certain serious advices, which deeply affected him at the time, and doubtless had their share in exciting and promoting those terrible convictions which latterly overwhelmed the poet's mind, and in which it may perhaps be hoped there was something better than "the sorrow that worketh death." He knew, however, that there was a certain discretion to be used in such cases, and a selection to be made of the "*mollia tempora fandi*," the seasons when words are "fitly spoken." Of this, the following anecdote is an example:—Having occasion to cross the ferry between Leith and Kinghorn, with a Highland gentleman as his fellow-passenger, he was much grieved to hear his companion frequently take the name of God in vain, but restrained himself from taking any notice of it in the presence of the rest of the company. On reaching land, however, observing the same gentleman walking alone upon the beach, he stepped up, and calmly reminded him of the offence he had been guilty of, and the law of God which forbids and condemns it. The gentleman received the reproof with expressions of thanks, and declared his resolution to attend to it in future. "But," added the choleric Celt, "had you spoken to me so in the boat, I believe I should have run you through."

It will not be supposed, that, after having given himself with such ardour to study in circumstances of comparative disadvantage, he neglected to avail himself of the more favourable opportunities he now enjoyed of extending and consolidating his knowledge. By a diligent improvement of the morning hours, and a studious economy of time throughout the day, he rarely spent fewer than twelve hours of the twenty-four in his study. He possessed extraordinary patience of the physical labour connected with hard study. No degree of toil in the way of reading, or even of writing, seemed to daunt or to fatigue him. Though he never enjoyed the assistance of an amanuensis, he transcribed most of his works several times with his own hand: and even without a view to the press, he more than once undertook the same fatigue for the convenience of private individuals. In this way, at the request of the Countess of Huntingdon, he

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copied out his System of Divinity, before its publication, for the use of her Ladyship's theological seminary in Wales. He had remarkable facility in the acquisition of languages; and of this species of knowledge, the key to every other, he possessed an extraordinary amount. Besides the three commonly called the learned tongues, he was acquainted with Arabic, Syriac, Persic, and Ethiopic, and, of the modern languages, with the French, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, and German. In the various departments of *real* as distinguished from *verbal* knowledge, his reading was very wide in range and various in subject. His favourite pursuits were history and divinity; but every subject, which more nearly or more remotely bore on the literature of his profession, he considered worthy of his attention. He afterwards saw reason to repent of the wideness of his aims in this respect, and to regret "the precious time and talents," to use his own words, "he had vainly squandered in the mad attempt to become a universal scholar." His reading, though thus extensive, was at the same time very exact and accurate. In order to render it so, he in many cases adopted the tedious and laborious method of compiling regular abridgments of important and voluminous books. Among the works he thus epitomised, were Judge Blackstone's Commentaries, and the Ancient Universal History.

In the month of September 1753, about two years after his ordination, Mr Brown married Miss Janet Thomson, daughter of Mr John Thomson, merchant at Musselburgh. For eighteen years he enjoyed in her a "help meet" for him in his Christian course, and at the end of that period he surrendered her, as he himself expresses it, "to her first and better Husband." They had several children, of whom only two survived their mother—John and Ebenezer, both of whom their father had the satisfaction before his death of introducing as ministers into the church of Christ, the former at Whitburn, and the latter at Inverkeithing. Two years after the death of his first wife, which took place in 1771, he was married a second time to Miss Violet Croumbie, daughter of Mr William Croumbie, merchant, Stenton, East Lothian, who survived him for more than thirty years, and by whom he left at his death four sons and two daughters, of whom only the half are now alive. In his domestic economy and discipline, Mr Brown laboured after a strict fidelity to his ordination vow, by which he promised to rule well his own house. His notions in regard to the authority of a husband and a father were very high, and all the power which as such he thought himself to possess, was faithfully employed in maintaining both the form and the power of godliness.

In the year 1758, Mr Brown, for the first time, appeared as an author. His first publication was entitled "An Help for the Ignorant, being an Essay towards an Easy Explication of the Westminster Confession of Faith, and Catechisms, compiled for the use of the young ones of his own congregation." In addition to this, he published, six years after, two short catechisms—one introductory to, the other explanatory of, the Shorter Catechism. All these publications have been very extensively useful. In 1765, he published, what was at the time by far the most popular and successful of his works, entitled "The Christian Journal, or Common Incidents Spiritual Instructors." This work, though it has some of the literary defects which, on such a subject, might have been expected from an author so circumstanced, such as the occasional indulgence of unrefined images, the excess of detail in tracing the analogies, and a certain monotonous rhythm of style, in many cases scarcely distinguishable from blank verse—nevertheless displays an extraordinary richness and ingenuity of fancy, and in many instances rises into a most impressive and heart-warming eloquence. In 1766, he published a History of the Rise and Progress of the Secession, and the year following, a series of Letters on the Constitution, Discipline, and Government of

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the Christian Church. These tracts were followed by his Sacred Tropology, the first of a series of works which he designed for the purpose of giving a clear, comprehensive, and regular view of the figures, types, and predictions of Scripture. The second and third parts were published in 1781.

In the year 1768, in consequence of the death of the Rev. John Swanston of Kinross, Professor of Divinity under the Associate Synod, Mr Brown was elected to the vacant chair. The duties of this important office he discharged with great ability and exemplary diligence and success. His public prelections were directed to the two main objects, first, of instructing his pupils in the science of Christianity, and secondly, of impressing their hearts with its power. The system of Divinity which he was led, in the course of his professional duty, to compile, and which was afterwards published, is perhaps the one of all his works which exhibits most striking proofs of precision, discrimination, and enlargement of thought; and is altogether one of the most dense, and at the same time perspicuous views which has yet been given of the theology of the Westminster Confession. The charge which he took of those committed to his care, was not entirely of the 'ex cathedra' description. The situation of the Hall in a small provincial town, and the manners of the age, combined with his just sense of the importance of the students' private exertions and personal habits, enabled him to exercise a much more minute and household superintendance over the young men under his direction. Frequently in the morning he was accustomed to go his rounds among their lodgings, to assure himself that they were usefully employing "the golden hours of prime." The personal contact between professor and pupils was thus remarkably close and unbroken, and hence we find that among those who can recollect their attendance on the Divinity Hall at Haddington, the interest with which every mind looks back to the scenes and seasons of early study has a greater character of individuality, and is associated with minuter recollections than we generally meet with after so long a lapse of years.

The same year in which he was elected to the theological chair he preached and published a very powerful sermon on Religious Steadfastness, in which he dwells at considerable length on the religious state of the nation, and expresses violent apprehensions at the visible diffusion and advance of what he called latitudinarianism, and what we of this tolerant age would term liberality of religious sentiment. He likewise this year gave to the world one of the most elaborate, and certainly one of the most valuable of all his writings, the Dictionary of the Holy Bible. For popular use, it is unquestionably the most suitable work of the kind which yet exists, containing the results of most extensive and various reading both in the science and in the literature of Christianity, given without pretension or parade, and with a uniform reference to practical utility. In 1771, the Honourable and Reverend Mr Shirley, by command of the Countess of Huntingdon, applied to Mr Brown for his opinions on the grand subject of justification, in view of a conference to be held on this question with Mr Wesley and his preachers. This application gave occasion to a long and animated correspondence with that noble lady, (a correspondence which, in consequence of our author's modesty, remained a secret till after his death,) and to a series of articles from his pen on the doctrine of justification, which appeared, from time to time, in the Gospel Magazine and Theological Miscellany, between the years 1770 and 1776. In the same year he was led, by a desire to contribute to the yet better instruction of his students, to form the design of composing a manual of church history on a general and comprehensive plan. It was to consist of three parts, "the first comprehending a general view of transactions relating to the church from the birth of our Saviour to the present time; the second containing more fully the histories of the Reformed British Churches in England,

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Scotland, Ireland, and America; the third to comprehend the histories of the Waldenses and the Protestant churches of Switzerland, France, Holland, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, and Hungary." Of these he completed the two former, his General History having been published in 1771, and his History of the British Churches in the beginning of 1784. These form very useful popular compends, though destitute of high historical authority. The history of the British Churches, as a work of original research, is much superior to the more general compilation, which is little more than an abridgment of Mosheim, written in a more fervid spirit than the latter is accustomed to display. Mr Brown's next publication appeared in 1775, and was an edition of the metrical "Psalms, with notes exhibiting the connection, explaining the sense, and for directing and animating the devotion." In 1778 he gave to the world the great work on which his reputation is chiefly founded, "The Self-Interpreting Bible," the object of which is to condense, within a manageable compass, all the information which an ordinary reader may find necessary for attaining an intelligent and practical knowledge of the sacred oracles. The first publication of this work was attended with considerable difficulties, in consequence of the claim of the king's printers to the exclusive right of printing the authorized version of the Scriptures, whether accompanied or not with illustrative matter. This claim, however, having been set aside, the work was at length given to the world in 1778, and received with a high and gradually increasing and still unexhausted approbation. The same year he published a small tract entitled "the Oracles of Christ Abominations of Antichrist," and four years after, his "Letters on Toleration:" strenuously maintaining the unlawfulness of tolerating by authority a false religion in a professedly Christian country. These publications originated in the universal sentiment of alarm entertained by the evangelical presbyterians of Scotland, both within and without the establishment, in consequence of the proposed abolition of the penal code against the Roman Catholics.

In 1781, besides his works on the types and prophecies formerly referred to, he published a sermon on the "Duty of Raising up Spiritual Children unto Christ," preached partly at Whitburn, and partly after his son Ebenezer's ordination at Inverkeithing. He likewise, in the course of the same year, wrote a pamphlet in defence of the re-exhibition of the testimony, and a collection of the biographies of eminent divines, under the name of the "Christian Student and Pastor." This was the first of a series of similar compilations intended as illustrations and examples of practical religion, and was followed in 1781 by the "Young Christian," and in 1783 by the "Lives of thirteen Eminent Private Christians." In 1783, he published a small "Concordance to the Bible." The year following, he received an invitation from the reformed Dutch church in America, to become their Professor of Divinity, which he declined, and modestly kept secret. And, in 1785, he concluded his career as an author, by a pamphlet against the travelling of the Mail on the Lord's-day—a day for the observance of which, in the strictest degree of sanctity, he always showed himself peculiarly jealous, not only abstaining himself, but prohibiting his family, from speaking on that day on any worldly affair, even on such as related to what may be called the secularities of religion and the church. The tracts published by him in periodical works, along with his "Letters on Gospel Preaching and the Behaviour of Ministers," were collected after his death, and published under the title of "Remains."

Throughout his writings, Mr Brown's uniform aim was general utility; personal emolument formed no part of his object, and certainly very little of his attainment, as the whole profit accruing to himself from his voluminous, and in many cases, successful works, amounted to only £40. Without possessing much

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original genius, but on the other hand too ready, it may be, to submit the freedom of his mind to system and authority, he was endowed with a strong aptitude for acquisition, and great power of arrangement, a sound and generally sober judgment, and a rich and vivid fancy, though united with a defective, or rather, perhaps, an uncultivated taste. The selection of subjects, and general conception of almost every one of them, are very happy, and in many cases the execution proves his high endowments for the task he undertook.

The time now drew near that he should die. For some years previous, he had been greatly annoyed with a gradual failure, at once in the bodily power of digestion and the mental faculty of memory—the symptoms of a constitution fairly worn out by the intense and incessant labours to which it had been subjected. In the beginning of 1787, his complaints increased in such an alarming degree, accompanied by a general and extreme debility, that he found it necessary to abandon the pulpit. During the months of spring, he lived in a continual state of earnest and active preparation for the great change he was about to undergo. He expired on the 19th June, and on the 24th his remains were followed to their place of repose in Haddington church-yard, by nearly the whole inhabitants of the town, and a large concourse of his friends and brethren from a distance. At the first meeting of the Associate Synod after his decease, "the Synod," as their minute bears, "unanimously agreed to take this opportunity of testifying their respect to the memory of the Rev. John Brown, their late Professor, whose eminent piety, fervent zeal, extensive charity, and unwearied diligence in promoting the interests of religion, will be long remembered by this court, especially by those members of it who had the happiness of studying divinity under his inspection."

BROWN, John, M. D. founder of what is termed the Brunonian system in medicine, and one of the most eccentric and extraordinary men of his time, was a native of the parish of Bunkle, in Berwickshire, where he was born, in the year 1735, or, as others assert, in 1737. Though only the son of a day-labourer, he contrived to obtain an excellent classical education at the school of Dunse, which was then taught by Mr William Cruickshank, one of the most celebrated teachers that Scotland has produced. The genius and application of Brown were alike so great, that, at an age when the most of children are only beginning their letters, he was far advanced in a knowledge of Latin. His studies, after some time, were broken off in consequence of the inability of his father to maintain him at school. He was bound apprentice to the gloomy and monotonous craft of a weaver, which must have been peculiarly unsuitable to his lively faculties. However, he seems to have afterwards been enabled by the kindness of his teacher to renew his studies; and it is known that for this purpose he had employed himself on the harvest-field. His proficiency in the Latin recommended him, first to the situation of usher in the school, and afterwards to that of tutor in a neighbouring family. When about twenty years of age, he removed to Edinburgh, and entering the university, advanced so far in the study of divinity, as to deliver a discourse preparatory to commencing his trials before the presbytery. Brown, however, was not destined to be a member of this profession. Owing to some unexplained freak of feeling, he turned back from the very threshold, and for some years supported himself in the humble capacity of a *grinder* in the university. His services in this capacity to the medical students introduced him to a knowledge of medicine, which he suddenly resolved to prosecute as a profession. His natural ardour of mind enabled him very speedily to master the necessary studies, in which he was greatly assisted by the particular kindness and attention of Dr Cullen, then professor of medicine in the university. At one period, he acted as Latin secretary to this great

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man, with whom he afterwards quarrelled in the most violent manner. In 1765, he married, and set up a house for the purpose of receiving medical students as boarders. But, his irregular and improvident conduct reduced him to bankruptcy in the short space of two years. A vacancy occurring in the High School, he became a candidate; but being too proud of his real qualifications to think any other recommendation necessary, he was overlooked in favour of some child of patronage. It is said that, when his name, and his name alone, was presented to the eyes of the magistrates, they derisively asked who he was; to which Cullen, then separated in affection from his former pupil, is stated to have answered, with some real or affected hesitation—"Why, sure, this can never be our Jock!" Brown met with a similar repulse, on applying for the chair of theoretical medicine in the university. Yet, notwithstanding every discouragement from the great men of his own profession, this eccentric genius was pressing on towards the completion of that peculiar system by which his name has been distinguished. His views were given to the world, in 1780, under the title "Elementa Medicinæ;" and he illustrated them further by lectures, which were attended, as a supernumerary course, by many of the regular students of the university. The Brunonian system simply consists in the administration of a course of stimulants, instead of the usual anti-phlogistic remedies, as a means of producing that change in the system which is necessary to work a cure. The idea was perhaps suggested by his own habits of life, which were unfortunately so very dissolute as to deprive him of all personal respect. He was, perhaps, the only great drinker, who ever exulted in that degrading vice, as justified by philosophical principles. So far from concealing his practices, he used to keep a bottle of whiskey, and another of laudanum, upon the table before him; and, throughout the course of the lecture, he seldom took fewer than three or four doses from each. In truth, Brown lived at a time when men of genius did not conceive it to be appropriate to their character as such, to conduct themselves with decency. Thus, a man who might have adorned the highest walks of society by his many brilliant qualities, was only fit for the company of the lowest and most despicable characters. He was a devout free-mason, but more for the sake of the conviviality to which it affords so fatal an excuse, than for the more recondite and mysterious attractions (if any such exist) of the fraternity. He was the founder of a peculiar lodge in Edinburgh, called the "Roman Eagle," where no language but Latin was allowed to be spoken. One of his friends remarked with astonishment the readiness with which he could translate the technicalities and slang of masonry into this language, which, however he at all times spoke with the same fluency as his vernacular Scotch. It affords a lamentable view of the state of literary society in Edinburgh between the years 1780 and 1790, that this learned lodge was perhaps characterised by a deeper system of debauch than any other. In 1786, Brown removed to London, in order to push his fortune as a lecturer on his own system of medicine, which had already acquired no little fame. But the irregularity of his conduct, and the irascibility of his temperament, rendered all his hopes fruitless. He died at London, October 7, 1788, of a fit of apoplexy, being then little more than fifty years of age. His works have been collected and published by his son; but, like the system which they explain, they are now forgotten.

BROWN, JOHN, an ingenious artist, was the son of Samuel Brown, goldsmith and watch-maker at Edinburgh, where he was born in 1752. He received an excellent education, after the fashion of Scotland, and was early destined to take up the profession of a painter. Having formed a school friendhsip of no ordinary warmth with Mr David Erskine, son of Thomas Erskine of Cambo, he travelled with that young gentleman, in 1774, into Italy, where he was kindly

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received by Charles Erskine of the Rota, an eminent lawyer and prelate, the cousin of his companion. He immediately attached himself to the Academy, with a resolution to devote himself entirely to the arts. During the course of ten years residence in Italy, the pencil and crayon were ever in his hand, and the sublime thoughts of Raphael and Michael Angelo ever in his imagination. By continual practice, he obtained an elegance and correctness of contour, never equalled by any British artist; but he unfortunately neglected the mechanism of the pallet till his taste was so refined, that Titian, and Marillo, and Corregio, made his heart sink within him whenever he touched the canvas. When he attempted to lay in his colours, the admirable correctness of his contour was lost, and he had never self-sufficiency to persevere till it should be recovered in that tender evanescent outline which is so difficult to be attained even by the most eminent painters. He wished every thing important to be made out, and when it was made out, he found his work hard and disagreeable, like the first pictures painted by Raphael, and by all that preceded that wonderful artist. Brown, besides his genius for painting, possessed a high taste for music. His evenings in Italy were spent at the opera, and he penetrated deeply into the study of music as a science.

At Rome Brown met with Sir William Young and Mr Townley, who, pleased with some of his pen and ink sketches, engaged him to accompany them to Sicily as a draughtsman. Of the antiquities of this island, he took several very fine views in pen and ink, exquisitely finished, yet still preserving the character and spirit of the buildings he intended to represent.

It was the belief of one of Brown's Scottish patrons, that if he had gone to Berlin, he would have obtained the favour of Frederick the Great, on account of his extraordinary talents and refined personal character. A pious regard, however, for his parents, induced him to return to his native city, where, though universally beloved and admired, he found no proper field for the exertion of his abilities. Amongst the few persons of taste who afforded him their patronage, was Lord Monboddo, who, with that liberality by which he was distinguished, gave him a general invitation to his elegant and convivial table, and employed him in making several pencil-drawings. He was also employed to draw pencil-heads of fifty of the more distinguished members of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, then just established; of which he finished about twenty. Among other works which he produced at Edinburgh, were heads of Dr Blair, Sir Alexander Dick of Prestonfield, Runciman, his friend and brother artist, Drs Cullen and Black, all of which were done in the most happy and characteristic manner. His talent in this line is described as having been very great. Amidst the collection which he had brought home to Edinburgh, was a portrait of the celebrated Piranese, who, being unable to sit two moments in one posture, reduced his painter to the necessity of shooting him flying like a bat or a snipe. This *rara avis* was brought down by Brown at the first shot.

In 1786, Brown was induced to remove to London, in order to prosecute, on a larger field, his profession as a portrait-draughtsman in black lead. He was here occasionally employed by Mr Townley, in drawing from his collection of Greek statues, a branch of art in which Brown is allowed to have greatly excelled. After some time spent in unremitting application, his health gave way, and he was recommended to try the benefit of a visit to his native country, by sea. On his passage from London to Leith, he was somehow neglected as he lay sick in his hammock, and, on his arrival he was found at the point of death. With much difficulty he was brought up to town, and laid on the bed of his friend Runciman, who had died not long before in the same place. Here he expired, September 5, 1787, having only attained the age of thirty-five.

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This lamented artist was not only known for excellence in his immediate profession, but was farther distinguished by his literary acquirements, his sound philosophical intellect, and a just and refined taste in all the liberal arts. Lord Monboddo, in the fourth volume of his work on the Origin and Progress of Language, speaks thus of a valuable contribution by Mr Brown: "The account I have given of the Italian language is taken from one who resided above ten years in Italy, and who, besides understanding the language perfectly, is more learned in the Italian arts of painting, sculpture, music, and poetry, than any man I ever met with. His natural good taste he had improved by the study of the monuments of ancient art, to be seen at Rome and Florence; and as beauty in all the arts is pretty much the same, consisting of grandeur and simplicity, variety, decoration, and a suitableness to the subject, I think he is a good judge of language, as well as of painting, sculpture, and music." The letters, in which Brown had communicated this information, were, in 1789, published by his lordship in one volume, 12mo, under the title of "Letters on the Poetry and Music of the Italian Opera." They are written with great elegance and perspicuity, display a perfect acquaintance with the subjects, and bear every mark of being the production of a strong and fervid mind. Not having been written for publication, they possess the spirit and simplicity which a man of genius is apt to diffuse through any subject of which he treats, and which he is but too apt to refine away when he seriously sits down to compose a work for the public. Mr Brown left a widow, to whose benefit the profits of this publication were applied. He also left behind him a great variety of sketches in pencil and ink, which were disposed of by auction at London. He had been so enamoured of his art, and so assiduous in pursuit of it, that he never suffered any countenance of beauty, grace, dignity, or expression to pass him unnoticed; and to be enabled to possess merely a sketch for himself of any subject that struck his fancy, he would make a present of a highly finished drawing to the person who permitted his head to be taken by him. The characteristics of his hand were delicacy, correctness, and taste, and of his mind, acuteness, liberality, sensibility, joined to a character firm, vigorous, and energetic.

BROWN, Thomas, a distinguished modern philosophical writer, the son of the Rev. Samuel Brown, minister of the parish of Kirkmabreck in the stewarty of Kirkcudbright, was born at the manse of that parish, January 9, 1778. Deprived of his father when between one and two years old, Thomas Brown was conveyed to Edinburgh, where for some years he lived under the charge of his widowed mother. By her he was taught the elements of learning at a singularly early age, acquiring the whole alphabet, it is said, by one effort, or, to use other words, in one lesson, and every thing else with the same amazing facility. When between four and five years of age, he was able to read the scriptures, and also, it would appear, partly to understand them; one day, at that period of his life, he was found sitting on the floor of his mother's parlour, with a large family bible on his knee, which he was dividing into different parts with his hand; being asked jocularly if he intended to preach, and was now choosing a text, he said, "No, I am only wishing to see what the evangelists differ in; for they do not all give the same account of Christ." From the kindly tutelage of his mother he was removed in the seventh year of his age, and placed by his maternal uncle, Captain Smith, in a school at Camberwell, from which in a short time he was transferred to one at Chiswick, where he continued for some years. In these and two other academies he spent the years between seven and fourteen, and acquired a perfect classical education. In 1792, he returned to the maternal roof at Edinburgh, and commenced a course of attendance at the University. At this period of his life he was deeply read in the English belles lettres, and had even collected a

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considerable library, which, however, was lost at sea in its passage from England to Scotland. Having gone to Liverpool to spend the vacation of 1793 with some friends, he became, boy as he was, the intimate friend of Dr Currie, the amiable biographer of Burns, who is believed to have been the first cause of his directing his mind to metaphysical studies by placing in his hands the first volumes of Professor Dugald Stewart's "Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind," then just published. The impressions he received from this work were deepened next winter, when he attended its author's prelections in the moral philosophy class at Edinburgh college. Yet, much as he admired Professor Stewart, he did not fail, even at the early age of sixteen, to detect that deficiency of analysis, which often lurks under the majestically flowing veil of his language and imagery. According to the Rev. Mr Welsh, whose very pleasing memoir of Dr Brown is here followed, the scholar took an early opportunity of presenting to his master a few remarks which he had thrown together in reference to one of his theories. "Those who remember the dignified demeanour of Mr Stewart in his class, which was calculated to convey the idea of one of those great and gifted men who were seen among the groves of the Academy, will duly appreciate the boldness of our young philosopher. With great modesty he read his observations; to which Mr Stewart, with a candour that was to be expected from a philosopher, but which not the less on that account did him infinite honour, listened patiently, and then, with a smile of wonder and admiration, read to him a letter which he had received from the distinguished M. Prevost of Geneva, containing the same argument which Dr Brown had stated." This delightful incident was the commencement of an acquaintance between the master and the pupil, which led to more intimate relations, and only ended with the death of Dr Brown. The varied and profound acquirements of this extraordinary young man, soon attracted to him the attention and friendship of many other personages, distinguished by academic rank and literary reputation, especially Professors Robison, Playfair, and Black, and Messrs Horner, Leyden, Reddie, and Erskine. Ere he had completed his twentieth year, he was led, by the spirit of philosophical inquiry, to write "Observations upon Dr Darwin's Zoonomia," in a pamphlet which far surpassed the work which had called it forth. It appeared in 1798, and, while it excited astonishment in those who knew the years of the author, was received in other quarters as the work of a veteran in philosophy. Mr Welsh justly characterises it as one of the most remarkable exemplifications of premature intellect which has ever been exhibited, and states that, though unfortunate in its object, and the exposure of an unworthy production, it is found to contain the germ of all Dr Brown's subsequent discoveries as to mind, and of those principles of philosophizing by which he was guided in his future inquiries. Dr Brown at this time belonged to an association of young men, which, whether from its peculiar object, the celebrity since acquired by several of its members, or *one remarkable result* of its existence, must be acknowledged as possessing no ordinary claims to attention. It was called the Academy of Physics, and its object is described in the minutes of its first meeting to have been, "the investigation of nature, the laws by which her phenomena are regulated, and the history of opinions concerning these laws." The first members were Messrs Brougham, Erskine, Reddie, Brown, Rogerson, Birbeck, Logan, and Leyden; to whom were afterwards joined Lord Webb Seymour, the Rev. Sydney Smith, and Messrs Horner, Jeffrey, and Gillespie. The Academy prosecuted its investigations with great assiduity and success for about three years; like many other clubs, the spirit in which it was originated began to change with the changed years, and altered views of its members; it flagged, failed, and was finally broken up. The remarkable result of its existence, above

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alluded to, was the establishment of the Edinburgh Review; a work which has done more to attract attention to Scotland, from alien and distant minds, than perhaps any other, except the series of what are called the Waverley Novels. The first writers in this work, were Messrs Jeffrey, Brougham, Sydney Smith, Horner, and Brown. The leading article of the second number, upon Kant's philosophy, was by the last of these gentlemen. Mr Brown, however, did not long continue to contribute; a misunderstanding with the gentleman who superintended the publication of the third number, regarding some liberties taken with one of his articles, was the cause of his retirement. It is curious to trace the varied destinies of the bright minds which composed the Academy of Physics. At the time when this memoir is written, (July 1831,) Brougham is Lord Chancellor of England, not only by form and ceremony, the first subject of the realm, but also, by virtue of his transcendant abilities, and the concurrence of circumstances, the dominant intellect of the land: Erskine has "narrowed his mind" to become the Coryphæus of a sect of devotees: Mr Reddie, whose philosophic spirit and excellent sense might have fitted him for a more brilliant lot, became an advocate, and in that capacity, we believe, acts as the assessor, or legal adviser of the city of Glasgow: Brown, after a splendid career, has sunk into a premature grave: Birbeck has attained the highest reputation as an expositor of practical science: Logan, by a fortune astonishing to his fellows, but not dishonourable to himself, has devoted his excellent faculties to the duties of a parish clergyman in Scotland: Leyden, Horner, and Gillespie, men who gained, in their various walks, more or less distinction, are consigned to the land of forgetfulness: Sydney Smith is, like Logan, a clergyman, and has sent forth from his parsonage in England many a brilliant article for the Edinburgh Review: and lastly, Jeffrey has just retired from the editorship of that work, which he had conducted for a quarter of a century, to assume the duties of a political character, the highest that he could bear within his native country. Brown's first ideas as to a profession, led him to choose the bar, and for a twelvemonth he prosecuted the dry studies of the law. An insurmountable repugnance, however, to this pursuit caused him afterwards to study medicine. He obtained his degree of M. D. in 1803, on which occasion he was honoured with the highest commendations from Dr Gregory, not only for his proficiency in medical learning, but for the amazingly fluent and elegant style of his Latinity, of which no one could judge better than that learned professor, himself acknowledged to be the best Latinist of his time in Scotland. Previous to this period, namely in 1800, when he was only twenty-two years of age, his friends had, unsuccessfully, endeavoured to obtain for him the chair of rhetoric; but a system by which the clergy of the university-seat were almost invariably preferred to the vacant chairs, blasted his hopes on this occasion. This disappointment, with his antipathy to the courtly party of the church, by which it was patronized, seems to have inspired him with a vehement aversion to a system, which can only be palliated by a consideration of the narrow stipends then enjoyed by the clergy, and the propriety of enriching, by this oblique means, the prospects which were to induce men of abilities to enter the church. Upon the promotion of Mr Playfair to the chair of Natural Philosophy, Mr Leslie competed for the vacant chair of Mathematics, with a clergyman whose attainments in that study, though more than respectable, certainly could not be placed on an equality with those of the opposing candidate. The church party, knowing that they could not make out any superior qualifications in their candidate on the score of mathematics, endeavoured to produce the same effect by depreciating Mr Leslie's qualifications on the score of religion. Their proof lay in a note to Mr Leslie's essay on heat, containing an expression of approbation respecting Hume's doctrine of causation. The can-

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vass, which lay in the town-council, was the cause of great excitement in the literary world, and for some time absorbed every other topic of discourse in Edinburgh. Dr Brown was tempted by his feelings on this subject to come forward with an essay, disproving the inferences which were drawn from Mr Leslie's note; an essay which, in a subsequent edition, he expanded into a complete treatise on cause and effect. Through the influence of this powerful appeal, and other similar expressions of public feeling, the patrons of the chair were shamed for once out of their usual practice, and Mr Leslie received the appointment. Dr Brown had before this period published two volumes of miscellaneous poems, which, though they did not meet with brilliant success, are yet to be admired as the effusions of an ingenious and graceful mind. In 1803, immediately after receiving his diploma, he began to practise as a physician, and he had hitherto met with considerable success. He was now (1806) taken into partnership by Dr Gregory, and for some time his attention was occupied more exclusively by his profession than was at all agreeable to one disposed like him to give up worldly advantages for the sake of a darling study. The prospect of an occupation more germane to his mind, opened up to him in the winter of 1808-9, when the state of Mr Stewart's health induced him to request the services of Mr Brown as his temporary substitute. The lectures which he delivered in this capacity attracted much attention, on account of this marvellous display of profound and original thought, of copious reading, of matchless ingenuity, and of the most admirable elocution; this last accomplishment having been acquired by Dr Brown in the ordinary course of his school studies. "The Moral Philosophy Class at this period presented a very striking aspect. It was not a crowd of youthful students led into transports of admiration by the ignorant enthusiasm of the moment; distinguished members of the bench, of the bar, and of the pulpit, were daily present to witness the powers of this rising philosopher. Some of the most eminent of the professors were to be seen mixing with the students, and Mr Playfair, in particular, was present at every lecture. The originality, and depth, and eloquence of the lectures, had a very marked effect upon the young men attending the university, in leading them to metaphysical speculations."—*Welsh's Memoir.* The effect of these exhibitions was so great, that when Mr Stewart, two years after, expressed a wish to have Dr Brown officially conjoined to him in the chair of Moral Philosophy, the usual influence in favour of the clergy was overcome with little difficulty. From the commencement of the session of 1810-11, he acted as the substitute of Mr Stewart, who now retired to the country; and what is certainly very wonderful, he wrote the whole of his first course of lectures during the evenings which preceded the days on which they were delivered. After the first and most difficult step had been got over, Dr Brown obtained a little leisure to cultivate that poetical vein which had all along been one of his own favourite exercises of thought; and accordingly, in 1814, he published his largest versified work entitled "*The Paradise of Coquettes.*" As this poem appeared anonymously, its success, which was considerable, must have given him high gratification. He was, therefore, tempted next year to bring forth another under the title of "*The Wanderer in Norway.*" The health of Dr Brown had never been good; and it was now the annual custom of this amiable and gifted being to retire during the summer vacation to some sequestered and beautiful nook of his romantic native land, in order to enjoy the country air and exercise. Sometimes he would plant himself in some Swiss-like spot, hanging between Highland and Lowland, such as the village of Logie in Glendevon. At other times he would lose himself in the woody solitudes of Dunkeld. He had all his life a fondness for romantic and rugged scenery, amidst which he would occasionally expose himself to considerable risks.

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Walking was his favourite exercise, as he was thus able to pause and admire a rock, a wild flower, a brook, or whatever else of beautiful presented itself. To his gentle and affectionate heart, one object always appealed with irresistible power—namely, a cottage smoking amidst trees: he never could pass a scene of that kind without pausing to ruminate upon the inexplicable sympathy which it seems to find in almost every breast. Though possessing a heart as open as day light, the weakly health of Dr Brown, and the abstraction of his studies, seem to have checked that exuberant feeling which assumes the form called love: it is the impression of one of his surviving friends that he never experienced that sensation, at least to any extent worthy of the name. His affections were devoted to his mother, his sisters, nature, books, studies, literary fame. He seemed to have none for "the sex." In 1817, his feelings sustained a dreadful shock in the death of the former relative, who had been his first instructress, and to whom he bore an affection bordering upon reverence. Her remains were first placed in a vault in Edinburgh; and at the end of the winter-session moved to the family burying-ground in the old church-yard of Kirkmabreck. This romantic and secluded spot Dr Brown had always viewed with great interest. A few years before, in visiting his father's grave, he had been altogether overcome, and when he saw the earth closing in upon all that remained of a mother that was so dear to him, "and the long grassy mantle cover all," his distress was such as to affect every person who saw him. In 1818, Dr Brown published a poetical tale, entitled "Agnes." But his reputation in this walk of literature was not on the increase. His mind by no means wanted poetical feeling and imagery; but he never could prevent the philosopher from intruding upon his warmest visions, and accordingly there is a decided tameness in all his verses. It may be said, that, if he had not been a great philosopher, he would have been a greater poet; and, on the other hand, if he had not attempted poetry, at least his *living* reputation as a philosopher would have been somewhat enhanced. Towards the end of 1819, the ill health of Dr Brown began to assume an alarming aspect, and early in the ensuing year he found himself so weak as to be obliged to appoint a substitute to deliver his lectures. This substitute was Mr John Stewart, another of the devotees of science, and, like himself, destined soon to sink prematurely beneath the weight of intellectual exertion. Of Brown it might truly be said, that an active spirit had worn out the slender and attenuated frame in which it was enshrined. At the recommendation of his physicians, he took a voyage to London, and established himself at Brompton, then a healthy village in the vicinity, but now nearly involved in the spreading masses of the great city. Here he gradually grew weaker and weaker, until the 2d of April, when he gently breathed his last. "Dr Brown," says his reverend biographer, "was in height rather above the middle size, about five feet nine inches; his chest broad and round; his hair brown; his features regular; his forehead large and prominent; his eyes dark grey, well formed, with very long eye-lashes, which gave them a very soft and pleasing expression; his nose might be said to be a mixture of the Roman and Grecian, and his mouth and chin bore a striking resemblance to those of the Buonaparte family. The expression of his countenance altogether was that of calm reflection. * * His temper was remarkably good; so perfect was the command he had over it, that he was scarcely ever heard to say an unkind word. Whatever provocation he received, he always consulted the dignity of his own character, and never gave way to anger. Yet he never allowed any one to treat him with disrespect; and his pupils must remember the effect of a single look in producing, instantaneously, the most perfect silence in his class. * * At a very early period, Dr Brown formed those opinions in regard to government to which he adhered to the end of his life.

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Though he was not led to take any active part in politics, he felt the liveliest interest in the great questions of the day, and his zeal for the diffusion of knowledge and of liberal opinion, was not greater than his indignation at every attempt to impede it. The most perfect toleration of all liberal opinions, and an unshackled liberty of the press, were the two subjects in which he seemed to take the most interest, and which he seemed to consider as most essential to national happiness and prosperity. In his judgment upon every political question, he was determined solely by its bearings upon the welfare of the human race; and he was very far from uniformly approving of the measures of the party to which he was generally understood to belong. Indeed, he often said, that liberty, in Scotland at least, suffered more from the Whigs than the Tories—in allusion to the departure he conceived to be sometimes made from professed principles with a view to present advantage. * * He was intimately acquainted with the principles of almost all the fine arts, and in many of them showed that practice only was wanting to ensure perfection in his powers of execution. His acquaintance with languages was great: French, Italian, and German, he read with the same ease as English. He read also Spanish and Portuguese, though not so fluently. * * * Among the more prominent features of Dr Brown's character, may be enumerated the greatest gentleness, and kindness, and delicacy of mind, united with the noblest independence of spirit; a generous admiration of every thing affectionate or exalted in character; a manly contempt for every thing mean; a detestation for every thing that even bordered on tyranny and oppression; a truly British love of liberty, and the most ardent desire for the diffusion of knowledge, and happiness, and virtue, among mankind. In private life he was possessed of almost every quality which renders society delightful, and was indeed remarkable for nothing more than for the love of home and the happiness he shed around him there. It was ever his strongest wish to make every one who was with him happy; his exquisite delicacy of perception gave him a quick fore-feeling of whatever might be hurtful to any one; and his wit, his varied information, his classical taste, and, above all, his mild and gentlemanly manners, and his truly philosophic evenness of temper, diffused around him the purest and most refined enjoyment. Of almost universal knowledge, acquired by the most extensive reading, and by wide intercourse with the world, there was no topic of conversation to which he seemed a stranger. * * * In the philosophic love of truth, and in the patient investigation of it, Dr Brown may be pronounced as at least equal, and in subtility of intellect and powers of analysis, as superior to any metaphysician that ever existed. The predominating quality in his intellectual character was unquestionably his power of analysing, the most necessary of all qualities to a metaphysician. It is impossible, indeed, to turn to any page in his writings that does not contain some feat of ingenuity. States of mind that had been looked upon for ages as reduced to the last degree of simplicity, and as belonging to those facts in our constitution which the most sceptical could not doubt, and the most subtile could not explain, he brought to the crucible, and evolved from their simpler elements. For the most complicated and puzzling questions that our mysterious and almost inscrutable nature presents, he found a quick and easy solution. The knot that thousands had left in despair, as too complicated for mortal hand to undo, and which others, more presumptuous, had cut in twain, he unloosed with unrivalled dexterity. The enigmas which a false philosophy had so long propounded, and which, because they were not solved, had made victims of many of the finest and most highly gifted men of our race, he at last succeeded in unriddling." Dr Brown's lectures were published after his death, in 4 volumes, 8vo, and have deservedly obtained a high reputation. An account of his life and writings has been published in one volume 8vo, by the Rev. Mr David Welsh.

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BRUCE, James, a celebrated traveller, born on the 14th of December, 1730, at Kinnaird, in the county of Stirling. Bruce was by birth a gentleman, and might even be considered as nobly descended. He was the eldest son of David Bruce, Esq. of Kinnaird, who was in turn the son of David Hay of Woodcockdale, in Linlithgowshire, (descended from an old and respectable branch of the Hays of Errol,) and of Helen Bruce, the heiress of Kinnaird, who traced her pedigree to that noble Norman family, which, in the fourteenth century, gave a king to Scotland. It will thus be observed that the traveller's paternal name had been changed from Hay to Bruce, for the sake of succession to Kinnaird. The traveller was extremely vain regarding his alliance to the hero of Bannockburn, insomuch as to tell his engraver, on one occasion, that he conceived himself entitled to use royal livery! He took it very ill to be reminded, as he frequently was, that, in reality, he was not a Bruce, but a Hay, and, though the heir of line, not the *heir male* of even that branch of the family which he represented. In truth, the real Bruces of Kinnaird, his grandmother's ancestors, were but descended from a cadet of a cadet of the royal family of Bruce, and, as it will be observed, sprung off before the family became royal, though not before it had intermarried with royalty. His mother was the daughter of James Graham, Esq. of Airth, dean of the Faculty of Advocates, and judge of the High Court of Admiralty in Scotland—a man distinguished by his abilities and respected for his public and private virtues. Unfortunately, the traveller lost his mother at the early age of three years—almost the only worldly loss which cannot be fully compensated. His father marrying a second time, had an additional family of six sons and two daughters. In his earliest years, instead of the robust frame and bold disposition which he possessed in manhood, Bruce was of weakly health and gentle temperament. At the age of eight years, a desire of giving his heir-apparent the best possible education, and perhaps also the pain of seeing one motherless child amidst the more fortunate offspring of a second union, induced his father to send him to London, to be placed under the friendly care of his uncle, counsellor Hamilton. In that agreeable situation he spent the years between eight and twelve, when he was transferred to the public school at Harrow, then conducted by Dr Cox. Here he won the esteem of his instructors, as well as of many other individuals, by the extraordinary aptitude with which he acquired a knowledge of classic literature, and the singularly sweet and amiable dispositions which he always manifested. To this reputation, his weakly health, and the fear that he was destined, like his mother, to an early grave, seems to have given a hue of tenderness, which is seldom manifested for merely clever scholars. The gentleness of his character, the result solely of bad health, led him at this early period of his life to contemplate the profession of a clergyman; a choice in which he might, moreover, be further satisfied, from a recollection of his ancestor, Robert Bruce of Kinnaird, who was the leading divine in Scotland little more than a century before. So completely, however, do the minds of men take colour from their physical constitution, that on his health becoming confirmed with advancing manhood, this tame choice was abandoned for something of a bolder character; which, in its turn, appears to have given way, in still further increased strength, for something bolder still. He left Harrow, with the character of a first-rate scholar, in May 1746, and, after spending another year at an academy, in the study of French, arithmetic, and geometry, returned, May 1747, to Kinnaird, where he spent some months in the sports of the field, for which he suddenly contracted a deep and lasting attachment. It was now determined that he should prepare himself for the profession of an advocate; a road to distinction, which, as it was almost the only one left to Scotland by the Union, was then, and at a much later period, assumed by an immense proportion

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of the young Scottish gentry. He entered, in the winter of 1747, as a student in the college of Edinburgh, and attended the lectures on civil law, Scottish law, and universal history. But the study was not congenial to his mind. "In vain he pored over distinctions which he did not remember, and puzzled himself with points of which he could not comprehend the importance. An ardent admirer of truth and simplicity, he very rashly conceived that, in the studies which his father had proposed for him, he could worship neither the one nor the other; moreover, while, in filial obedience, he hung his bewildered head over his law books, his youthful heart was apparently devoted to lovelier and more congenial objects, for on the leaves of 'Elementa Juris Civilis Heineccii,' on which stands the name of "James Bruce, 1749," we find written in the middle of some very grave maxims, 'Bella ingrata, io morirò!' with other equally love-sick sentiments from Metastasio and Ariosto."—*Head's Life of Bruce.* A return of bad health relieved him from this bondage. He was remanded to Kinnaird for exercise and air; and for several years he remained undetermined as to his future course of life. Be it remarked, there might have been no necessity for his leaving the paternal home in search of fortune, had not the number of his father's second family diminished his prospects of wealth from that source. Having at length resolved upon going to India, at that time a more adventurous field than it has since become, he left Scotland, July 1753, in the twenty-third year of his age, and arriving in London, was received in the kindest manner by those friends with whom he had formerly resided. While waiting for the permission of the East India directors to settle there as a free trader, he was introduced to Adriana Allan, the beautiful and most amiable daughter of a wealthy wine-merchant deceased. An attachment to this young lady, which soon proved mutual, once more changed his destination in life. On making known his feelings to the surviving parent of his mistress, it was suggested that, in marrying her, he might also wed himself to the excellent business left by her father. Love easily overcame every scruple he might entertain regarding this scheme; and accordingly, on the 3rd February, 1754, he was married to Miss Allan. For some months, Bruce enjoyed the society of this excellent creature, and during that time he applied himself to business with an enthusiasm borrowed from love. But, unfortunately, the health of his partner began to decline. It was found necessary that she should visit the south of France for a milder climate. Bruce accompanied her on this melancholy journey. Consumption outstripped the speed with which they travelled. She was unable to move beyond Paris. There, after a week's suffering, she died in his arms. By this event, the destiny of Bruce was once more altered. The tie which bound him to trade—almost to existence, was broken. He seems to have now thought it necessary that he should spend a life of travel. Abandoning the cares of business to his partner, and resolving to take an early opportunity of giving up his share altogether, he applied himself to the study of the Spanish and Portuguese languages, and also improved his skill in drawing, under a master of the name of Bonneau, recommended to him by Mr (afterwards Sir Robert) Strange. Before this time he had chiefly cultivated that part of drawing which relates to the science of fortification, in hopes that he might, on some emergency, find it of use in military service. But views of a more extensive kind now induced him to study drawing in general, and to obtain a correct taste in painting. This notice of his application to the study of drawing we have given in the words of his biographer (Dr Murray), because it was long and confidently reported by those who wished to lessen his reputation, that he was totally and incorrigibly ignorant of the art.

In July 1757, he sailed for Portugal, landed at Corunna, and soon reached Lisbon. He was much struck by the ways of the Portuguese, many of which

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are directly opposite to those of all other nations. A Portuguese gentleman, showing out a friend, walks *before* him to the door; a Portuguese boatman rows with his face to the front of the vessel, and lands stern foremost; when a man and woman ride on horseback, the woman is foremost, and sits with her face to the right side of the animal. And what, in Bruce's opinion, accounted for all this contrariety, the children are rocked in cradles which move from head to foot. From Portugal, after four month's stay, Bruce travelled into Spain, where he also spent a considerable time. The sight of the remains of Moorish grandeur here inspired him with the wish of writing an account of the domination of that people in Spain; but he found the materials inaccessible through the jealousy of the government. Leaving Spain, he traversed France, visited Brussels, and, passing through Holland into Germany, there witnessed the battle of Crevelt. Returning by Rotterdam, he received intelligence of the death of his father, by which event he became laird of Kinnaird. The property he thus acquired was soon after considerably increased by the establishment of the Carron company, which was supplied with coal from his mines. He now employed himself in studying the Arabic language, a branch of knowledge then little regarded in Britain. In 1761, he withdrew entirely from the wine trade. About this time, Bruce formed an acquaintance with Mr Pitt, (the elder,) then at the head of affairs, to whom he proposed a scheme for making a descent upon Spain, against which country Britain was expected to declare war. Though this project came to nothing, Lord Halifax had marked the enterprising genius of this Scottish gentleman, and proposed to him to signalise the commencement of the new reign by making discoveries in Africa. It was not part of this proposal that he should attempt to reach the source of the Nile; that prodigious exploit, which had baffled the genius of the civilised world for thousands of years, seemed to Lord Halifax to be reserved for some more experienced person; his lordship now only spoke of discoveries on the coast of Barbary, which had then been surveyed, and that imperfectly, by only one British traveller, Dr Shaw. For this end, Bruce was appointed to be consul at Algiers. In an interview with George III., with which he was honoured before setting out, his Majesty requested him to take drawings of the ruins of ancient architecture which he should discover in the course of his travels. It having been provided that he should spend some time by the way in Italy, he set out for that country in June 1762. He visited Rome, Naples, and Florence, and fitted himself by surveying the works of ancient art, for the observations he was to make upon kindred objects in Africa. Here he formed an acquaintance with a native of Bologna, name Luigi Balugani, whom he engaged to attend him in his travels, in the capacity of an artist. He at length sailed from Leghorn to Algiers, which he reached in March 1763. Ali Pacha, who then acted as Dey in this barbarous state, was a savage character, not unlike the celebrated personage of the same name, whom Lord Byron introduced to European notice. An injudicious yielding to his will, on the part of the English government, who changed a consul at his request, had just given an additional shade of insolence and temerity to his character; and he expected to tyrannise over Bruce as over one of his own officers. The intrepidity of the new consul, it may be imagined, was, under such circumstances, called into frequent action. He several times bearded this lion in his very den, always apparently indebted for his safety to the very audacity which might have been expected to provoke his ruin. A good idea of the true British fortitude which he exerted under such circumstances, may be gained from a letter to Lord Halifax, in which, after recommending forcible measures, which would have been highly dangerous to his own personal security, he says, —"I myself have received from a friend some private intimations to consult my

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own safety and escape. The advice is impracticable, nor would I take it were it not so. Your lordship may depend upon it, that till I have the king's orders, or find that I can be of no further service here, nothing will make me leave Algiers but force. One brother has already, this war, had the honour to lose his life in the service of his country. Two others, besides myself, are still in it, and if any accident should happen to me, as is most probable from these lawless butchers, all I beg of his Majesty is that he will graciously please to extend his favour to the survivors, if deserving, and that he will make this city an example to others, how they violate public faith and the law of nations." It is this constancy and firmness, in postponing the consideration of danger to the consideration of duty, which has mainly tended to exalt the British character above those of other nations. Bruce weathered every danger, till August 1765, when, being relieved by the arrival of another consul, he left this piratical stronghold, and began to prosecute his researches along the coast of Africa. Landing at Bona, he paid a visit to Utica, "out of respect to the memory of Cato," and then, with a proper retinue for his protection, penetrated into the interior of the kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis. On the borders of these states, he found a tribe named the Welled Sidi Boogannim, who are exempted from taxes on condition of their living exclusively upon lions; a means of keeping down those enemies of the public. Dr Shaw, the only British predecessor of Bruce in this line of research, had been much laughed at, and even openly scouted, for having hinted at the existence of such a custom. His friends at Oxford thought it a subversion of the established order of things, that a man should eat a lion, when it had long passed as almost the peculiar province of the lion to eat the man. Bruce was exactly the man to go the more boldly forward when such a lion was in the way.

He thus alludes, in his own travels, to the foolish scepticism with which Dr Shaw's statement had been received: "With all submission to the learned University, I will not dispute the lion's title to eating men; but since it is not founded upon patent, no consideration will make me stifle the merit of the Willid Sidi Boogannim, who have turned the chase upon the enemy. It is a historical fact, and I will not permit the public to be misled by a misrepresentation of it. On the contrary, I do aver, in the face of these fantastic prejudices, that I have ate the flesh of lions, that is, part of three lions, in the tents of the Willid Sidi Boogannim." This is certainly a notable enough specimen of the *contra audientior ito*. After having traversed the whole of these states, and taken drawings of every antiquity which he esteemed worthy of notice, he moved further west to Tripoli, where he was received with great kindness by Mr Fraser of Lovat, British consul at that place. From Tripoli he dispatched the greater part of his drawings to Smyrna, by which precaution they were saved from the destruction which must have otherwise been their fate. Crossing the Gulf of Sidra, which makes a considerable sweep into the northern coast of Africa, Bruce now reached Bengazio, the ancient Berenice built by Ptolemy Philadelphus. From this place he travelled to Ptolemata, where, finding the plague raging, he was obliged to embark hastily in a Greek vessel which he hired to carry him to Crete. This was perhaps the most unlucky step he took during the whole of his career. The vessel was not properly provided with ballast; the sails defied the management of the ignorant man who professed to steer it; it had not therefore got far from shore when a storm drove it to leeward, and it struck upon a rock near the harbour of Bengazi. Bruce took to the boat, along with a great number of the other passengers; but finding that it could not survive, and fearing lest he should be overwhelmed by a multitude of drowning wretches, he saw it necessary to commit himself at once to the sea, and endeavour to swim ashore. In this attempt, after suffering much from the vio-

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lence of the surf, he was at last successful. He had only, however, become exposed to greater dangers. A plundering party of Arabs came to make prey of the wrecked vessel, and his Turkish clothing excited their worst feelings. After much suffering he got back to Bengazi, but with the loss of all his baggage, including many valuable instruments and drawings. Fortunately, the master of a French sloop, to whom he had rendered a kindness at Algiers, happened to be lying in that port. Through the grateful service of this person, he was carried to Crete. An ague, however, had fixed itself upon his constitution, in consequence of his exertions in the sea of Ptolemata: it attacked him violently in Crete, and he lay for some days dangerously ill. On recovering a little, he proceeded to Rhodes, and from thence to Asia Minor, where he inspected the ruins of Baalbec and Palmyra. By the time he got back to Sidon, he found that his letters to Europe announcing the loss of his instruments, were answered by the transmission of a new set, including a quadrant from Louis XV., who had been told by Count Buffon of the unhappy affair of Bengazi. In June 1768, he sailed from Sidon to Alexandria, resolved no longer to delay that perilous expedition which had taken possession of his fancy. "Previous to his first introduction to the waters of the Nile," says Captain Head, "it may not be improper, for a moment, calmly and dispassionately to consider how far he was qualified for the attempt which he was about to undertake. Being thirty-eight years of age, he was at that period of life in which both the mind and body of man are capable of their greatest possible exertions. During his travels and residence in Europe, Africa, and Asia, he had become practically acquainted with the religion, manners, and prejudices of many countries different from his own; and he had learned to speak the French, Italian, Spanish, Modern Greek, Moorish and Arabic languages. Full of enterprise, enthusiastically devoted to the object he had in view, accustomed to hardship, inured to climate as well as to fatigue, he was a man of undoubted courage, *in stature six feet four*, and with this imposing appearance, possessing great personal strength; and lastly, in every proper sense of the word, he was a gentleman; and no man about to travel can give to his country a better pledge for veracity than when, like Bruce, his mind is ever retrospectively viewing the noble conduct of his ancestors—thus showing that he considers he has a stake in society, which, by the meanness of falsehood or exaggeration, he would be unable to transmit unsullied to posterity." From Alexandria he proceeded to Cairo, where he was received with distinction by the Bey, under the character of a dervish, or soothsayer, which his acquaintance with eastern manners enabled him to assume with great success. It happened, fortunately for his design, that in the neighbourhood of Cairo resided a Greek patriarch, who had lived sometime under his roof at Algiers, and taught him the Modern Greek language. This person gave him letters to many Greeks who held high situations in Abyssinia, besides a bull, or general recommendation, claiming protection for him from the numerous persons of that nation residing in the country. Bruce had previously acquired considerable knowledge of the medical art, as part of that preparatory education with which he had fitted himself for his great task. The Bey fortunately took ill: Bruce cured him. His highness, in gratitude, furnished him with recommendatory letters to a great number of ruling personages throughout Egypt, and along both shores of the Red Sea. Bruce, thus well provided, commenced his voyage up the Nile, December 12, 1768, in a large canja or boat, which was to carry him to Furshoot, the residence of Amner, the Sheikh of Upper Egypt. For two or three weeks he enjoyed the pleasure of coasting at ease and in safety along the wonder-studded banks of this splendid river, only going on shore occasionally to give the more remarkable objects a narrower inspection. He was at Furshoot on the 7th of January, 1769. Ad-

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vancing hence to Sheikh Amner, the encampment of a tribe of Arabs, whose dominion extended almost to the coast of the Red Sea, he was fortunate enough to acquire the friendship of the Sheikh, or head of the race, by curing him of a dangerous disorder. This secured him the means of prosecuting his journey in a peaceable manner. Under the protection of this tribe, he soon reached Cosseir, a fort on the Red Sea, having previously, however, sent all his journals and drawings, hitherto completed, to the care of some friends at Cairo. Bruce sailed from Cosseir on the 5th of April, and for several months he employed himself in making geographical observations upon the coasts of this important sea. On the 19th of September, after having for the first time determined the latitude and longitude of many places, which have since been found wonderfully correct, he landed at Massuah, the port of Abyssinia. Here he encountered great danger and difficulty, from the savage character of the Naybe, or governor of Massuah, who, not regarding the letters carried by Bruce from the Bey of Cairo, had very nearly taken his life. By the kindness of Achmet, a nephew of the Naybe, whom Bruce rescued from a deadly sickness, he was enabled to surmount the obstacles presented against him in this place, and on the 15th November began to penetrate the country of Abyssinia. In crossing the hill of Tarenta, a mountainous ridge which skirts the shore, the traveller encountered hardships under which any ordinary spirit would have sunk. Advancing by Dixan, Adowa, and Axum, he found himself greatly indebted for safety and accommodation to the letters which he carried for the Greeks. Through the influence of the rude Christianity which prevails in Abyssinia, and which was originally infused by natives of Greece in the third century, this race of people have a firm footing and great influence in the country, forming, in fact, the most civilized class. Bruce, therefore, could not have been more fortunate than in possessing the means of claiming their protection. It was in the neighbourhood of Axum that he saw the unfortunate sight (the slicing of steaks from the rump of a live cow,) which was the chief cause of his being afterwards generally discredited in his own country. The following is his own account of that remarkable scene: "Not long after our losing sight of the ruins of Axum, we overtook three travellers driving a cow before them; they had black goat skins upon their shoulders, and lances and shields in their hands; they appeared to be soldiers. The cow did not appear to be fitted for killing, and it occurred to us all that it had been stolen. We saw that our attendants attached themselves in a particular manner to the three soldiers that were driving the cow, and held a short conversation with them. Soon after we arrived at the hithermost bank of the river, where I thought we were to pitch our tent. The drivers suddenly tripped up the cow, and gave the poor animal a very rude fall upon the ground, which was but the beginning of her sufferings. One of them sat across her neck, holding down her head by the horns. The other twisted the halter about her forehead, while the third, who had a knife in his hand, to my very great surprise, in place of taking her by the throat, got astride upon her belly before her hind legs, and gave her a very deep wound in the upper part of the buttock. * * * * * * * Upon proposing to my men that they should bargain for part of the cow, they answered, what they had already learned in conversation, that they were not then to kill her, that she was not wholly theirs, and that they could not sell her. This awakened my curiosity; I let my people go forward, and staid myself, till I saw, with the utmost astonishment, two pieces, thicker and longer than our ordinary beef-steaks, cut out of the higher part of the buttock of the beast. How it was done I cannot positively say, because, judging the cow was to be killed from the moment I saw the knife drawn, I was not anxious to behold that catastrophe, which was by no means an object of curiosity: whatever way it was done, it

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surely was adroitly, and the two pieces were spread upon the outside of their shields. One of them still continued holding the head, while the other two were busied in curing the wound. This too was done, not in an ordinary manner: the skin which had covered the flesh that was taken away, was left entire, and flapped over the wound, and was fastened to the corresponding part, by two or more small skewers or pins. Whether they had put any thing under the skin, between that and the wounded flesh, I know not; but at the river side where they were, they had prepared a cataplasm of clay, with which they covered the wound —they then forced the animal to rise, and drove it on before them, to furnish them with a fuller meal when they should meet their companions in the evening." It will surprise a modern reader, accustomed to the strange customs which prevail in other countries, to learn that any practice so simple as this, so fully surpassed in singularity by many others, and, indeed, so obviously proper to a country where men in travelling must be driven to every shift for provisions, should have been held in the last age as a sufficient ground for disbelieving in the entire statements of the greatest traveller who had then existed. The journey between Axum and Gondar was one, like all the rest, full of perils; yet, by dint of his amazing promptitude in meeting each particular danger in its own particular way—a constantly alternating exhibition of courage and cunning—he surmounted them all. On the 14th of February, after a journey of ninety-five days from Massuah, he reached Gondar, the capital of Abyssinia, a town containing about ten thousand families. The king and his chief minister Ras Michael, to both of whom Bruce had letters of introduction, were now absent with the army, putting down a rebellion which had been raised by Fasil, a turbulent governor of a province. But Bruce was favourably received by one Ayto Aylo, a Greek, and chamberlain of the palace. It happened that the favourite child of Ras Michael was at this time ill with the small pox at the country palace of Koscam. Ozoro Esther, the beautiful young wife of Ras Michael, and the mother of this child, watched over the sick-bed with intense anxiety. Bruce, by the good offices of Ayto Aylo, was introduced to the distracted mother, as a skilful physician; and, after some preliminary civilities, he undertook to cure the child, in which task he very soon succeeded. Having thus at once made favour in a very high quarter, he waited patiently for two or three weeks, when the king and Ras Michael, having gained a victory, returned to Gondar, and Bruce was then presented to them. Ras Michael, at the first interview, acknowledged the powerful nature of Bruce's recommendations, but explained to him, that owing to the present convulsed state of the country, it would be difficult to afford him all the protection that might be wished. It appeared to Michael, that the best way of ensuring personal safety and respect for him throughout the country, would be to give him a high office in the king's household. Bruce was reluctant, of course, to interrupt the current of his high designs, by descending to the duties of an office under the king of a barbarous country; but there were several circumstances to induce him to accept the appointment. For instance, the province in which the Nile arose was exactly that now in rebellion; it was necessary, before the source of the Nile could be reached, that that province should be reduced to peace; Bruce therefore argued, that in becoming Baalomaal, and commander of the Koccob horse, he was doing his best towards the facilitation of his journey. While acting in the capacity of Baalomaal, which seems to have been somewhat like the British office of Lord of the Bed-chamber, he secured the king's favour and admiration, by the common school-boy trick of shooting a small candle through a dense substance. He was now appointed to be governor of a large Mahometan province, which lay on the way he designed to take in returning home: this duty, however, he could perform by deputy. In May, the

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army set out from Gondar to meet the rebel Fasil, and Bruce took that share in the fatigues and perils of the campaign which his office rendered necessary. He was of great service in improving the discipline of the army, and was looked upon as a finished warrior. After a good deal of marching and countermarching, the royal forces gained a complete victory over Fasil, who was consequently obliged to make his submission. This rebel now lived on amicable terms with the king and his officers, and Bruce, recollecting the interesting site of his government, busied himself in performing medical services to his principal officers. When the king came to ask Bruce what reward he would have for his share in the campaign, the enthusiastic traveller answered, that he only wished two favours, the property of the village of Geesh, with the spot in its neighbourhood where he understood the Nile to arise, and a royal mandate obliging Fasil to facilitate his journey to that place. The king, smiling at the humility of his desires, granted the request, only regretting that Zagoube (such was the name assumed by Bruce in his travels,) could not be induced to ask something ten times more precious. The attention of the sovereign and his minister were now distracted by the news of another insurrection in the western parts of the kingdom; and it was necessary to move the army in that direction. Bruce made the excuse of his health (which was really bad) to avoid attendance in this campaign; and at length, with some difficulty, he obtained the king's permission to set out for Geesh, which he was now resolved on, notwithstanding that the breaking out of another rebellion omened ill for the continued submission of Fasil, and consequently for the safety of the traveller. Bruce set out upon this last great stage of his journey on the 28th of October, 1770, and he was introduced to the presence of Fasil at a place called Bamba. Fasil, partly through the representations of those officers to whom Bruce had recommended himself, was in reality favourably disposed to him; but he at first thought proper to affect a contrary sentiment, and represented the design as impracticable. In the course of the wrangling which took place between the two on this subject, Bruce was so much incensed that his nose spontaneously gushed with blood, and his servant had to lead him from the tent. Fasil expressed sorrow at this incident, and immediately made amends by taking measures to facilitate Bruce's journey. He furnished him with a guide called Woldo, as also seven savage chieftains of the country for a guard, and furthermore added, what was of greater avail than all the rest, a horse of his own, richly caparisoned, which was to go before the travelling party, as a symbol of his protection, in order to insure the respect of the natives. By way of giving a feasible appearance to the journey, Bruce was invested by Fasil with the property and governorship of the district of Geesh, in which the Nile rises, so that this strangely disguised native of Stirlingshire, in the kingdom of Scotland, looked entirely like an Abyssinian chief going to take possession of an estate in the highlands of that remote and tropical country. Bruce left Fasil's house on the 31st of October, and as he travelled onward for a few days through this rude territory, the people, instead of giving him any annoyance, everywhere fled at his approach, thinking, from the appearance of Fasil's horse, that the expedition was one of taxation and contribution. Those few whom Bruce came in contact with, he found to have a religious veneration for the Nile, the remains of that Pagan worship which was originally paid to it, and which was the sole religion of the country before the introduction of Christianity. Even the savages who formed his guard, would have been apt, as he found, to destroy him, if he had crossed the river on horseback, or employed its waters in washing any part of his dress. He also learned that there was still a kind of priest of this worship, who dwelt at the fountain of the Nile, and was called "the servant of the river." It thus appeared that, as in the ruder parts of Bruce's native country, the aboriginal

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religion had partly survived the ordinances of a new and purer worship for many centuries. It was early in the afternoon of November 3d, that Bruce surmounted a ridge of hills which separated him from the fountain of the Nile, and for the first time cast his European eyes upon that object—the first, and, we believe, the only European eyes that have ever beheld it. It was pointed out to him by Woldo, his guide, as a hillock of green sod in the middle of a marshy spot at the bottom of the hill on which he was standing. To quote his own account of so remarkable a point in his life—"Half undressed as I was, by the loss of my sash, and throwing off my shoes, [a necessary preliminary, to satisfy the Pagan feelings of the people], I ran down the hill, towards the hillock of green sod, which was about two hundred yards distant; the whole side of the hill was thick grown with flowers, the large bulbous roots of which appearing above the surface of the ground, and their skins coming off on my treading upon them, occasioned me two very severe falls before I reached the brink of the marsh. I after this came to the altar of green turf, which was apparently the work of art, and I stood in rapture above the principal fountain, which rises in the middle of it. It is easier to guess than to describe the situation of my mind at that moment—standing in that spot which had baffled the genius, industry, and enquiry of both ancients and moderns for the course of near three thousand years. Kings had attempted this discovery at the head of armies, and each expedition was distinguished from the last only by the difference of numbers which had perished, and agreed alone in the disappointment which had uniformly and without exception followed them all. Fame, riches, and honour had been held out for a series of ages to every individual of those myriads these princes commanded, without having produced one man capable of gratifying the curiosity of his sovereign, or wiping off this stain upon the enterprise and abilities of mankind, or adding this desideratum for the encouragement of geography. Though a mere private Briton, I triumphed here, in my own mind, over kings and their armies! and every comparison was leading nearer and nearer to presumption, when the place itself where I stood, the object of my vain glory, suggested what depressed my short-lived triumph. I was but a few minutes arrived at the sources of the Nile, through numberless dangers and sufferings, the least of which would have overwhelmed me, but for the continual goodness and protection of Providence: I was, however, but then half through my journey, and all those dangers through which I had already passed awaited me on my return;—I found a despondency gaining ground fast, and blasting the crown of laurels which I had too rashly woven for myself." In this paragraph—one of the most deeply touching ever written—we find the Herculean mind of Bruce giving way, under the influence of success, to sensations which had scarcely ever affected him during the whole course of his journey, while as yet the desire of going onward, and the necessity of providing the means of doing so with safety, possessed and amused his mind. Nothing could be more characteristic of a great mind—by danger and hardship only braced to more nervous exertion—by opposition only rendered the more eager and firm—by the menaces of inferior minds only roused to contemptuous defiance; and only to be softened by kindness, only to be subdued by success. Many other emotions, however, must have entered the breast of the traveller in that remarkable hour of his life. All the inspiring causes of his journey must have rushed full upon him—the desire of overcoming a difficulty which had defied the civilized part of the earth since ever it was civilized—the hope of doing that which Alexander, and many of the greatest men of antiquity had wished, but failed to do—the curiosity of rendering that a matter of real and human exertion which an ancient poet could only suppose possible to a supernatural being on an extraordinary occasion:

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Nilus in extremum fugit perterritus orbem,
Occuluitque caput, quod ad hue latet.

OVID *in Phæthontem.*

and, finally, the more rational glory of performing such a service to science, as must procure for him the approbation of his sovereign and fellow-countrymen, and even obtain a peculiar distinction for his country among the other civilized nations. Besides all these emotions, which had hitherto carried his enthusiastic mind through unheard of difficulties, he must have recalled at this moment softer sensations. The idea that he was now at the extreme point of distance from home, would awaken the vision of that home which he had not seen for so many years; and from this spot, in a metaphysical *mirage*, he would see the far blue hills of his native land, the estuary, the river, the fields, and the mansion of his childhood—the hearts that beat for him there, including *one* whose pulsations were worth all the rest; and the old familiar faces, whose kindly expression had been too long exchanged for the unkindred countenances of barbarians and strangers. There might also mingle with the varied tide of his sensations a reluctantly acknowledged sense of the futility of all his exertions, and perils, and sufferings, since they had only obtained for him the sight of a Pagan altar from which proceeded one of the feeders, not certainly known to be the principal one, of the mighty Nile; to what good could this sight conduce, since, after all, it was only a sight? the object having been all along proved to exist by the mere laws of nature. The majestic intellect of Bruce might turn from such a paltry object, and confess, with secret bitterness, that the discovery of the source of the Nile was only valuable so long as it seemed impossible, but that, now being achieved, it sunk into insignificance, like the glittering air-ball seized by the hand of a child. The traveller relates that his despondency continued for some time; and that, as he could not reason it away, he resolved to direct it till he might be able, on more solid reflection, to overcome its progress. Calling to Strates, a faithful Greek, who had accompanied him throughout all his Abyssinian travels, he said, 'Strates, faithful squire! come and triumph with your Don Quixote at that island of Barataria, to which we have most wisely and fortunately brought ourselves! Come and triumph with me over all the kings of the earth, all their armies, all their philosophers, and all their heroes!' 'Sir,' says Strates, 'I do not understand a word of what you say, and as little of what you mean: you very well know I am no scholar.' 'Come,' said I, 'take a draught of this excellent water, and drink with me a health to his Majesty George III., and a long line of princes.' I had in my hand a large cup, made of a cocoa-nut shell, which I procured in Arabia, and which was brimful." [This cup was brought home by Bruce, and his representatives at Kinnaird still use it every day when they entertain company at dinner.] "He drank to the king speedily and cheerfully, with the addition of 'confusion to his enemies,' and tossed up his cap with a loud huzza. 'Now, friend,' said I, 'here is to a more humble, but still a sacred name —here is to Maria!'" This was a Scottish lady, we believe, a Miss Murray of Polmaise, to whom Bruce had formed an attachment before leaving his native country. These ceremonies being completed, he entered the village of Geesh, and assumed for four days the sovereignty to which Fasil had given him a title. During this brief space, he made forty observations as to the exact geographical site of the fountain, and found it to be in north latitude 10° 59′ 25″, and 36° 55′ 30″ east longitude, while its position was supposed from the barometer to be two miles above the level of the sea. Bruce left Geesh upon his return on the 10th of November, and he arrived at Gondar, without any remarkable adventure, on the 17th. Here he found that Fasil had set a new insurrection on foot, and had been again unsuccessful. For some time great numbers of his

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adherents, or rather the adherents of a mock king whom he had set up, were daily sacrificed. Bruce was at first somewhat uneasy in this disagreeable scene, and the maxim of the Abyssinians, never to permit a stranger to quit the country, came full upon his mind. Early, however, in January, 1771, he obtained the king's permission, on the plea of his health, to return home, though not without a promise that he would come back, when his health was re-established, bringing with him as many of his family as possible, with horses, muskets, and bayonets. Ere he could take advantage of this permission, fresh civil wars broke out, large provinces became disturbed, and Bruce found that, as he had had to take part in the national military operations in order to pave the way for reaching the head of the Nile, so was it now necessary that he should do his best for the suppression of the disturbances, that he might clear his way towards home. During the whole of the year 1771, he was engaged with the army, and he distinguished himself so highly as a warrior, that the king presented him with a massive gold chain, consisting of one hundred and eighty-four links, each of them weighing 3 and 1–12th dwts. It was not till the 26th of December, thirteen months after his return from the source of the Nile, that he set out on his way towards Europe; nor even then was the country reduced to a peaceable condition. He was accompanied by three Greeks, an old Turkish Janissary, a captain, and some common muleteers; the Italian artist Balugani having died at Gondar. On account of the dangers which he had experienced at Massuah from the barbarous Naybe, he had resolved to return through the great deserts of Nubia into Egypt, a tract by which he could trace the Nile in the greater part of its course.

On the 23d of March, after a series of dreadful hardships, he reached Teawa, the capital of Abbara, and was introduced to the Sheikh, who, it seemed, was unwell, though not so much so as to have lost any part of his ferocious disposition. Bruce here met with an adventure, which, as it displays his matchless presence of mind in a very brilliant light, may be here related. He had undertaken to administer medicine to the Sheikh, who was in the alcove of a spacious room, sitting on a sofa surrounded by curtains. On the entrance of Bruce, he took two whiffs of his pipe, and when the slave had left the room said, "Are you prepared? Have you brought the money along with you?" Bruce replied, "My servants are at the other door, and have the vomit you wanted." "Curse you and the vomit too," cried the Sheikh in great passion, "I want money and not poison. Where are your piastres?" "I am a bad person," replied Bruce, "to furnish you with either; I have neither money nor poison; but I advise you to drink a little warm water to clear your stomach, cool your head, and then lie down and compose yourself; I will see you to-morrow morning." Bruce was retiring, when the Sheikh exclaimed, "Hakim, [physician] infidel, or devil, or whatever is your name, hearken to what I say. Consider where you are; this is the room where Mek Baady, a king, was slain by the hand of my father: ook at his blood, where it has stained the floor, and can never be washed out. I am informed you have twenty thousand piastres in gold with you; either give me two thousand before you go out of this chamber, or you shall die; I shall put you to death with my own hand." Upon this he took up his sword, which was lying at the head of his sofa, and drawing it with a bravado, threw the scabbard into the middle of the room, and, tucking the sleeve of his shirt above the elbow, like a butcher, he said, "I wait your answer." Bruce stept one pace backwards, and laid his hand upon a little blunderbuss, without taking it off the belt. In a firm tone of voice, he replied, "This is my answer: I am not a man to die like a beast by the hand of a drunkard; on your life, I charge you, stir not from your sofa. I had no need," says Bruce, "to give this injunction;

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he heard the noise which the closing of the joint in the stock of the blunderbuss made, and thought I had cocked it, and was instantly to fire. He let his sword drop, and threw himself on his back upon the sofa, crying, 'For God's sake, Hakim, I was but jesting.' " Bruce turned from the cowed bully, and coolly wished him a good night. After being detained three weeks at this place, he set out for Sennaar, the capital of Nubia, which he reached at the end of April. He was here received kindly by the king, but the barbarous maxims of the country caused his detention for upwards of four months, during which the exhaustion of his funds caused him to sell the whole of his gold chain except a few links. At length, on the 5th of September, he began his journey across the great desert of Nubia, and then only, it might be said, began the true hardships of his expedition. As he advanced upon the sandy and burning plain, his provisions became exhausted, his camels, and even his men, perished by fatigue, and he was in the greatest danger, almost every day, of being swallowed up by the moving sands which loaded the breath of the deadly simoom. For weeks and months the miserable party toiled through the desert, enduring hardships of which no denizen of a civilized state can form the least idea. According to Bruce's own account, "an universal despondency seized the people. They ceased to speak to one another, and when they did it was in whispers, by which I easily guessed their discourse was not favourable to me, or else that they were increasing each other's fears, by vain suggestions calculated to sink each other's spirits still further, and from which no earthly good could possibly result. I called them together, and both reprimanded and exhorted them in the strongest manner I could. I bade them attend to me, who had nearly lost my voice by the simoom, and desired them to look at my face, so swelled as scarcely to permit me to see, my neck covered with blisters, my feet swelled and inflamed, and bleeding with many wounds." "Our situation," he adds elsewhere, "was one of the most desperate that could be figured. We were in the midst of the most barren, inhospitable desert in the world, and it was with the utmost difficulty that from day to day we could carry wherewithal to assuage our thirst. We had with us the only bread it was possible to procure for some hundreds of miles; lances and swords were not necessary to destroy us. The bursting or tearing of a girba, the lameness or death of a camel, a thorn or sprain in the foot, which might disable us from walking, were as certain death to us as a shot from a cannon. There was no staying for one another; to lose time was to die, because, with the utmost exertion our camels could make, we scarce could carry along with us a scanty provision of bread and water sufficient to keep us alive." Under the pressure of such distress, the faculties of one poor attendant gave way; he was left to die in his phrenzy upon the sands. To ease the camels, which threatened to give way under the awful trial, the whole party, Bruce included, walked the greater part of the way; and their feet were only large moving ulcers, from which blood and lymph were constantly flowing. At length, the exhaustion of the camels compelled Bruce to leave his instruments and papers behind; a necessity almost the most excruciating that could have befallen him, because it threatened to deprive him of the entire glory and use of his discoveries. What, perhaps, gave a still more imminent danger to their situation, the desert was haunted in all its more fertile and frequented places by roving bands of Arabs, who, in the event of meeting them, would have been almost sure to rob and murder them. The escape of Bruce from this danger seemed an absolute miracle, or could only be accounted for by his choosing the track least frequented, and therefore the most difficult and dangerous from other causes. At last, on the 29th of December, just as he had given his men the last meal which remained to them, and when all, of course, had given themselves up for

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lost, they came within hearing of the cataracts of the Nile, and reached the town of Syene or Assouan, where succour in its amplest forms awaited them. Bruce thus describes his sensations on stretching himself at the root of a palm-tree in the outskirts of this blessed city. "A dulness and insensibility, a universal relaxation of spirits, a kind of palsy or stupor of the mind, had overtaken me, almost to a deprivation of the understanding. I found in myself a kind of stupidity, and a want of power to reflect upon what had passed. I seemed to be as if awakened from a dream, when the senses are yet half asleep, and we only begin to doubt whether what has before passed in thought is real or not. The dangers that I was just now delivered from made no impression upon my mind: and what more and more convinces me I was for a time not in my perfect senses, is, I found in myself a hard-heartedness, without the least inclination to be thankful for that signal deliverance which I had just now experienced." Twelve dreadful weeks Bruce had spent upon the desert: his journey from the capital of Abyssinia to this point had altogether occupied eleven months. It was now exactly four years since he had left civilized society at Cairo; during all which time he had conversed only with barbarous tribes of people, from whose passions no man possessed of less varied accomplishment, less daring, and less address, could have possibly escaped. After refreshing himself for a few days at Assouan, he took camels, and rode back forty miles into the desert, where he had the felicity to find his instruments and papers exactly as he had left them. He then sailed down the Nile to Cairo, which he reached on the 10th of January, 1773. Here, as his mind was constantly agitating some scheme for the good of his country, he exerted himself to procure from the Bey some specific regulation for the management of British commerce at the port of Jidda: he obtained a firman reducing the impost upon the merchants of this country from fourteen per cent., with a large present to the Bey, to eight per cent., and no present. He then sailed for Alexandria, whence he easily obtained a passage to Europe. Arriving at Marseilles in March, he was immediately visited and congratulated by a number of the French *savans*, at the head of whom was his former friend, Count de Buffon. For some time, however, he was not sufficiently recovered from the debilitating effects of his journey to enjoy the civilized society to which he was restored. A mental distress, moreover, had awaited his arrival in Europe. His *Maria*, whose health he had only postponed to that of his sovereign in drinking from the fountain of the Nile, despairing of his return, had given her hand to an Italian Marchese. Bruce withered under this disappointment more than under the sun of Nubia. In a transport of indignation, he travelled to Rome, and in a style of rhodomontado, only to be excused by a kind consideration of his impetuous and ingenuous character, called the Marchese to account for a transaction, in which it was evident that only the lady could be to blame. The Marchese, with Bruce's sword almost at his throat, disclaimed having married Maria with any knowledge of a previous engagement on her part: and with this Bruce had to rest satisfied. *Mente alta reposcit;* his only resource was to bury his regrets in his own proud bosom, and despise the love which could permit a question of time or space to affect it. In the summer of 1774, he returned to England, from which he had now been absent twelve years. His fame having gone before him, he was received with the highest distinction. He was introduced at court, where he presented to George III. those drawings of Palmyra, Baalbec, and the African cities, which his Majesty had requested him to execute before his departure from the country. The triumphs of this great man—decidedly the greatest *traveller* that ever lived, were, however, soon dashed and embittered by the mean conduct of a people and age altogether unworthy of him. Bruce, wherever he went, was required to speak of what he had seen

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and suffered in the course of his travels. He related anecdotes of the Abyssinian and Nubian tribes, and gave descriptions of localities and natural objects, which certainly appeared wonderful to a civilized people, though only because they were novel: he related nothing either morally or physically impossible. Unfortunately, however, the license of travellers was proverbial in Britain as elsewhere. It was also a prevailing custom at that time in private life, to exert the imagination in telling wonderful, but plausible, tales, as one of the amusements of the table. There was furthermore a race of travellers who had never been able to penetrate into any very strange country, and who, therefore, pined beneath the glories of a brother who had discovered the source of the Nile. For all these reasons, the stories of Bruce were at the very first set down for imaginary tales, furnished forth by his own fancy. This view of the case was warmly taken up by a *clique* of literary men, who, without science themselves, and unchecked by science in others, then swayed the public mind. A mere race of garreteers, or little better, destroyed the laurels of this greatly accomplished man, who had done and endured more in the cause of knowledge during one day of his life, than the whole of them together throughout the entire term of their worthless and mercenary existence. This is a dreadful imputation upon the age of George III., but we fear that the cold and narrow poverty of its literature, and the almost non-existence of its science, would make any less indignant account of its treatment of Bruce unjust. Even the country gentlemen in Scotland, who, while he was carving out a glorious name for himself and providing additional honour for his country, by the most extraordinary and magnanimous exertions, were sunk in the low sottishness of the period, or at most performed respectably the humble duties of surveying the roads and convicting the poachers of their own little districts, could sneer at the "*lies*" of Bruce. His mind shrunk from the meanness of his fellows; and he retired, indignant and disappointed, to Kinnaird, where, for some time, he busied himself in rebuilding his house, and arranging the concerns of his estate, which had become confused during his long absence. In March 1776, he provided additional means of happiness and repose, by marrying, for his second wife, Mary Dundas, daughter of Thomas Dundas, Esq. of Fingask, and of Lady Janet Maitland, daughter of the Earl of Lauderdale. This amiable and accomplished person was much younger than Bruce, and it is rather a singular coincidence, remarks Captain Head, that she was born in the same year in which his first wife had died. For nine years Bruce enjoyed too much domestic happiness to admit of his making a rapid progress in the preparation of his journals for the press. But, after the death of his wife in 1785, he applied to this task with more eagerness, as a means of diverting his melancholy. We have heard that in the composition of his book, he employed the assistance of a professional litterateur, who first transcribed his journals into a continuous narrative, and then wrote them over again, involving all the alterations, improvements, and additional remarks, which the traveller was pleased to suggest. The work appeared in 1790, seventeen years after his return to Europe. It consisted of five large quarto volumes, besides a volume of drawings, and was entitled, "Travels to Discover the Sources of the Nile, in the years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, and 1773, by James Bruce, of Kinnaird, Esq., F. R. S." It was dedicated to the king; and it is but justice to the memory of that sovereign to state, that, while society in general raised against it the cry of envy, jealousy, and ignorant incredulity, his Majesty stood boldly up in its favour, and contended that it was a very great work. The King used to say, that, had it not been for the indecorous nature of certain passages, he could have wished to find it in the hands of all his subjects, and he would himself have placed a copy of it in every one of his palaces. The taste of this mon-

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arch did not perhaps lead him to expend great sums in patronizing the arts or the lighter branches of literature, but he certainly was qualified to appreciate, and also disposed to encourage, any exertion on the part of his subjects, which had a direct utility, and was consistent with honour and virtue. The *magnum opus* of Bruce was bought up by the public at its very first appearance: it required the whole of the *impression* to satisfy the first burst of public curiosity. It was, in the same year, translated into German and French. While the most eminent literary characters of the age honoured it with a liberal and almost unqualified approbation, the myriad of little periodical critics attacked it with a buzzing and stinging virulence, after the manner of a cloud of gnats pursuing the course of a noble steed. By this class of persons, and by the public at large, it was the subject of almost unmingled ridicule. Hardly a single trait of manners which it described, escaped the stigma of falsehood from these enlightened critics, the incredulity being exactly in the ratio of the departure of Abyssinian customs from the English—as if it were to have been expected, that a remote and secluded African nation was to live exactly after the artificial manner of a cultivated people in the north of Europe. Of all the stories, that of the steaks cut from the live cow was honoured with the greatest share of ridicule and incredulity,—though we might contend that no practice could be more obviously necessary for human sustenance in wandering over a desart country. To escape from a painful subject, we may only maintain, that, though no man has since been able to penetrate the countries explored by Bruce, his statements have been more or less confirmed by all succeeding travellers, who have come near or touched upon his track—namely, Salt, Coffin, Pearce, Burckhardt, Brown, Clarke, Wittman, and Belzoni. The greatness of Bruce, therefore, is now in the course of being acknowledged to its proper extent, though, perhaps, it is scarcely to be hoped that his character will ever shake off altogether the stains of contemporary malignity and ignorance, while, alas! the grieved spirit has long fled beyond the reach of compensatory veneration. Bruce, during the few remaining years of his life, treated the contemptuous world with contempt in return, and never once deigned to reply to any of his critics. He opened his heart only to his daughter, to whom he sometimes said, that he hoped she would live to see the time when the truth of all he had written would be confirmed by subsequent observation.

Dr Lettice, who visited Bruce at Kinnaird in 1792, gives a minute account (*Tour through Scotland*, 1794) of his library and all the natural and literary curiosities which it contained, as well as several traits of the illustrious traveller himself. "Mr Bruce mentioned to us," says this writer, "that thirty different languages were spoken in the camp of one of the caravans in which he had travelled on the continent of Africa, and that it was his desire to have procured a translation of the Song of Solomon into them all. This was executed for him in ten of them, beautifully written in Ethiopic characters, and each in a different coloured ink, to prevent a confusion of tongues, which, in this instance, had certainly not been miraculous. To spare the ears of the unlearned, and perhaps at some moments his own recollection, he calls these languages with some humour, the red, blue, green, or yellow, languages, &c., according to the colour of its character. Upon Bruce's showing these manuscripts to a lady, distinguished for the vivacity of her remark," [probably the Duchess of Gordon or Lady Wallace, the two reigning female wits of that day], "and informing her that the word kiss, which occurs in Solomon's Song, is to be met with, expressing the same idea, in some passages of his rainbow of languages, she pleasantly observed to him, 'I always told you, Mr Bruce, that kissing is the same all over the world,'"

Bruce, in his latter years, lost much of his capabilities of enjoying life, by

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his prodigious corpulence. We have been told that at this period of his life, he was enlarged to such a degree as almost to appear monstrous. His appearance was rendered the more striking, when, as was his frequent custom, he assumed an Eastern habit and turban. His death was at length caused indirectly by his corpulence. On the evening of the 27th of April, 1794, after he had entertained a large party at dinner, he was hurrying to escort an old lady down stairs to her carriage, when his foot—that foot which had carried him through so many dangers, slipped upon the steps; he tumbled down the stair, pitched upon his head, and was taken up speechless, with several of his fingers broken. Notwithstanding every effort to restore the machinery of existence, he expired that night. It may well afford a lesson as to the uncertainty of life, that he who had braved more real dangers than the most of his contemporary men, should have broken down and perished in one of the most simple and familiar of domestic duties—that he should have been reserved from the perils of Abyssinia, Nubia, and the Desert, to die from a false step in a staircase at home. He was buried, a few days after, in the church-yard of his native parish of Larbett, where a monument indicates his last resting-place, in terms not needlessly diffuse. To quote the energetic character which has been written for him by Captain Head, "Bruce belonged to that sect—that labouring class—that useful race of men, who are ever ready

'To set their life upon a cast,
And stand the hazard of the die.'

He was merely a traveller—a knight-errant in search of new regions of the world; yet the steady courage with which he encountered danger—his patience and fortitude in adversity—his good sense in prosperity—the tact and judgment with which he steered his lonely course through some of the most barren and barbarous countries in the world, bending even the ignorance, passions, and prejudices of the people he visited to his own advantage—the graphic truth with which he described the strange scenes which he had witnessed, and the inflexible fortitude with which he maintained his assertions against the barbarous incredulity of his age, place him at the top of his own class, while he at least stands *second to no man.*" Bruce understood French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese—the two former he could write and speak with facility. Besides Greek and Latin, which he read well, but not critically, he knew the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac; and in the latter part of his life, compared several portions of the Scripture in those related dialects. He read and spoke with ease, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Amharic, which had proved of the greatest service to him in his travels. It is said that the faults of his character were—inordinate family pride, and a want of that power to accommodate one's self to the weaknesses of others, which is so important a qualification in a man of the world. But amidst the splendours of such a history, and such an intellect, a few trivial weaknesses—even allowing those to be so—are as motes in the meridian sun. A second edition of Bruce's Travels was published in 1805, by Dr Alexander Murray, from a copy which the traveller himself had prepared to put to press. The first volume of this elegant edition contains a biographical account of the author, by Dr Murray, who was perhaps the only man of his age whom learning had fitted for so peculiar a task as that of revising Bruce's Travels.

BRUCE, Michael, with whose name is associated every regret that can be inspired by the early extinction of genius of a high order, still farther elevated by purity of life, was born at Kinnesswood, in the parish of Portmoak, Kinrossshire, on the 27th of March, 1746. His father, Alexander Bruce, a weaver, and his mother, whose name was also Bruce, were honest and pious Burghers: they had eight children, Michael being the fifth. Manifesting from his earliest

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years much delicacy of frame and quickness of parts, it was resolved to breed him for the church; and after acquiring the elements of education at the schools of his native parish and of Kinross, he was sent to the college of Edinburgh in 1762. Here he remained four years, devoting himself during the three first to those branches of learning pursued by what are called students of philosophy, and in the last applying also to the study of divinity.

Before quitting the country, he had given proofs of his predilection for poetry, which was encouraged by his friendship with Mr Arnot, a farmer on the banks of Lochleven, who, to the piety and good sense common among those of his profession, added classical scholarship and an acquaintance with elegant literature. He directed Bruce to the perusal of Spenser, Shakspeare, and Milton, supplied him with the books, and became a judicious adviser in regard to his youthful essays in the poetic art. Mr David Pearson, a man who read much with advantage, had also the taste to relish what Bruce had the talents to produce, and enjoyed his intimacy. After removing to Edinburgh, he lived in habits of close intercourse with Mr George Henderson, and Mr William Dryburgh, who opened to him their stores of books and information, as they did their affections, and with Logan, whose congenial turn of mind made him the friend of Bruce in his life time, and his warm eulogist, and editor of his works when he was no more. No one deserved better the attachment of those with whom he associated. "No less amiable as a man," says Logan, "than valuable as a writer; endued with good nature and good sense; humane, friendly, benevolent; he loved his friends, and was beloved by them with a degree of ardour that is only experienced in the era of youth and innocence." The prominent place he has given in his poems to those from whose society he had derived delight, shows how sincere was the regard he cherished for them. As if that none of the ties by which life is endeared should be wanting to him, Bruce had fixed his affections on a young woman, modest and beautiful, with whose parents he resided while teaching a school at Gairny Bridge. He has celebrated her under the name of Eumelia, in his pastoral of Alexis, and she was also the heroine of the only two songs he is known to have written.

It appears that the parents of the poet entertained peculiarly rigid notions in regard to religion, and would have been seriously displeased if they had known that any part of their son's attention was occupied by subjects apart from his theological studies. Bruce anxiously avoided giving these prejudices any cause of offence, and, when about to return home from college in 1765, took the precaution of transmitting to his friend Arnot those volumes of which he knew his father would disapprove. "I ask your pardon," says his letter on this occasion, "for the trouble I have put you to by these books I have sent. The fear of a discovery made me choose this method. I have sent Shakspeare's works, 8 vols. Pope's works, 4 vols. and Fontenelle's Plurality of Worlds."

Bruce acknowledges that he felt his poverty deeply when he saw books which he ardently desired to possess exposed to sale, and had not money to lay out in the purchase. The same regret has been experienced by many a poor scholar; but few perhaps terminate their complaints in the same train of pious reflection. "How well," he says, "should my library be furnished, 'nisi obstat res angusta domi!'

> 'My lot forbids; nor circumscribes alone
> My growing virtues, but my crimes confines.'

Whether any virtues should have accompanied me in a more elevated station is uncertain; but that a number of vices of which my sphere is incapable would have been its attendants is unquestionable. The Supreme Wisdom has seen this meet; and Supreme Wisdom cannot err."

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Even when prosecuting his favourite studies, Bruce is said to have been liable to that depression which is frequently the attendant of genius indeed, but in his case was also the precursor of a fatal disease. In December 1764, he wrote to his friend Arnot,—"I am in health, excepting a kind of settled melancholy, for which I cannot account, that has seized on my spirits." Such seems to have been the first imperfect announcement of his consciousness that all was not well with him. It would be a mournful task, if it were possible, to trace the gradations by which his apprehensions strengthened and grew into that certainty which only two years after this produced the Elegy, in which so pathetically, yet so calmly, he anticipates his own death. In these years are understood to have been written the greater part of his poems which has been given to the public. He spent the winters at college, and the summer in earning a small pittance by teaching a school, first at Gairny Bridge and afterwards at Forrest Mill near Alloa. In this latter place he had hoped to be happy, but was not; having, he confesses, been too sanguine in his expectations. He wrote here Lochleven, the longest of his poems, which closes with these affecting lines:—

"Thus sung the youth, amid unfertile wilds
And nameless deserts, unpoetic ground!
Far from his friends he stray'd, recording thus
The dear remembrance of his native fields,
To cheer the tedious night, while slow disease
Prey'd on his pining vitals, and the blasts
Of dark December shook his humble cot."

A letter to Mr Pearson, written in the same month in which he finished this poem, affords a still closer and more touching view of the struggle which he now maintained against growing disease, the want of comforts, and of friendly consolation. "I lead a melancholy kind of life," he says, "in this place. I am not fond of company; but it is not good that a man be still alone: and here I can have no company but what is worse than solitude. If I had not a lively imagination, I believe I should fall into a state of stupidity and delirium. I have some evening scholars; the attending on whom, though few, so fatigues me that the rest of the night I am quite dull and low-spirited. Yet I have some lucid intervals, in the time of which I can study pretty well."

"In the autumn of 1766," says Dr Anderson, "his constitution—which was ill calculated to encounter the austerities of his native climate, the exertions of daily labour, and the rigid frugality of humble life—began visibly to decline. Towards the end of the year, his ill health, aggravated by the indigence of his situation, and the want of those comforts and conveniences which might have fostered a delicate frame to maturity and length of days, terminated in a deep consumption. During the winter he quitted his employment at Forrest Mill, and with it all hopes of life, and returned to his native village to receive those attentions and consolations which his situation required, from the anxiety of parental affection and the sympathy of friendship. Convinced of the hopeless nature of his disease, and feeling himself every day declining, he contemplated the approaches of death with calmness and resignation, and continued at intervals to compose verses and to correspond with his friends."

His last letter to Mr Pearson contains an allegorical description of human life, which discloses something of his state of mind under these impressive circumstances. It is so beautiful as a composition, and at the same time so touchingly connected with the author's own situation, as to mingle in the reader pity and admiration to a degree which we are not aware that there is any thing else in the whole range of literature, excepting his own elegy to Spring, fitted to inspire. "A few mornings ago," he says, "as I was taking my walk on an eminence

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which commands a view of the Forth, with the vessels sailing along, I sat down, and taking out my Latin Bible, opened by accident at a place in the book of Job, ix. 25,—'Now my days are passed away as the swift ships.' Shutting the book, I fell a musing on this affecting comparison. Whether the following happened to me in a dream or waking reverie, I cannot tell;—but I fancied myself on the bank of a river or sea, the opposite side of which was hid from view, being involved in clouds of mist. On the shore stood a multitude which no man could number, waiting for passage. I saw a great many ships taking in passengers, and several persons going about in the garb of pilots offering their service. Being ignorant, and curious to know what all these things meant, I applied to a grave old man who stood by, giving instructions to the departing passengers. His name I remember was the Genius of Human Life. 'My son,' said he, 'you stand on the banks of the stream of Time; all these people are bound for Eternity—that undiscovered country from whence no traveller ever returns. The country is very large, and divided into two parts: the one is called the Land of Glory, the other the Kingdom of Darkness. The names of these in the garb of pilots are Religion, Virtue, Pleasure. They who are so wise as to choose Religion for their guide have a safe, though frequently a rough passage; they are at last landed in the happy climes where sighing and sorrow for ever fly away. They have likewise a secondary director, Virtue. But there is a spurious Virtue who pretends to govern by himself; but the wretches who trust to him, as well as those who have Pleasure for their pilot are either shipwrecked or cast away on the Kingdom of Darkness.—But the vessel in which you must embark approaches—you must be gone. Remember what depends upon your conduct.' No sooner had he left me than I found myself surrounded by those pilots I mentioned before. Immediately I forgot all that the old man said to me, and, seduced by the fair promises of Pleasure, chose him for my director. We weighed anchor with a fair gale, the sky serene, the sea calm: innumerable little isles lifted their green heads around us, covered with trees in full blossom; dissolved in stupid mirth, we were carried on, regardless of the past, of the future unmindful. On the sudden the sky was darkened, the winds roared, the seas raged, red rose the sand from the bottom of the troubled deep; the angel of the waters lifted up his voice. At that instant a strong ship passed by; I saw Religion at the helm: 'Come out from among them!' he cried. I and a few others threw ourselves into his ship. The wretches we left were now tossed on the swelling deep; the waters on every side poured through the riven vessel; they cursed the Lord: when lo! a fiend rose from the deep, and, in a voice like distant thunder, thus spoke: 'I am Abaddon, the first-born of Death; ye are my prey: open, thou abyss, to receive them!' As he thus spoke they sunk, and the waves closed over their heads. The storm was turned into a calm, and we heard a voice saying, 'Fear not—I am with you: when you pass through the waters, they shall not overflow you.' Our hearts were filled with joy. I was engaged in discourse with one of my new companions, when one from the top of the mast cried out, 'Courage, my friends! I see the fair haven,—the land that is yet afar off.' Looking up I found it was a certain friend who had mounted up for the benefit of contemplating the country before him; upon seeing you, I was so affected, I started and waked.—Farewell, my friend, farewell!"

Bruce lingered through the winter, and in spring wrote that Elegy, "the latter part of which," says Logan, "is wrought up into the most passionate strains of the true pathetic, and is not perhaps inferior to any poetry in any language." How truly this is said there are few that do not know; but they who have read it often will not be fatigued by reading again.

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"Now Spring returns; but not to me returns
The vernal joy my better years have known;
Dim in my breast life's dying taper burns,
And all the joys of life with health are flown.

Starting and shivering in th' inconstant wind,
Meagre and pale, the ghost of what I was,
Beneath some blasted tree I lie reclined,
And count the silent moments as they pass:

The winged moments, whose unstaying speed
No art can stop or in their course arrest;
Whose flight shall shortly count me with the dead,
And lay me down in peace with them that rest.

Oft morning dreams presage approaching fate;
And morning dreams, as poets tell, are true:
Led by pale ghosts, I enter death's dark gate,
And bid the realms of light and life adieu.

I hear the helpless wail, the shriek of woe;
I see the muddy wave, the dreary shore,
The sluggish streams that slowly creep below,
Which mortals visit, and return no more.

Farewell, ye blooming fields! ye cheerful plains!
Enough for me the churchyard's lonely mound,
Where melancholy with still silence reigns,
And the rank grass waves o'er the cheerless ground.

There let me wander at the close of eve,
When sleep sits dewy on the labourer's eyes,
The world and its busy follies leave,
And talk with wisdom where my Daphnis lies.

There let me sleep forgotten in the clay,
When death shall shut these weary aching eyes,
Rest in the hope of an eternal day,
Till the long night's gone, and the last morn arise."

These were the last verses finished by the author. His strength was wasted gradually away, and he died on the 6th of July, 1767, in the 21st year of his age. What he might have accomplished had longer years been assigned to him, it were needless to conjecture; but of all the sons of genius cut off by an early death, there is none whose fate excites so tender a regret. His claims to admiration are great without any counteracting circumstance. "Nothing," says Lord Craig, after a brief allusion to the leading facts of Bruce's life,—"Nothing, methinks, has more the power of awakening benevolence than the consideration of genius thus depressed by situation, suffered to pine in obscurity, and sometimes, as in the case of this unfortunate young man, to perish, it may be, for want of those comforts and conveniences which might have fostered a delicacy of frame or of mind ill calculated to bear the hardships which poverty lays on both. For my own part, I never pass the place (a little hamlet skirted with old ash-trees, about two miles on this side of Kinross) where Michael Bruce resided—I never look on his dwelling (a small thatched house distinguished from the cottages of the other inhabitants only by a sashed window at the end, instead of a lattice, fringed with a honeysuckle plant which the poor youth had trained around it)—I never find myself in that spot but I stop my horse involuntarily, and looking on the window, which the honeysuckle has now almost covered, in the dream of

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the moment, I picture out a figure for the gentle tenant of the mansion. I wish, —and my heart swells while I do so—that he were alive, and that I were a great man to have the luxury of visiting him there, and of bidding him be happy."

Three years after Bruce's death, his poems were given to the world by Logan, who unfortunately mingled with them some of his own, and never gave any explanation by which these might be distinguished. This led to a controversy between their respective friends in regard to the authorship of a few pieces, into which it would be unprofitable to enter here, as the fame of Bruce is no way affected whichever way the dispute be decided. The attention of the public having been called to the volume by Lord Craig, in the 36th number of the Mirror, in 1779, a second edition was published in 1784; Dr Anderson gave Bruce's works a place in his Collection of British Poets, and prefixed to them a memoir from which are derived the materials of the present sketch; and, finally, the unwearied benevolence of Principal Baird brought forward an edition, in 1807, by subscription, for the benefit of the poet's mother. He could not restore her son to be the support of her old age, but made all that remained of him contribute to that end—one of the numberless deeds which now reflect honour upon his own grey hairs.

Perhaps Bruce's fame as a poet has been injured by the sympathy which his premature death excited, and by the benevolent purpose which recommended the latest edition of his works to public patronage. Pity and benevolence are strong emotions; and the mind is commonly content with one strong emotion at a time; he who purchased a book, that he might promote the comfort of the author's mother, procured for himself, in the mere payment of the price, a pleasure more substantial than could be derived from the contemplation of agreeable ideas; and he would either be satisfied with it and go no farther, or carry it with him into the perusal of the book, the beauties of which would fail to produce the same effect as if they had found his mind unoccupied. But these poems, nevertheless, display talents of the first order. Logan says of them that, "if images of nature that are beautiful and new; if sentiments warm from the heart, interesting and pathetic; if a style chaste with ornament, and elegant with simplicity; if these, and many other beauties of nature and of art, are allowed to constitute true poetic merit, they will stand high in the judgment of men of taste." There is no part of this eulogy overstrained; but perhaps the most remarkable points in the compositions of Bruce, considering his extreme youth, are the grace of his expression and melody of his verses. Flashes of brilliant thought we may look for in opening genius, but we rarely meet with a sustained polish. The reader who glances but casually into these poems will be surprised to find how many of those familiar phrases recommended to universal use by their beauty of thought and felicitous diction—which every one quotes, while no one knows whence they are taken—we owe to Michael Bruce. As to his larger merits, the reader may judge from the union of majesty with tenderness which characterises the Elegy already quoted. The poem of Lochleven affords many passages worthy of higher names; we know not in the compass of English poetry a more beautiful image than is presented in the following lines:

> "Behold the village rise
> In rural pride, 'mong intermingled trees!
> Above whose aged tops the joyful swains,
> At eventide descending from the hill,
> With eye enamour'd mark the many wreaths
> Of pillar'd smoke, high curling to the clouds."

BRUCE, Robert, earl of Carrick, afterwards king of Scots, and the most

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heroic as well as the most patriotic monarch which Scotland ever produced, was born on the 21st of March, 1274. He was the grandson of Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale, who in 1291 contested the right to the crown with John Baliol. The events which followed upon the decision of that momentous question are elsewhere detailed to the reader, [in the preceding life of John Baliol, and the subsequent one of William Wallace;] it is therefore unnecessary to advert to them in this place, unless in so far as they have reference to the family of Bruce, and in particular to the illustrious individual now under notice.

Upon the decision of Edward I. in favour of Baliol, the grandfather of king Robert, being possessed of extensive estates in the north of England, resigned the lordship of Annandale to his eldest son, on purpose, it may be supposed, to evade the humiliating necessity of doing homage to his successful rival. No other particular regarding him is known; he died at the family residence of Lochmaben, not long after, at the advanced age of eighty-five.

Robert Bruce, the son of the competitor and father of king Robert, became possessed, by this last event, of the English as well as of the Scottish estates belonging to his family. He had also acquired, in right of his wife, the heiress of Carrick, the earldom of that name,[1] and, in every respect, might justly be considered one of the most powerful barons in the kingdom. Either from disinclination, or, as some have suspected, from motives of policy, Robert Bruce, the second of the name, early avoided taking any share in the affairs of Scotland. When his son was yet a minor, he made resignation to him of the earldom of Carrick, and, shortly thereafter, retiring into England, left the administration of his ancient patrimony of Annandale in the same hands. During the ill-concerted and disastrous revolt of Baliol, in 1296, the Bruces maintained their allegiance to the English king. The lordship of Annandale was, in consequence, hastily declared forfeited, and the rich inheritance bestowed by Baliol upon John Comyn, earl of Buchan, who immediately seized upon and occupied the castle of Lochmaben; an injury which, there is reason to believe, the young earl of Carrick, long after, but too well remembered, and fatally repaid.

It is asserted that Edward, in order to gain securely the fidelity and assistance of the lord of Annandale and his son, had promised to bestow upon the former the kingdom of which Baliol was now to be dispossessed. It is not probable that the English monarch ever seriously entertained such an intention, and still less likely if he did, that in the flush of successful conquest he should be capable of putting it in execution. After the decisive battle of Dunbar, Bruce reminded Edward of his promise: "Have I no other business," was the contemptuous reply, "but to conquer kingdoms for you?" The elder Bruce once more retired

1 The circumstances attending this alliance, related by Mr Tytler, were of a romantic and singular description. "It appears that a short time after his return from the crusade, Bruce was riding through the beautiful domains of Turnberry Castle, the property of the widowed Countess of Carrick, who, in consequence of the death of her husband, had become a ward of the crown. The noble baron, however, if we may believe an ancient historian, cannot be accused of having visited Turnberry with any design of throwing himself in the way of the heiress of Carrick; and indeed any such idea in those days of jealous wardship would have been highly dangerous. It happened, however, that the lady herself, whose ardent and impetuous temper was not much in love with the seclusion of a feudal castle, had come out to take the diversion of the chase, accompanied by her women, huntsmen, and falconers; and this gay cavalcade came suddenly upon Bruce, as he pursued his way through the forest, alone and unarmed. The knight would have spurred his horse forward, and avoided the encounter, but he found himself surrounded by the attendants; and the Countess herself riding up, and with gentle violence taking hold of his horse's reins, reproached him in so sweet a tone for his want of gallantry in flying from a lady's castle, that Bruce, enamoured of her beauty, forgot the risk which he run, and suffered himself to be led away in a kind of triumph to Turnberry. He here remained for fifteen days, and the adventure concluded, as might have been anticipated, by his privately espousing the youthful Countess without having obtained the concurrence of the king, or of any of her relations."

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to his estate in England, where he passed the remainder of his days in safe and opulent obscurity; and the earl of Carrick was commissioned to receive in the name of the English king the homage of his own and his father's vassals. So subdued and unpromising were, in their commencement, the fortunes of him upon whom the fortunes of Scotland were finally destined to depend.

In the Scots parliament which Edward assembled at Berwick in order to the settlement of his new conquest, he received the homage of great numbers of the clergy and laity, and among the rest of the earl of Carrick, who probably dared not at such a juncture incur even the suspicion of the English king. The extensive estates which he held, in virtue of his father's resignation, or by his permission, extending between the firths of Clyde and Solway, and bordering upon England; the number and power of his connections and dependants, rendered still more formidable by the discomfiture and depression of the rival family; to say nothing of the personal talents and ability of the young earl himself, must have rendered him sufficiently liable to the jealous scrutiny of so politic a sovereign as Edward; and Bruce, whether or not at this time he entertained designs upon the crown, must have acted with prudence and circumspection in dispelling, even at the expense of his oath, those doubts with which his fidelity would be regarded. On the other hand, the residence of the elder Bruce in England, and the great property possessed by the family in that kingdom, were an actual guarantee in the hands of Edward of the Bruces' loyalty; nor is it unlikely that he would be swayed by a wise policy in attaching to himself, without any show of distrust or aversion, that party in the state from whom he had most to fear. By so doing he could most effectually destroy any popular feeling which might spring up in favour of claims which could not readily be forgotten, and for the assertion of which he had himself removed the greatest obstacle in the deposition of Baliol. Forbearance on the one side, and submissiveness on the other, were probably dictated to each by opposite though equally strong convictions of expediency.

During the noble stand made by Wallace against the national defection, the earl of Carrick, though he remained inactive, was not overlooked by the jealous eye of the English government. The bishop of Carlisle, and other barons to whom the peace of the western districts was committed, became suspicious of his fidelity, and summoned him to appear before them, when he made oath on the sacred host and the sword of St. Thomas to be faithful and vigilant in the service of Edward. To evince his sincerity, he immediately after laid waste the lands of Sir William Douglas, carrying the wife and family of that knight prisoners into Annandale. It seems probable that this enterprize was undertaken merely to serve as a pretext for assembling his military retainers; for he had no sooner collected these around him than he abandoned the English interests, and joined the army of the Scots; alleging, in vindication of his conduct, that the solemn oath which he had so lately taken had been extorted from him by force, and that in such a case the Pope would, he doubted not, absolve him from its observance. Bruce did not remain long faithful to his new allies. A few months after, at the capitulation of Irvine, he made his peace with Edward, giving what sureties were required for his future loyalty.

The signal success achieved by the Scots at Stirling, induced Bruce once more to join the national cause; but the Comyns, now the principal rivals of his family for the vacant throne, being, at the same time, opposed to Edward, he seems to have prudently avoided taking any active share in the contest. Refusing to join the army, he shut himself up in Ayr castle, by this means ostensibly preserving the communication open between Galloway and the western Highlands. On the approach of Edward into the west, after the battle of Falkirk,

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the earl after destroying the fortress, found it necessary to retire. Displeased as the English king had reason to be with the vacillating conduct of Bruce at this juncture, he did not chastise it otherwise than by taking temporary possession of Lochmaben castle, the fortified patrimonial inheritance of the family. Among the confiscations of property which followed, Annandale and Carrick remained unalienated, a favour which the younger Bruce probably owed to the fidelity and services of his father in the English cause.

In the year 1299, not long after the fatal issue of the battle of Falkirk, we find the earl of Carrick associated with John Comyn, the younger of Badenoch, in the regency of Scotland. The motives which actuated Bruce in thus leaguing himself with a rival, with whom he never hitherto had acted in concert, have been variously represented, and the fact itself has even been called in question. The consciousness of having lost the confidence of the English king, and a desire, mutually entertained, to humble and destroy the authority of Wallace, which but too well succeeded, could not but influence powerfully the conduct of both parties. This baleful object accomplished, Bruce seems to have once more resumed the inactive course of policy which he saw fit to maintain in the late struggle; relinquishing to the, perhaps, less wary Comyn, the direction of the hazardous power which he seemed so willing to wield. In the following year, Edward again invaded Scotland, laid waste the districts of Annandale and Carrick, and once more possessed himself of the castle of Lochmaben. Bruce, though, on this occasion, he was almost the only sufferer in the cause which he had espoused, cautiously avoided, by any act of retaliation or effective co-operation with Comyn to widen irremediably the breach with Edward; and we find, that prior to the advantage gained by his coadjutor at Rosslyn, he had returned once more to the interests of the English party. The victorious campaign of Edward, which in 1304 ended in a more complete subjugation of Scotland than his arms and policy had hitherto been able to effect, justified the prudent foresight, though it tarnished the patriotic fame of the earl of Carrick. His lukewarmness in the cause of the regency, and timely defalcation from it, procured his pardon upon easy terms, and seemed to restore to him, in a great measure, the confidence of Edward, with which he had so repeatedly dared to trifle. His father, the lord of Annandale, dying at this critical time, the young Bruce was allowed to inherit the whole extensive estates of his family in both kingdoms; and so unequivocally, indeed, had he recovered the favour of the English monarch, that he was held worthy of advising and aiding in the settlement of Scotland as a province under the rule of England. Comyn, who had acted throughout with sincerity and constancy, in the trust reposed in him, and whose submission had been a matter of necessity, was subjected to a heavy fine, and fell, in proportion to his rival's elevation, in the confidence and estimation of the king.

The versatility of Bruce's conduct, during the various changes and reverses which we have noticed, has been variously commented upon by historians, as they have been led to consider it in a moral or political point of view; and, indeed, in whatever way it may be explained, it forms a singular contrast to the honourable, bold, and undeviating career of his after life. In extenuation of such obvious derelictions from principle and consistency, we must not leave out of consideration the effects which peculiar circumstances will sometimes powerfully operate on the conduct, where the mind has been irresistibly devoted to the attainment of some great and engrossing object. That natural irresoluteness, too, by which the boldest spirit may be beset, while meditating the actual and decisive plunge into a hazardous enterprise, may cause a seeming vacillation of purpose, arising more from a deep sense of the importance of the venture, than from fear of the consequences attending it. That Bruce should early entertain a per-

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suasion that his family were justly entitled to the throne, was every way natural, and we have already noticed, that hopes of their actually attaining to it were held out by Edward himself to the lord of Annandale. Nurtured and strengthened in such feeling, the young aspirant to royalty could not be expected to entertain attachment to the house of Baliol; and must have regarded with still greater aversion and distrust the sovereignty usurped by the power and stratagem of England over the rights and pretensions of all his race. During the struggle, therefore, of those contending interests—the independence of Scotland under Baliol, or its subjugation under Edward—he necessarily remained more in the situation of a neutral though deeply interested observer, than an active partisan; the success of either party involving in an almost indifferent degree the high claims, and, it might be, the existing fortunes of his house.

Taking these considerations into account, there is little difficulty in reconciling to itself the line of conduct which Bruce had hitherto pursued. By joining heartily with neither party, he prudently avoided committing the fortunes of his family to the hazard of utter destruction, and his right and influence could give, upon any emergency, a necessary and required preponderance to either side. He must have foreseen, too, with secret satisfaction, the consequences which would result to his own advantage from a contest in which the strength and resources of his rivals were mutually wasted, whilst his own energies remained entire, and ready on any favourable opportunity to be called decisively into action. That these were not exerted sooner, the existence of his father down to this period, and his submission to the English government, may suggest a sufficient reason; and his own accession to the regency, in the name of the deposed Baliol, was a circumstance which could not but affect unfavourably, during its continuance, the assertion of his pretensions.

Meantime, while Bruce outwardly maintained the semblance of loyalty to Edward, he was not idle in secretly advancing the objects of his own ambition; and when actually engaged in assisting Edward in the settlement of the Scottish government, he entered into a secret bond of association with Lamberton bishop of St Andrews, whereby the parties became bound to aid each other against all persons whatever, and not to undertake any business of moment unless by mutual advice. No measure on the part of Bruce could be more politic than this was, of enlisting in his cause the power and influence of the church; and the reader may afterwards have occasion to remark that he owed his success more to their firm adherence to his interest, than to all the efforts of the nobility. Lamberton and his colleagues were more alarmed at the prospect of being subjected to the spiritual supremacy of York or Canterbury, than concerned for the temporal subjugation of their country; and thus, in the minds of the national clergy, the independency of the church became intimately associated with the more general cause of popular freedom. In addition to the spiritual power which Lamberton possessed, as head of the Scottish church, the effective aid which he could furnish by calling out the military retainers upon the church lands, was far from inconsiderable. Though we are not informed of any other similar contract to the above having been entered into between Bruce and his partizans, there can be little doubt that this was not the only one, and that he neglected no safe expedient to promote and facilitate the enterprize which he contemplated. Notwithstanding, however, all the prudent caution and foresight displayed in these preparatory measures, the better genius of Bruce would seem utterly to have deserted him at the very critical moment of his fortune when its guidance was most required.

Before entering upon the important event to which we have alluded, it will be necessary to state briefly the relative position of the two great parties in the

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kingdom as opposed to each other. John Baliol, supposing his title to have been well founded, had repeatedly renounced all pretensions to the crown of Scotland; and had for several years remained a voluntary exile in France, without taking any steps towards the recovery of those rights, of which, it might have been urged, the violence of the king of England had deprived him. He was to be considered, therefore, as having not only formally, but virtually, forfeited all claim to the kingdom. His son, Edward, was at that time a minor and a captive. John Comyn, commonly called the Red Comyn, was the son of Marjory, the sister of Baliol, and, setting Baliol aside, was the heir of the pretensions of their common ancestor. As regent of Scotland and leader of her armies, Comyn had maintained for many years the unequal contest with Edward; and he had been the last to lay down his arms and accept conditions of peace from that prince. Though the terms of his submission had been rigorous, he was yet left in possession of large estates, a numerous vassalage, and, what in that warlike age was of consequence, an approved character for courage and conduct in the field.

Plausible as were the grounds upon which Comyn might have founded his claim to the crown, and powerfully as these might have been supported against the usurped sovereignty of England, there was little likelihood that in a competition with Bruce they could ever finally have prevailed. That family, according to the ancient usage of the kingdom, ought to have been preferred originally to that of Baliol; and this fact, generally known and acknowledged, as it could not fail to be, would, had they chosen to take advantage of it, have rendered their cause, at any time, a popular one. The award of Edward from the consequences which followed upon it, had become odious to the nation; and the pusillanimity and misfortunes of the abdicated and despised king, would leave, however undeservedly, their stigma upon his race. It was a curious enough illustration of the deep rooted existence of such a feeling, that, nearly a century afterwards, a king of Scotland who happened to possess the same unfortunate name of John, saw fit upon his coronation to change it for another, less ominous of evil in the recollections of his subjects. What might have been the fate of the contest, had it taken place, between two such rivals, it is now needless to inquire. We have seen that Bruce, at the crisis at which we have arrived, was possessed of those advantages unimpaired, of which the other, in the late struggle, had been, in a great measure, deprived; and, there is reason to believe, that Comyn, whose conduct had been consistent and honourable, felt himself injured and indignant at a preference which he might suppose his rival had unworthily earned. Thus under impressions of wrong and filled with jealous apprehensions, for which there was much apparent and real cause, the Red Comyn might be presumed willing, upon any inviting occasion, to treat Bruce as an enemy whom, by every means in his power, it was his interest to circumvent or destroy.

The league into which Bruce had entered with Lamberton, and perhaps other transactions of a similar nature, were not so secretly managed, but that suspicions were awakened; and this is said to have led to an important conference between these rivals on the subject of their mutual pretensions. At this meeting, Bruce, after describing in strong terms the miserable effects of the enmity which had so long subsisted between their different families, by which they themselves were not only deprived of station, but their country of freedom, proposed, as the best means, both of averting future calamity and for restoring their own privileges and the people's rights, that they should henceforward enter into a good understanding and bond of amity with each other. "Support my title to the crown," he is represented to have said, "and I will give you my lands; or, give me your lands and I will support your claim." Comyn agreed to wave his

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right, and accept the lands; and the conditions having been drawn up in form of indenture, were sealed by both parties, and confirmed by their mutual oaths of fidelity and secrecy.

Bruce shortly afterwards repaired to the English court, where he still enjoyed the confidence and favour of the king; and whilst there, Comyn, from what motive is unknown, but probably from the design of ruining a rival whom he secretly feared and detested, revealed his knowledge of the conspiracy to Edward. The king, upon receiving this information, thought fit to dissemble his belief in its veracity, with a view, it is conjectured, of drawing within his power the brothers of Bruce, previously to striking the important blow which he meditated. With a shrewdness and decision, however, peculiar to his character, he frankly questioned Bruce upon the truth of Comyn's accusation, adducing, at the same time the letters and documents which he had received as evidences of the fact. The Earl, much as he might feel staggered at the sudden disclosure of Comyn's treachery, or alarmed at the imminent peril of his situation, had recollection enough remaining to penetrate the immediate object of the king in this insidious scrutiny, and presence of mind to baffle the sagacity by which it was suggested. Though taken so completely by surprise, he betrayed no outward signs of guilt or confusion; and succeeded by his mild and judicious answers in re-establishing to all appearance the confidence of the crafty monarch; who had, indeed, his reasons for this seeming reliance, but who all along was of too suspicious a nature to be so easily convinced. He had in fact determined upon the Earl's ruin; and, having one evening drank freely, was indiscreet enough to disclose his intentions in presence of some of the nobles of his court. The Earl of Gloucester, a kinsman of Bruce, chanced either to be present, or to have early notice of his friend's danger, and, anxious to save him, yet not daring, in so serious a matter, too rashly to compromise his own safety, sent to him a pair of gilded spurs and a few pieces of money, as if he had borrowed them from him the day before. Danger is said to be an acute interpreter; and Bruce divined correctly that the counsel thus symbolically communicated warned him to instant flight. Taking his measures, therefore, with much privacy, and accompanied by his secretary and one groom, he set out for Scotland. On approaching the western marches the small party encountered a messenger on foot, whose deportment struck them as suspicious. He was searched; and proved to be an emissary sent by Comyn with letters to the King of England. The man was killed upon the spot; and Bruce, now possessed of substantial proofs of the perfidy of his rival, pressed forward to his castle of Lochmaben, which he is reported to have reached on the fifth day after his precipitate flight from London.

These events occurred in the month of February, 1306; at which time, according to a regulation of the new government, certain English judges were holding their courts at Dumfries. Thither Bruce immediately repaired, and finding Comyn in the town, as he had expected, requested a private interview with him, which was accorded; but, either from some inward misgiving on the one side, or a desire to impress assurance of safety on the other, the meeting took place near the high altar in the convent of the Minorite Friars. Bruce is said to have here passionately reproached Comyn for his treachery, to which the other answered by flatly giving him the lie. The words were scarcely uttered, when the Earl, giving a loose to the ungovernable fury which he had hitherto restrained, drew his dagger and stabbed, but not mortally, his unguarded opponent. Instantly hastening from the church, he called eagerly to his attendants for his horse. Lindsay and Kirkpatrick, by whom he had been accompanied, seeing him pale and agitated, anxiously inquired the cause. "I doubt I have slain Comyn," replied the Earl. "*You* doubt?" cried Kirkpatrick fiercely, "*I'll*

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mak sicker;" and rushing into the sanctuary, he found Comyn still alive, but helpless and bleeding upon the steps of the high altar. The dying victim was ruthlessly dispatched on the sacred spot where he lay; and, almost at the same moment, Sir Robert Comyn, the uncle, entering the convent upon the noise and alarm of the scuffle, shared in a similar fate. The tumult had now become general throughout the town; and the judges who held their court in a hall of the castle, not knowing what to fear, but believing their lives to be in immediate danger, hastily barricadoed the doors. Bruce, assembling his followers, surrounded the castle, and threatening to force an entrance with fire, obliged those within to surrender, and permitted them to depart in safety from Scotland.

That this fatal event fell out in the heat and reckless passion of the moment, there can be no doubt. Goaded as he had been to desperation by the ruin which he knew to be impending over him, and even insulted personally by the individual who had placed him in such jeopardy, Bruce dared hardly, in that age of superstitious observance, to have committed so foul an act of sacrilegious murder. In the imperfectly arranged state of his designs, without concert among his friends, or preparation for defence, the assassination of the first noble in the land, even without the aggravations which in this instance particularized the deed, could not but have threatened the fortune of his cause with a brief and fatal issue. He knew, himself, that the die of his future life was now cast; and that the only alternative left, upon which he had to make election, was to be a fugitive or a king. Without hesitation, he at once determined to assert his claim to the Scottish crown.

When Bruce, thus inevitably pressed by circumstances, adopted the only course by which there remained a chance of future extrication and honour, he had not a single fortress at his command besides those two patrimonial ones of Lochmaben and Kildrummy; the latter situated in Aberdeenshire, at too great a distance from the scene of action to prove of service. He had prepared no system of offensive warfare; nor did it seem that, in the beginning, he should be even able to maintain himself on the defensive, with any hope of success. Three earls only, those of Lenox, Errol, and Athole, joined his standard; Randolph, the nephew of Bruce, who afterwards became the renowned Earl of Moray, Christopher of Seaton, his brother-in-law; Sir James Douglas, whose fate became afterwards so interestingly associated with that of his master, and about ten other barons then of little note, but who were destined to lay the foundations of some of the most honourable families in the kingdom, constituted, with the brothers of the royal adventurer, the almost sole power against which such fearful odds were presently to be directed—the revenge of the widely connected and powerful house of Comyn, the overwhelming force of England, and the fulminations of the church. Without other resource than what lay in his own undaunted resolution, and in the untried fidelity and courage of his little band, Bruce ascended the throne of his ancestors, at Scone, on the 27th day of March, 1306.

The ceremony of the coronation was performed with what state the exigency and disorder of the moment permitted. The Bishop of Glasgow supplied from his own wardrobe the robes in which Robert was arrayed on the occasion; and a slight coronet of gold was made to serve in absence of the hereditary crown; which, along with the other symbols of royalty, had been carried off by Edward into England. A banner, wrought with the arms of Baliol, was delivered by the Bishop of Glasgow to the new king, beneath which he received the homage of the earls and knights by whom he was attended. The earls of Fife, from a remote antiquity, had possessed the privilege of crowning the kings of Scotland; but at this time, Duncan, the representative of that family, favoured the English interest. His sister, however, the Countess of Buchan, with a boldness and

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spirit characteristic of the days of chivalry, secretly withdrawing from her husband, repaired to Scone, and asserted the pretensions of her ancestors. It is not unlikely that this circumstance added to the popular interest felt for the young sovereign. The crown was a second time placed on the head of Bruce by the hands of the Countess; who was afterwards doomed to suffer, through a long series of insult and oppression, for the adventurous and patriotic act which has preserved her name to posterity.

Edward resided with his court at Winchester when the intelligence of the murder of Comyn, and the revolt of Bruce reached his ears. That monarch, whose long career of successful conquest was once again to be broken and endangered, had reached that period of life when peace and tranquillity even to the most indomitable spirits become not only desirable but coveted blessings. The great natural strength of his constitution had, besides, ill withstood the demands which long arduous military service, and the violent excitations of ambition had made upon it. He was become of unwieldy bulk, and so infirm in his limbs as to be unable to mount on horseback, or walk without difficulty. Yet the spirit which had so strongly actuated the victor on former occasions did not desert the king on the present emergency. He immediately despatched a message to the Pope, demanding in aid of his own temporal efforts, the assistant thunder of the holy see, a requisition which Clement V., who had formerly been the subject of Edward, readily complied with. The sentence of excommunication was denounced against Bruce and all his adherents, and their possessions placed under the dreaded ban of interdiction. The garrison towns of Berwick and Carlisle were strengthened; and the Earl of Pembroke, who was appointed guardian, was ordered to proceed against the rebels in Scotland, at the head of a small army, hastily collected, for the occasion.

Those were but preparatory measures. Upon Edward's arrival in London, he conferred knighthood upon his son the Prince of Wales, and nearly three hundred other persons, consisting, principally, of young men selected from families of rank throughout the kingdom; and conducted the ceremony with a pomp and magnificence well calculated to rouse the martial ardour and enterprise of his subjects. At a splendid banquet to which his nobility and the new made knights were invited, the aged king is recorded to have made a solemn vow to the God of heaven, that he would execute severe vengeance upon Bruce for the daring outrage which he had committed against God and his church; declaring, that when he had performed this duty, he would never more unsheath his sword against a Christian enemy; but should devote the remainder of his days to waging war against the Saracens for the recovery of the Holy Land, thence never to return from that sanctified warfare. Addressing his son, he made him promise, that, should he die before the accomplishment of his revenge, he should carry his body with the army, and not commit it to the earth, until a complete victory over his enemies should be obtained.

Pembroke, the English guardian, took early possession of the trust which had been confided to him; and marching his small army upon Perth, a walled and strongly fortified town, he there established his head-quarters. Bruce, during the short interval which had elapsed since his coronation, had not been altogether unsuccessful in recruiting the numbers and establishing order among his band of followers; nor did he think it prudent to delay engaging this portion of the English forces, greatly superior as they were, in every respect, to his own, prompted perhaps by the desire of striking an early and effectual blow, by which he might give credit and confirmation to his cause before the important succours expected by the enemy should arrive. On drawing near Perth, he sent a challenge, according to the chivalrous practice of the age, defying the English com-

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mander to battle in the open field. Pembroke returned for answer, that the day was too far spent, but that he would be ready to join battle on the morrow. Satisfied with this acceptance, Robert drew off his army to the neighbouring wood of Methven, where he encamped for the night; parties were dispersed in search of provisions, and the others, throwing aside their armour, employed themselves in making the necessary arrangements for comfort and repose. By a very culpable neglect, or a most unwarrantable reliance on the promise of the English Earl, the customary watches against surprise, were either altogether omitted, or very insufficiently attended to. Pembroke having, by his scouts, intelligence of this particular, and of the negligent posture of the Scottish troops, drew out his forces from Perth, towards the close of day; and gaining the unguarded encampment without observation, succeeded in throwing the whole body into complete and irremediable confusion. The Scots made but a feeble and unavailing resistance, and were soon routed and dispersed in every direction. Philip de Mowbray is said to have unhorsed the king, whom he seized, calling aloud that he had got the new made king; when Robert was gallantly rescued from his perilous situation by Chrystal de Seton his body esquire. Another account affirms that Robert was thrice unhorsed in the conflict, and thrice remounted by Simon Frazer. So desperate, indeed, were the personal risks which the King encountered on that disastrous night in the fruitless efforts which he made to rally his dismayed and discomfited followers, that, for a time, being totally unsupported, he was made prisoner by John de Haliburton, a Scotsman in the English army, but who set him at liberty on discovering who he was.

To have sustained even a slight defeat at the present juncture would have proved of incalculable injury to Bruce's cause: the miserable overthrow at Methven, seemed to have terminated it for ever; and to have left little else for Edward to do, unless to satisfy at his leisure the vindictive retribution which he had so solemnly bound himself to execute. Several of Robert's truest and bravest friends were made prisoners; among whom were Haye, Barclay, Frazer, Inchmartin, Sommerville, and Randolph. With about five hundred men, all that he was able to muster from the broken and dispirited remains of his army, Bruce penetrated into the mountainous country of Athole. In this small, but attached band, he still numbered the Earls of Athole and Errol, Sir James Douglas, Sir Neil Campbell, and his own brave brothers, Edward and Nigel.

Bruce and his small party, reduced indifferently to the condition of proscribed and hunted outlaws, endured the extremity of hardships among the wild and barren fastnesses to which they had retreated for shelter. The season of the year, it being then the middle of summer, rendered such a life, for a time, possible; but as the weather became less favourable, and their wants increased in proportion, they were constrained to descend into the low country of Aberdeenshire. Here Robert met with his queen and many other ladies who had fled thither for safety; and who, with an affectionate fortitude resolved, in the company of their fathers and husbands, to brave the same evils with which they found them encompassed. The respite which the royal party here enjoyed was of brief duration. Learning that a superior body of English was advancing upon them, they were forced to leave the low country and take refuge in the mountainous district of Breadalbane. To these savage and unhospitable retreats they were accompanied by the queen and the other ladies related to the party and to their broken fortunes by ties, it would seem, equally strong; and again had the royalists to sustain, under yet more distressing circumstances, the rigorous severity of their lot. Hunting and fishing were the precarious, though almost the only means, which they had of sustaining life; and the good Sir James Douglas is particularly noticed by the minute Barbour for his success in these pursuits; and the devoted

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zeal which he manifested in procuring every possible alleviation and comfort for his forlorn and helpless companions.

While the royalists thus avoided the immediate peril which had threatened them from one quarter, by abiding in those natural strong-holds which their enemy could not force, they almost inevitably came in contact with another danger no less imminent. They fell upon Charybdis seeking to avoid Scylla. The Lord of Lorn, upon the borders of whose territories they lay, was nearly connected by marriage with the family of the murdered Comyn; and, as might be expected, entertained an implacable hatred towards the person and the cause of the Scottish king. Having early intelligence of the vicinity, numbers, and necessities of the fugitive royalists, this powerful baron collected together a body of nearly a thousand of his martial dependants, men well acquainted with the advantages and difficulties of such a country, and besetting the passes, obliged the king to come to battle in a narrow defile where the horse of the party could possibly prove of no service, but were indeed an incumbrance. Considerable loss was sustained on the king's side in the action; and Sir James Douglas and de la Haye were both wounded. The king dreading the total destruction of his followers, ordered a retreat; and himself boldly taking post in the rear, by desperate courage, strength, and activity, succeeded in checking the fury of the pursuers, and in extricating his party. The place of this memorable contest is still pointed out, and remembered by the name of Dalry, or the king's field.

The almost incredible displays of personal prowess and address which Robert made on this occasion, are reported to have drawn forth the admiration even of his deadly enemies. In one of those repeated assaults which he was obliged to make in order to repress the impetuous pursuit of the assailants, he was beset, all at once, by three armed antagonists. This occurred in a pass, formed by a loch on the one side, and a precipitous bank on the other, and so narrow as scarcely to allow of two horses riding a-breast. One seized the king's horse by the bridle; but by a blow, which severed his arm in two, was almost instantly disabled. Another got hold of the rider's foot within the stirrup iron with the purpose of unhorsing him; but the king standing up in the stirrup, and urging his steed forward, dragged the unfortunate assailant to the ground. The third person leaped up behind him in hope of pinioning his arms and making him prisoner, or of despatching him with his dagger; but turning round, and exerting his utmost strength, Robert forced him forwards upon the horse's neck and slew him; after which he killed the helpless wretch who still dragged at his side. Barbour, the ancient authority by whom this deed of desperate valour is recorded, has contrived, whether intentionally or not, to throw an air of probability over it. The laird of Macnaughton, a follower of the lord of Lorn, we are told, was bold enough, in the presence of his chief, to express a generous admiration of the conduct of the heroic king. Being upbraided for a liberality which seemed to imply a want of consideration for the lives and honour of his own men, he replied by nobly observing, "that he who won the prize of chivalry, whether friend or foe, deserved to be spoken of with respect."

The danger which the royalist party had thus for the time escaped, the near approach of winter, during which, in so sterile a country, the means of support could not be procured, and the almost certain destruction which they would encounter should they descend into the level country, induced the king to give up all thoughts of keeping the field longer in the face of so many pressing and manifest perils and difficulties. The queen and the ladies who accompanied her, were put under the escort of the remaining cavalry; and the charge of conducting them safely to the strong castle of Kildrummie, committed to Nigel, the king's second brother, and the earl of Athole. The parting was sorrowful on both

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sides; and Robert here took the last leave of his brother Nigel, who not long after fell among many others, a victim to the inexorable vengeance of Edward.

Robert now resolved, with the few followers whom he still retained, amounting to about two hundred men, to force a passage into Cantire; that thence he might cross over into the north of Ireland, probably with the hope of receiving assistance from the earl of Ulster, or, at all events, of eluding for a season the hot pursuit of his enemies. At the banks of Lochlomond the progress of the party was interrupted. They dared not to travel round the lower end of the lake, lest they should encounter the forces of Argyle; and until they should reach the friendly country of the earl of Lennox, they could not, for a moment, consider themselves safe from the enemies who hung upon their rear. Douglas, after a long search for some means of conveyance, was fortunate enough to discover a small boat capable of carrying three persons, but so leaky and decayed, that there would be much danger in trusting to it. In this, which was their only resource, the king and Sir James were ferried over the lake. Some accomplished the passage by swimming; and the little boat went and returned until all the others were at length safely transported. The royalists, forlorn as their circumstances were, here felt themselves relieved from the harassing disquietudes which had attended their late precipitate marches; and the king, while they were refreshing themselves, is said to have recited for their entertainment the story of the siege of Egrymor, from the romance of Ferembras: thus with a consciousness of genuine greatness, which could afford the sacrifice, was Robert cheerfully contented to resign the privilege which even superior calamity itself bestowed upon him; and divert his own sympathies, in common with those of his humblest followers, into other and more pleasing channels.

It was here, while traversing the woods in search of food, that the king accidentally fell in with the earl of Lennox, ignorant till then of the fate of his sovereign, of whom he had received no intelligence since the defeat at Methven. The meeting is said to have affected both, even to tears. By the earl's exertions the royal party were amply supplied with provisions, and were shortly after enabled to reach in safety the castle of Dunaverty in Cantire, where they were hospitably received by Angus of Isla. Bruce remained no longer in this place than was necessary to recruit the strength and spirits of his companions. Sir Niel Campbell having provided a number of small vessels, the fugitive and now self-exiled king, accompanied by a few of his most faithful followers, passed over to the small island of Rachrin, on the north coast of Ireland, where they remained during the ensuing winter.

A miserable destiny awaited the friends and partisans whom Bruce had left in Scotland. Immediately after the rout at Methven, Edward issued a proclamation by which search was commanded to be made after all those who had been in arms against the English government, and they were ordered to be delivered up dead or alive. It was ordained, that all who were at the slaughter of Comyn, or who had harboured the guilty persons or their accomplices, should be drawn and hanged: that all who were already taken, or might hereafter be taken in arms, and all who harboured them, should be hanged or beheaded; that those who had voluntarily surrendered themselves, should be imprisoned during the king's pleasure: and that all persons, whether of the ecclesiastical order or laymen, who had willingly espoused the cause of Bruce, or who had procured or exhorted the people of Scotland to rise in rebellion, should, upon conviction, be imprisoned during the king's pleasure. With regard to the common people, a discretionary power of fining and ransoming them, was committed to the guardian.

This ordinance was inforced with a rigour corresponding to the spirit in which it was framed; and the dread of Edward's vengeance became general through-

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out the kingdom. The castle of Kildrummie being threatened by the English forces in the north, Elizabeth, Bruce's queen, and Marjory his daughter, with the other ladies who had there taken refuge, to escape the hardships and dangers of a siege, fled to the sanctuary of St Duthac at Tain in Ross-shire. The earl of Ross violated the sanctuary, and making them prisoners, sent them into England. Certain knights and squires by whom they had been escorted, being taken at the same time, were put to death. The queen and her daughter, though doomed to experience a long captivity, appear to have been invariably treated with becoming respect. Isabella, countess of Buchan, who had signalized her patriotism on the occasion of Robert's coronation, had a fate somewhat different. Feeling repugnant to the infliction of a capital punishment, the English king had recourse to an ingenious expedient by which to satisfy his royal vengeance upon this unfortunate lady. By a particular ordinance she was ordered to be confined in a cage to be constructed in one of the towers of Berwick castle; the cage bearing in shape the resemblance of a crown; and the countess was actually kept in this miserable durance, with little relaxation of its severity, for the remainder of her life. Mary, one of Bruce's sisters, was committed to a similar custody in one of the towers of Roxburgh castle; and Christina another sister was confined in a convent.

Lamberton, bishop of St Andrews, and Wisheart bishop of Glasgow, and the abbot of Scone, who had openly assisted and favoured Robert's cause, owed their lives solely to the inviolability of clerical character in those days. Lamberton and the abbot of Scone were committed to close custody in England. Wisheart having been seized in armour, was, in that uncanonical garb, carried a prisoner to the castle of Nottingham, where he is said to have been confined in irons. Edward earnestly solicited the pope to have these rebellious ecclesiastics deposed—a request with which his holiness does not seem to have complied.

The castle of Kildrummie was besieged by the earls of Lancaster and Hereford. Being a place of considerable strength, it might have defied the English army for a length of time; had not the treachery of one of the garrison, who set fire to the magazine of grain and provisions, constrained it to surrender at discretion. Nigel Bruce, by whom the castle had been defended, was carried prisoner to Berwick; where, being tried by a special commission, he was condemned, hanged, and afterwards beheaded. This miserable fate of the king's brother, excited a deep and universal detestation among the Scots towards the unrelenting cruelty of Edward. Christopher Seton, the brother-in-law of Bruce, and Alexander Seton, suffered under a similar sentence, the one at Dumfries, and the other at Newcastle. The earl of Athole, in attempting to make his escape by sea, was discovered and conducted to London; where he underwent the complicated punishment then commonly inflicted on traitors, being hanged till only half dead, beheaded, disemboweled, "and the trunk of his body burnt to ashes before his own face." *He was not drawn*, that point of punishment being remitted. Edward, we are told, although then grievously sick, endured the pains of his disease with greater patience, after hearing of the capture of the earl of Athole. Simon Frazer of Olivar Castle, the friend and companion in arms of Wallace, being also taken at this time, suffered capitally at London; his head being placed on the point of a lance, was set near to that of his old friend and leader. Along with this brave man, was likewise executed Herbert de Norham. Among so many persons of note, others of inferior distinction did not escape; and Edward might, indeed, be said by his tyranny, to have even now effected that critical though unperceived change in popular feeling, which, only requiring commencement of action and a proper direction, would be, in its progressive energy, equal to the destruction of all his past schemes, and of all his future projects and

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hopes. At all events, the effect of his extreme justice in avenging the death of Comyn, was of that kind, where, by the infliction of an unnecessary or disproportionably cruel punishment, detestation of the crime is lost sight of, in a just and natural commiseration for the criminal. That Edward's was but an assumed passion for justice, under which was cloaked a selfish and despotic vengeance, rendered it the more odious; and tended to abate the rancour of those who, on more allowable grounds, desired the ruin of the Scottish king.

To complete the measure of Robert's misfortunes, he and all his adherents were solemnly excommunicated by the pope's legate at Carlisle. The lordship of Annandale was bestowed on the earl of Hereford; the earldom of Carrick on Henry de Percy; and his English estates were disposed of in like manner. During this period Bruce, fortunately, out of the reach and knowledge of his enemies in the solitary island of Rachrin, remained ignorant of the fate of his family and friends in Scotland. Fordun relates that, in derision of his hopeless and unknown condition, a sort of ribald proclamation was made after him through the churches of Scotland, as lost, stolen, or strayed.

The approach of spring, and a seasonable supply, it is said, of money which he received from Christina of the Isles, again roused the activit, of Robert and his trusty followers. Sir James Douglas, with the permission of his master, first passed over to Arran; where, shortly after his landing, he and the few men with him, surprised a party belonging to Brodick castle, in act of conveying provisions, arms, and clothing to that garrison, and succeeded in making seizure of the cargo. Here he was in a few days joined by the king, who arrived from Rachrin with a small fleet of thirty-three galleys. Having no intelligence respecting the situation or movements of the enemy, a trusty person named Cuthbert was despatched by the king to the opposite shore of Carrick, with instructions to sound the dispositions of the people; and, if the occasion seemed favourable for a descent among them, to make a signal, at a day appointed, by lighting a fire upon an eminence near the castle of Turnberry. The country, as the messenger found, was fully possessed by the English; the castle of Turnberry in the hands of Percy, and occupied by a garrison of near three hundred men; and the old vassals of Bruce dispirited or indifferent, and many of them hostile. Appearances seemed, altogether, so unfavourable, that Cuthbert, without making himself known to any person, resolved to return to the king without making the signal agreed upon.

From the dawn of the day on which he was to expect the appointed signal, Robert watched anxiously the opposite coast of Carrick, at the point from which it should become visible. He was not disappointed, for when noon had already passed, a fire was plainly discerned on the rising ground above Turnberry. Assured that this could be no other than the concerted signal of good tidings, the king gave orders for the instant embarkation of his men, who amounted to about three hundred in number. It is reported that, while the king was walking on the beach, during the preparations making for putting to sea, the woman at whose house he had lodged requested an audience of him. Pretending to a knowledge of future events, she confidently predicted that he should soon be king of Scotland; but that he must expect to encounter many difficulties and dangers in the course of the war. As a proof of her own confidence in the truth of her prediction, she sent her two sons along with him. Whether this incident was concerted by the king himself, or was simply an effect of that very singular delusion, the second sight, said to be inherent among these islanders, is of little consequence. Either way, it could not fail of impressing on the rude and superstitious minds to which it was addressed, a present reliance upon their leader, and a useful confidence in the ultimate success of his arms.

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Towards evening the king and his associates put to sea; and when night closed upon them, they were enabled to direct their course across the firth by the light of the beacon, which still continued to burn on the heights of Turnberry. On landing they were met by the messenger, Cuthbert, with the unwelcome intelligence, that there was no hope of assistance from the people of Carrick. "Traitor," cried Bruce, "why made you then the fire?" "I made no signal," replied the man, "but observing a fire upon the hill, I feared that it might deceive you, and I hasted hither to warn you from the coast." In the perilous dilemma in which he found himself placed, Bruce hesitated upon what course he should adopt; but, urged by the more precipitate spirit of his brother Edward, and yielding at length to the dictates of his own more considerate valour, he resolved to persevere in the enterprise which, under such desperate and unexpected circumstances, had opened upon him.

The greater part of the English troops under Percy were carelessly cantoned in the town, situated at some little distance from the castle of Turnberry. Before morning their quarters were taken by surprise, and nearly the whole body, amounting to about two hundred men, put to the sword. Percy and his garrison heard from the castle the uproar and tumult of the night attack; but ignorant alike of the enemy and their numbers, and fearing a similar fate, they dared not attempt the rescue of their unfortunate companions. Bruce made prize of a rich booty, amongst which were his own war-horses and household plate. When the news of this bold and successful enterprise became known, a detachment of above a thousand men, under the command of Roger St John, were despatched from Ayr to the relief of Turnberry; and Robert, unable to oppose such a force, and expecting to be speedily joined by succours from Ireland, thought proper to retire into the mountainous parts of Carrick.

The king's brothers, Thomas and Alexander, had been, previously to Robert's departure from Rachrin, sent over into Ireland and the adjacent isles to procure assistance. They succeeded in collecting a force of about seven hundred men, with whom they endeavoured to effect a landing at Loch Ryan in Galloway, intending from thence to march into the neighbouring district of Carrick, and join themselves to the king's standard. They fatally miscarried, in the accomplishment of this object; Macdowal, a powerful chieftain of Galloway, having hastily collected his vassals, attacked the invading party before they had time to form, routed, and put many of them to the sword. The two brothers of the king and Sir Reginald Crawfurd, all of them wounded, were made prisoners; and Malcolm Mackail, lord of Kentir, and two Irish reguli or chieftains were slain. Macdowal cut off the heads of the principal persons who had fallen; and along with these bloody tokens of his triumph, presented his prisoners to king Edward, then residing at Carlisle. The two brothers and their associate, supposed by some to have been a near relation of Wallace, were ordered to immediate execution.

This disaster, coupled as it was with the insured enmity of the Gallovidians, and the near approach of the English, rendered for a time the cause of Bruce entirely hopeless, and even subjected his individual safety to the extremest hazards. His partizans either fell off or were allowed to disperse themselves for safety; while he himself often wandered alone or but slightly accompanied, among woods and morasses, relying for defence or security, sometimes on his own great personal prowess, or his intimate knowledge of that wild district, in which he had been brought up, or on the fidelity of some old attached vassal of his family. Almost all the incidents relating to Bruce, at this period of his fortunes, partake strongly of the romantic; and were it not that the authority from which they are derived, has been found to be generally correct in its other par-

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ticulars, so far as these could be substantiated, some of them might well be deemed fabulous, or grossly exaggerated. The perilous circumstances in which the deserted and outlawed sovereign was placed, and his undaunted and persevering courage which none ever called in question, furnished of themselves ample scope for the realization of marvellous adventure; and which, because marvellous or exaggerated, ought not, on that account, to be altogether, or too hastily rejected. It may have been no easy task for even the contemporary historian, in that rude age, to discover the amplifications and falsities of popular statement; and, there can be no doubt, that in transmitting these statements simply, as he found them, he left the truth of more easy attainment to posterity, than would have been the case had he exercised his own critical skill in reducing them to a standard of probability and consistency. One of those adventures, said to have befallen the king at this time, is so extraordinary that we cannot omit taking notice of it.

While Robert was wandering among the fastnesses of Carrick, as has been described, after the defeat of his Irish auxiliaries at Lochryan, the numbers of his small army so reduced as not to amount to sixty men; the Gallovidians chanced to gain such intelligence of his situation, as induced them to attempt the surprisal, and, if possible, the destruction of the party. They raised, for this purpose, with great secrecy a body of more than two hundred men, and provided themselves with bloodhounds to track the fugitives through the forests and morasses. Notwithstanding the privacy of their arrangements, Bruce had notice of his danger; but knew not at what time to expect the attack of the enemy. Towards night, he withdrew his men to a position protected by a morass on the one side, and by a rivulet on the other, which had only one narrow ford, over which the enemy must needs pass. Here leaving his followers to their rest, the king, accompanied by two attendants returned to the ford in order to satisfy himself, that his retreat had not been discovered by the enemy, whom he knew to be at no great distance. After listening at this place for some time, he could at length distinguish, in the stillness which surrounded him, the distant sound of a hound's questing, or that eager yell which the animal is known to make when urged on in the pursuit of its prey. Unwilling for this cause alone, to disturb the repose of his fatigued followers, Robert determined, as it was a clear moonlight night, and the post he occupied favourable for observation, to ascertain more exactly the reality of the danger. He soon heard the voices of men urging the hound forward, and no longer doubtful but that his enemies had fallen upon the track, and would speedily be upon him, he dispatched his two attendants to warn his men of the danger. The blood-hounds, true to their instinct, led the body of Gallovidians directly to the ford where the king stood, who then hastily bethought himself of the imminent danger there was of the enemy gaining possession of this post before his men could possibly come to its defence. Should this happen, the destruction of himself and his whole party was nearly inevitable. So circumstanced, Robert boldly determined, till succour should arrive, to defend the passage of the ford, which was the more possible, as, from its narrowness, only one assailant could pass over at a time. The Galloway men coming in a body to the spot, and seeing only a solitary individual posted on the opposite side to dispute their way, the foremost of their number rode boldly into the water; but in attempting to gain the other bank of the stream, Bruce with a thrust of his spear laid him dead on the spot. The same fate awaited four of his companions, whose bodies became a sort of rampart of defence against the others; who, dismayed at so unexpected and fatal a reception, fell back for a moment in some confusion. Instantly ashamed that so many should be baffled by the individual prowess of one man, they returned furiously to the attack; but

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were so valiantly met and opposed by the king, that the post was still maintained, when the loud shout of Robert's followers advancing to his rescue, warned the Gallovidians to retire, after sustaining in this unexampled combat the loss of fourteen of their men. The danger to which the king had been exposed on this occasion, and the great daring and bravery which he had manifested, sensibly roused the spirits of his party who now began, with increasing confidence and numbers, to flock to his standard. Douglas, who had been successfully employed against the English in his own district of Douglas-dale, also about this time, joined the king with what followers he had been able to muster among the vassals of his family.

Pembroke, the guardian, at the head of a considerable body of men, now took the field against Robert; and was joined by John of Lorn, with a body of eight hundred Highlanders, men well calculated for that irregular species of warfare to which Bruce was necessitated to have recourse. Lorn is said to have had along with him a blood-hound which had once belonged to the king, and which was so strongly attached to its old master, and familiar with his scent, that if once it got upon his track it would never part from it for any other. These two armies advanced separately, Pembroke carefully keeping to the low and open country, where his cavalry could act with effect; while Lorn, by a circuitous rout, endeavoured to gain the rear of the king's party. The Highland chieftain so well succeeded in this manœuvre, that before Robert, whose attention had been wholly occupied by the forces under Pembroke, was aware of his danger, he found himself environed by two hostile bodies of troops, either of which was greatly superior to his own. In this emergency, the king, having appointed a place of rendezvous, divided his men into three companies, and ordered them to retreat as they best might, by different routes, that thus, by distracting the attention of the enemy, they might have the better chance of escape.

Lorn arriving at the place where the Scottish army had separated, set loose the blood-hound, which, falling upon the king's scent, led the pursuers immediately on the track which he had taken. The king finding himself pursued, again subdivided his remaining party into three, but without effect, for the hound still kept true to the track of its former master. The case now appearing desperate, Robert ordered the remainder of his followers to disperse themselves; and, accompanied by only one person, said to have been his foster-brother, endeavoured by this last means to frustrate the pursuit of the enemy. In this he was of course unsuccessful; and Lorn, who now saw the hound choose that direction which only two men had taken, knew certainly that one of these must be the king; and despatched five of his swiftest men after them with orders either to slay them, or delay their flight till others of the party came to their assistance. Robert, finding these men gaining hotly upon him, faced about, and, with the aid of his companion, slew them all. Lorn's men were now so close upon him that the king could perceive they were led on by means of a blood-hound. Fortunately, he and his companion had reached the near covert of a wood, situated in a valley through which ran a brook or rivulet. Taking advantage of this circumstance, by which they well knew the artifice of their pursuers would be defeated, Bruce and his foster-brother, before turning into any of the surrounding thickets for shelter, travelled in the water of the stream so far as they judged necessary to dissipate and destroy the strong scent upon which the hound had proceeded. The highland chieftain, who was straightway directed to the rivulet, along which the fugitives had diverged, here found that the hound had lost its scent; and aware of the difficulty and fruitlessness of a further search, was reluctantly compelled to quit the chace and retire. By another account, the escape of Bruce from the blood-hound is told thus: An archer

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who had kept near to the king in his flight, having discovered that by means of the hound Robert's course had been invariably tracked, stole into a thicket and from thence despatched the animal with an arrow; after which he made his escape undiscovered into the wood which the king had entered.

Bruce reached in safety the rendezvous of his party, after having narrowly escaped from the treachery of three men by whom, however, his faithful companion and foster-brother was slain. The English, under the impression that the Scottish army was totally dispersed, neglected, in a great measure, the precautions necessary in their situation. Robert having intelligence of the state of security in which they lay, succeeded in surprising a body of two hundred, carelessly cantoned at some little distance from the main army, and put the greater part of them to the sword. Pembroke, shortly after, retired with his whole forces, towards the borders of England, leaving spies behind him to watch the motions of his subtile enemy. By means of these he was not long in gaining such information as led him to hope the surprisal of the king and his party. Approaching with great secrecy a certain wood in Glentruel, where Robert then lay, he was on the point of accomplishing his purpose; when the Scots happily in time discovering their danger, rushed forth unexpectedly and furiously upon their assailants and put them completely to flight. Pembroke, upon this defeat, retreated with his army to Carlisle.

Robert encouraged by these successes, and by the general panic which he saw to prevail among the enemy, now ventured down upon the low country; and was soon enabled to reduce the districts of Kyle, Carrick, and Cunningham to his obedience. Sir Philip Mowbray having been dispatched with a thousand men to make head against this rapid progress, was attacked at advantage by Douglas with so much spirit that, after a loss of sixty men, his whole force was routed, himself narrowly escaping in the pursuit.

Pembroke, by this time alarmed for the safety and credit of his government, determined again to take the field in person. Putting himself at the head of a strong body of cavalry, he advanced into Ayrshire, and came up with the army of Bruce then encamped on Loudon-hill. The Scottish king, though his forces were still greatly inferior in number, and consisted entirely of infantry, determined on the spot on which he had posted himself, to give battle to the English commander. He had selected his ground on this occasion with great judgment, and had taken care, by strongly entrenching the flanks of his position, to render as ineffectual as possible the numbers and cavalry of the enemy. His force amounted in all to about six hundred men who were entirely spearmen; that of Pembroke did not amount to less than three thousand well mounted and armed soldiery, displaying an imposing contrast to the small but unyielding mass who stood ready to oppose them. Pembroke, dividing his army into two lines or divisions, ordered the attack to be commenced; when the van, having their lances couched, advanced at full gallop to the charge. The Scots sustained the shock with determined firmness, and a desperate conflict ensuing, the English van was at length driven fairly back upon the rear or second division. This vigorous repulse decided the fortune of the day. The Scots, now the assailants, followed up closely the advantage which they had gained, and the rear of the English, panic-struck and disheartened, began to give way, and finally to retreat. The confusion and rout soon becoming general, Pembroke's whole army was put to flight; a considerable number being slain in the battle and pursuit, and many made prisoners. The loss on the part of the Scots is said to have been extremely small.

Three days after the battle of Loudon-hill, Bruce encountered Monthermur at the head of a body of English, whom he defeated with great slaughter, and

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obliged to take refuge in the castle of Ayr. He, for some time, blockaded this place; but retired at the approach of succours from England. These successes, though in themselves limited, proved, in effect, of the utmost importance to Robert's cause, by conferring upon it that stability of character in men's minds which, hitherto, it had never attained. The death of Edward I., at this period, was another event which could not but favourably affect the fortunes of Scotland, at the very moment when the whole force of England was collected for its invasion. That great monarch's resentment and hatred towards Bruce and his patriotic followers did not die with him. With his last breath, he gave orders that his dead body should accompany the army in its march into Scotland, and remain unburied until that country was totally subdued. Edward II. disregarded this singular injunction, and had the body of his father more becomingly disposed of in the royal sepulchre at Westminster.

Edward II. on his accession to the throne of England soon proved himself but ill-qualified for the conduct of those great designs which his father's demise had devolved upon him. Of a weak and obstinate disposition, he was incapable of appreciating, far less of acting up to the dying counsels and injunctions of his heroic father. His utter disregard for these was, indeed, manifested in the very first act of his reign; that of recalling his unworthy favourite Piers Gaveston from exile, who with other minions of his own cast was from that moment to take the place of all the faithful and experienced ministers of the late king, and exercise a sole and unlimited sway over the weak and capricious humours of their master. Edward by this measure laid an early foundation for the disgust and alienation of his English subjects. His management in regard to Scotland was equally unpropitious. After wasting much valuable time at Dumfries and Roxburgh in receiving the homage of the Scottish barons; he advanced with his great army as far as Cumnock in Ayrshire, from whence, without striking a blow, he retreated into England, and disbanded his whole forces. A campaign so useless and inglorious, after all the mighty preparation spent upon it, could not but have a happy effect upon the rising fortunes of the Scottish patriots, while it disheartened all in Scotland who from whatever cause favoured the English interest.

The English king had no sooner retired, than Bruce invaded Galloway, and, wherever opposed, wasted the country with fire and sword. The fate of his two brothers, who had here fallen into the hands of the chieftain Macdowal, most probably influenced the king in this act of severe retribution. The Earl of Richmond, whom Edward had newly created guardian, was sent to oppose his progress, upon which Robert retired into the north of Scotland, leaving Sir James Douglas in the south, for the purpose of reducing the forests of Selkirk and Jedburgh to obedience. The king, without encountering almost any resistance, over-ran great part of the north, seizing, in his progress, the castle of Inverness and many other fortified places, which he ordered to be entirely demolished. Returning southward, he was met by the Earl of Buchan at the head of a tumultuary body of Scots and English, whom, at the first charge, he put to flight. In the course of this expedition, the king became affected with a grievous illness, which reduced his bodily and mental strength to that degree, that little hopes were entertained of his recovery. Ancient historians have attributed this malady to the effects of the cold, famine, poor lodging and hardships, to which, ever since the defeat at Methven, the king had been subjected.

Buchan, encouraged by the intelligence which he received of the king's illness, and eager to efface the dishonour of his late retreat, again assembled his numerous followers; and being joined by Mowbray, an English commander, came up with the king's forces, then strongly posted near Slaines, on the east coast of Aberdeenshire. The royalists avoided battle; and beginning to be straitened

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for provisions retired in good order, first to Strathbogy, and afterwards to Inverury. By this time the violence of the king's disorder had abated, and he began by slow degrees to recover strength. Buchan, who still watched for an opportunity of attack, advanced to Old Meldrum; and Sir David Brechin, who had joined himself to his party, came upon Inverury suddenly with a detachment of troops, cut off several of the royalists in the outskirts of the town, and retired without loss. This military bravado instantly roused the dormant energies of the king; and, though too weak in body to mount on horseback without assistance, he resolved to take immediate vengeance on his insolent enemy. Supported by two men on each side of his saddle, the king took the direction of his troops, and encountering the forces of Buchan, though much superior to his own, put them to flight with great slaughter. The agitation of spirits which Robert sustained on this occasion, is said to have restored him to health. Advancing into the country of his discomfited enemy, Bruce took ample revenge of all the injuries which its possessor had inflicted upon him.

About this time the castle of Aberdeen was surprized by the citizens, the garrison put to the sword, and the fortifications razed to the foundation. A body of English having been collected for the purpose of chastising this bold exploit, they were spiritedly met on their march by the inhabitants, routed, and a considerable number taken prisoners, who were afterwards, says Boece, hanged upon gibbets around the town, as a terror to their companions. A person named Philip the Forester of Platane, having collected a small body of patriots, succeeded, about the same period, in taking the strong castle of Forfar by escalade. The English garrison were put to the sword, and the fortifications, by order of the king, destroyed. Many persons of note, who had hitherto opposed Bruce, or who, from prudential considerations, had submitted to the domination of England, now openly espoused the cause of their country. Among the rest Sir David Brechin, the king's nephew, upon the overthrow at Inverury, submitted himself to the authority of his uncle.

While Robert was thus successfully engaged in the north; his brother Edward, at the head of a considerable force, invaded Galloway. He was opposed by Sir Ingram Umphraville and Sir John de St John with about twelve hundred men. A bloody battle ensued at the water of Cree, in which the English, after sustaining severe loss, were constrained to fly. Great slaughter was made in the pursuit, and the two commanders escaped with difficulty to the castle of Butel, on the sea-coast. De St John from thence retired into England, where raising a force of fifteen hundred men, he returned with great expedition into Galloway in the hope of finding his victorious enemy unprepared for his reception. Edward Bruce, however, had notice of his movements; and with the chivalric valour or temerity which belonged to his character, he resolved boldly to over-reach the enemy in their own stratagem. Entrenching his infantry in a strong position in the line of march of the assailants; he himself, with fifty horsemen well harnessed, succeeded in gaining their rear; with the intent of falling suddenly and unexpectedly upon them so soon as his entrenched camp should be assailed. Edward was favoured in this hazardous manœuvre by a mist so thick that no object could be discerned at the distance of a bow-shot: but, before his design could be brought to bear, the vapours suddenly chasing away, left his small body fully discovered to the English. Retreat with any chance of safety was impossible, and to the reckless courage of their leader, suggested itself not. The small company no sooner became visible to their astonished and disarrayed foes, than, raising a loud shout, they rushed furiously to the attack, and after one or two more desperate charges, put them to rout. Thus successful in the field, Edward expelled the English garrisons, reduced the rebellious natives with fire and

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sword, and compelled the whole district to yield submission to the authority of his brother.

Douglas, after achieving many advantages in the south, among which, the successive captures of his own castle in Douglasdale were the most remarkable, about this time, surprised and made prisoners Alexander Stewart of Bonkil and Thomas Randolph, the king's nephew. When Randolph, who from the defeat at Methven, had adhered faithfully to the English interest, was brought before his sovereign, the king is reported to have said; "Nephew, you have been an apostate for a season; you must now be reconciled." "*You* require penance of *me*," replied Randolph fiercely, "yourself rather ought to do penance. Since you challenged the king of England to war, you ought to have asserted your title in the open field, and not to have betaken yourself to cowardly ambuscades." "*That* may be hereafter, and perchance ere long," the king calmly replied; "meanwhile, it is fitting that your proud words receive due chastisement; and that you be taught to know my right and your own duty." After this rebuke, Randolph was ordered for a time into close confinement. This singular interview may have been preconcerted between the parties, for the purpose of cloaking under a show of constraint, Randolph's true feelings in joining the cause of his royal relative. Certain it is, his confinement was of brief duration; and in all the after acts of his life, he made evident with how hearty and zealous a devotion he had entered on his new and more honourable field of enterprise.

Shortly after the rejunction of Douglas, Bruce carried his arms into the territory of Lorn, being now able to take vengeance on the proud chieftain, who, after the defeat at Methven, had so nearly accomplished his destruction. To oppose this invasion the lord of Lorn collected a force of about two thousand men, whom he posted in ambuscade in a defile, having the high mountain of Cruachen Ben on the one side, and a precipice overhanging the sea on the other. This pass was so narrow in some places, as not to admit of two horsemen passing a-breast. Robert who had timely information of the manner in which this road was beset, through which he must necessarily pass, detached one half of his army, consisting entirely of light armed troops and archers, under Douglas, with orders to make a circuit of the mountain and so gain the high ground in the rear and flank of the enemy's position. He himself with the rest of his troops entered the pass, where they were soon attacked from the ambushment with great fury. This lasted not long; for the party of Douglas quickly appearing on the heights immediately above them and in their rear, the men of Lorn were cast into inevitable confusion. After annoying the enemy with repeated flights of arrows, Douglas descended the mountain and fell upon them sword in hand; the king, at the same time, pressing upon them from the pass. They were defeated with great slaughter; and John of Lorn, who had planned this unsuccessful ambush, after witnessing its miscarriage from a galley at a little distance, put to sea and retired into England. Robert laid waste the whole district of Lorn; and gaining possession of Dunstaffnage, the principal place of strength belonging to the family, garrisoned it strongly with his own men.

While Bruce and his partizans were thus successfully engaged in wresting their country from the power of England, and in subduing the refractory spirit of some of their own nobility, every thing was feeble and fluctuating in the councils of their enemies. In less than a year, Edward changed or re-appointed the governors of Scotland six different times. Through the mediation of Philip king of France, a short truce was finally agreed upon between Edward and Robert; but infractions having been made on both sides, Bruce laid seige to the castle of Rutherglen. In February, 1310, a truce was once more agreed upon; notwithstanding which John de Segrave was appointed to the guardianship of Scot-

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land on both sides of the Forth; and had the warlike power of the north of England placed at his disposal. It was early in the same year that the clergy of Scotland assembled in a provincial council, and issued a declaration to all the faithful, bearing, that the Scottish nation, seeing the kingdom betrayed and enslaved, had assumed Robert Bruce for their king, and that the clergy had willingly done homage to him in that character.

During these negotiations, hostilities were never entirely laid aside on either side. The advantages of the warfare, however, were invariably on the side of Bruce, who now seemed preparing to attack Perth, at that time an important fortress, and esteemed the capital of Scotland. Roused to activity by this danger, Edward made preparations for the immediate defence and succour of that place. He also appointed the Earl of Ulster to the command of a body of Irish troops who were to assemble at Dublin, and from thence invade Scotland; and the whole military array of England was ordered to meet the king at Berwick; but the English nobles disgusted with the government of Edward, and detesting his favourite Gaveston, repaired unwillingly and slowly to the royal standard. Before his preparations could be brought to bear, the season for putting to sea had passed, and Edward was obliged to countermand the forces under the Earl of Ulster; still resolving, however, to invade Scotland in person, with the large army which he had collected upon the border. Towards the end of autumn the English commenced their march, and directing their course through the forest of Selkirk to Biggar, thence are said to have penetrated as far as Renfrew. Not finding the enemy, in any body, to oppose their progress, and unable from the season of the year, aggravated, as it was, by a severe famine which at that very time afflicted the land, to procure forage and provisions, the army making no abode in those parts, retreated by the way of Linlithgow and the Lothians to Berwick; where Edward, after this ill-concerted and fruitless expedition, remained inactive for eight months. Bruce, during this invasion, cautiously avoided coming to an open engagement with the greatly superior forces of the enemy; contenting himself with sending detached parties to hang upon their rear, who, as opportunity offered, might harass or cut off the marauding and foraging parties of the English. In one of these sudden assaults the Scots put to the sword a body of three hundred of the enemy before any sufficient force could be brought up for their rescue.

About this time the castle of Linlithgow, a place of great utility to the English, as being situated midway between Stirling and Edinburgh, was surprised by the stratagem of a poor peasant named William Binnock. This man, having been employed to lead hay into the fort, placed a party of armed friends in ambush as near as possible to the gate; and concealing under his seeming load of hay, eight armed men, advanced to the castle, himself walking carelessly by the side of the wain, while a servant led the cattle in front. When the carriage was fairly in the gateway, so that neither the gates of the castle could be closed nor the portcullis let down, the person in front who had charge of the oxen cut the soam or withy rope by which the animals were attached to the wain, which thus, instantly, became stationary. Binnock, making a concerted signal, his armed friends leaped from under the hay, and mastered the sentinels; and being immediately joined by the other party in ambush, the garrison, almost without resistance, were put to the sword, and the place taken. Binnock was well rewarded by the king for this daring and successful exploit; and the castle was ordered to be demolished.

Robert, finding that his authority was now well established at home, and that Edward was almost entirely engrossed by the dissensions which had sprung up among his own subjects, resolved, by an invasion of England, to retaliate in

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some measure the miseries with which that country had so long afflicted his kingdom. Assembling a considerable army, he advanced into the bishopric of Durham, laying waste the country with fire and sword; and giving up the whole district to the unbounded and reckless license of the soldiery. "Thus," says Fordun, "by the blessing of God, and by a just retribution of providence, were the perfidious English, who had despoiled and slaughtered many, in their turn subjected to punishment." Edward II. made a heavy complaint to the Pope, of the "horrible ravages, depredations, burnings, and murders" committed by "Robert Bruce and his accomplices" in this inroad, in which "neither age nor sex were spared, nor even the immunities of ecclesiastical liberty respected." The papal thunder had, however, already descended harmless on the Scottish king and his party; and the time had arrived, when the nation eagerly hoped, and the English might well dread the coming of that storm, which should avenge, by a requital alike bloody and indiscriminate, those wrongs which, without distinction, had been so mercilessly inflicted upon it.

Soon after his return from England, Robert, again drawing an army together, laid siege to Perth, a place in those days so strongly fortified, that, with a sufficient garrison, and abundance of provisions and military stores, it might bid defiance to any open force that could be brought against it. Having lain before the town for six weeks, the king seeing no prospect of being able to reduce it by main force, raised the siege, and retired to some distance, as if resolved to desist from the enterprize. He had gained intelligence, however, that the ditch which surrounded the town was fordable in one place, of which he had taken accurate notice. Having provided scaling ladders of a sufficient length, he, with a chosen body of infantry, returned after an absence of eight days, and approached the works. The self-security of the garrison, who, from hearing nothing of Robert for some days, were thrown entirely off their guard, no less than the darkness of the night, favoured his enterprise. Robert himself carrying a ladder was the foremost to enter the ditch, the water of which reached breast high, and the second to mount the walls when the ladders were applied. A French knight who at this time served under the Scottish king, having witnessed the gallant example set by his leader, is reported to have exclaimed with enthusiasm, "What shall we say of our lords of France, that with dainty living, wassail, and revelry pass their time, when so worthy a knight, through his great chivalry, puts his life into so great hazard to win a wretched hamlet." Saying this, he, with the lively valour of his nation, threw himself into the fosse, and shared in the danger and glory of the enterprise. The walls were scaled and the town taken almost without resistance. By the king's orders quarter was given to all who laid down their arms; and in accordance with the admirable policy which he had hitherto invariably pursued, the fortifications of the place were entirely demolished.

Edward once more made advances towards negotiating a truce with the Scottish king; but Robert, who well knew the importance of following up the successful career which had opened upon him, refused to accede to his proposals, and again invaded England. In this incursion the Scottish army ravaged and plundered the county of Northumberland and bishopric of Durham. The towns of Hexham and Corbridge, and great part of the city of Durham were burnt. The army in returning, were bold enough, by a forced march, to attempt the surprisal of Berwick, where the English king then lay; but their design being discovered they were obliged to retire. So great was the terror which these predatory and destructive visitations inspired in the districts exposed to them, that the inhabitants of the county of Durham, and afterwards those of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, contributed each a sum of two thousand pounds to

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purchase an immunity from the like spoliations in future. In the same year the king assaulted and took the castles of Butel, Dumfries, and Dalswinton. The strong and important fortress of Roxburgh, also, at this time fell into his hands, by the stratagem and bravery of Sir James Douglas. All of these places, so soon as taken, were, by the king's orders destroyed, that they might on no future occasion, if retaken, become serviceable to the enemy.

The surprisal of Edinburgh castle by Randolph, the king's nephew, ought not, among the stirring events of this time, to be passed over. That brave knight, who from the moment of his accession to the royal cause, had devotedly and successfully employed himself towards its establishment, had for some time laid siege to, and strictly blockaded the castle; but the place being one of great natural strength, strongly fortified, and well stored with men and provisions, there seemed little hope of bringing it to a speedy surrender. The garrison were also completely upon the alert. Having had reason to suspect the fidelity of Leland their governor, they had put him under confinement, and elected another commander in his stead. Matters stood thus, when a singular disclosure made to Randolph by a man named William Frank, suggested the possibility of taking the almost impregnable fortress by escalade. This man, in his youth, had resided in the castle as one of the garrison; and having an amorous intrigue in the city, he had been in use to descend the wall in the night, by means of a rope-ladder, and through a steep and intricate path to arrive at the foot of the rock. By the same precipitous road he had always been enabled to regain the castle without discovery; and so familiar had all its windings become to him, that he confidently engaged to guide a party of the besiegers by the same track to the bottom of the walls. Randolph resolved to undertake the enterprise. Having provided a ladder suited to the purpose, he, with thirty chosen men, put himself under the guidance of Frank, who, towards the middle of a dark night, safely conducted the party to the bottom of the precipitous ascent. Having clambered with great difficulty and exertion about half way up the rock, the adventurous party reached a broad projection or shelf, on which they rested some little time to recover breath. While in this position, they heard above them the guard or check-watch of the garrison making their rounds, and could distinguish that they paused a little on that part of the ramparts immediately over them. One of the watch throwing a stone from the wall cried out, "Away, I see you well." The stone flew over the heads of the ambuscading party, who happily remained unmoved, as they really were unseen on the comparatively safe part of the rock which they had attained. The guard hearing no stir to follow, passed on. Randolph and his men having waited till they had gone to a distance again got up, and at the imminent peril of their lives, fairly succeeded in clambering up the remaining part of the rock to the foot of the wall, to which they affixed their ladder. Frank, the guide, was first to mount the walls; Sir Andrew Gray was the next; Randolph himself was the third. Before the whole could reach the summit of the wall, the alarm was given, and the garrison rushed to arms. A fierce encounter took place; but the governor having been slain, the English surrendered themselves to mercy. The fortifications of the castle were dismantled; and Leland, the former governor, having been released from his confinement, entered the Scottish service.

The earl of Athole, who had long adhered to the English faction, and who had recently obtained as a reward for his fidelity a grant of lands in England, now joined the rising fortunes of his lawful sovereign. Through the mediation of France conferences for a truce were renewed; but notwithstanding of these Robert invaded Cumberland, wasting the country to a great extent. The Cumbrians earnestly besought succour from Edward; but that prince being about to

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depart for France, did nothing but extol their fidelity, desiring them to defend themselves until his return. By invading Cumberland at this time, Bruce probably intended to draw the attention of the English from the more serious design which he contemplated of making a descent upon the isle of Man. He had scarcely, therefore, returned from his predatory expedition into England, than, embarking his forces, he landed unexpectedly upon that island, overthrew the governor, took the castle of Ruffin, and possessed himself of the country. The Manx governor on this occasion, is, with great probability, conjectured to have been the same Gallovidian chieftain, who defeated, and made prisoners at Lochryan, the two brothers of the Scottish king.

On his return from France, Edward was met by commissioners sent to him by such Scots as still remained faithful in their allegiance to England. These made bitter complaint of the miserable condition to which they had been reduced, both from the increasing power of Bruce, and from the oppression which they suffered under the government of the English ministers. Edward, deserted and despised by his nobility, who, at this time, not only refused to attend his army, but even to assemble in parliament upon his summons, could merely make answer to these complaints by promises, which he was alike incapable in himself and in his means to perform. Meanwhile the arms of the patriots continued to prosper. Edward Bruce took and destroyed the castle of Rutherglen, and the town and castle of Dundee. He next laid siege to the castle of Stirling, then held by Philip de Moubray, an English commander of bravery and reputation; but was here less successful. Unable, by any mode of attack known in those days, to make impression on a fortress of so great strength, Edward consented to a treaty with the governor that the place should be surrendered, if not succoured by the king of England before St John's day in the ensuing midsummer. Bruce was much displeased with his brother for having granted such a truce, yet he consented to ratify it. The space of time agreed upon allowed ample leisure to the English king to collect his forces for the relief of the castle, the almost only remaining stronghold which he now possessed in Scotland; and Robert felt that he must either oppose him in battle with a greatly inferior force, or, by retreating in such circumstances, lessen the great fame and advantages which he had acquired.

The English king having effected a temporary reconciliation with his refractory nobility, lost no time in making all the preparations which his great power and resources allowed of, to relieve the castle of Stirling, in the first place, and recover the almost entirely revolted kingdom to his authority. He summoned the whole power of the English barons to meet him in arms at Berwick on the 11th of June; invited to his aid Eth O'Connor, chief of the native Irish of Connaught, and twenty-six other Irish chieftains; summoned his English subjects in Ireland to attend his standard, and put both them and the Irish auxiliaries under the command of the earl of Ulster. "So vast," says Barbour, "was the army which was now collected, that nothing nearly so numerous had ever before been arrayed by England, and no force that Scotland could produce might possibly have been able to withstand it in the open field." A considerable number of ships were also ordered for the invasion of Scotland by sea, and for transporting provisions and warlike stores for the use of the army.

The Scottish king, meanwhile, used every effort in his power to provide adequately against the approaching contest, resolved resolutely to defend the honour and independence of the crown and kingdom which through so many dangers and difficulties he had achieved. He appointed a general rendezvous of his forces at the Torwood, between Falkirk and Stirling. The fighting men assembled in consequence of his summons, somewhat exceeded thirty thousand in num-

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ber, besides about fifteen thousand unarmed and undisciplined followers of the camp, according to the mode in those times.

Two days before the battle, Bruce took up his position in a field not far from Stirling, then known by the name of New Park, which had the castle on the left, and the brook of Bannock on the right. The banks of the rivulet were steep and rugged, and the ground between it and Stirling, being part of a park or chase, was partly open, and partly broken by copse-wood and marshy ground. The place was naturally well adapted for opposing and embarrassing the operations of cavalry; and to strengthen it yet more, those places whereby horsemen might have access, were covered with concealed pit-falls, so numerous and close together, that according to our ancient authority, their construction might be likened to a honey-comb. They were a foot in width, and between two and three feet deep, many rows being placed, one behind the other, the whole being slightly covered with sods and brushwood, so as not to be obvious to an impetuous enemy. The king divided his regular forces into four divisions. Three of these occupied the intended line of battle, from the brook of Bannock, which covered his right flank, to the village of St Ninians, where their left must have remained somewhat exposed to the garrison of Stirling in their rear; Bruce, perhaps, trusting in this disposition some little to the honour of Moubray, who by the terms of the treaty was precluded from making any attack, but probably more to his real inability of giving any effectual annoyance. Edward Bruce commanded the right wing of these three divisions, which was strengthened by a strong body of cavalry under Keith, the mareschal of Scotland, to whom was committed the charge of attacking the English archers; Sir James Douglas, and the young Stewart of Scotland, led the central division; and Thomas Randolph, now earl of Moray, the left. The king himself commanded the fourth or reserve division, composed of the men of Argyle, the islanders, and his own vassals of Carrick. The unarmed followers of the camp, amounting, as we have said, to about fifteen thousand, were placed in a valley at some distance in the rear, separated from the field by an eminence, since denominated, it is supposed, from this circumstance, the Gillies' (that is, the servants') hill. These dispositions were made upon the 23d of June, 1314; and next day, being Sunday, the alarm reached the Scottish camp of the approach of the enemy. Sir James Douglas and the mareschal were despatched with a body of cavalry to reconnoitre the English army, then in full march from Falkirk towards Stirling. They soon returned, and, in private, informed the king of the formidable state of the enemy; but gave out publicly, that the English, though indeed a numerous host, seemed ill commanded and disorderly. The hurried march of Edward into Scotland might give some colour of truth to this information; but no sight, we are told by the ancient authors, could in reality be more glorious and animating than the advance of that great army, in which were concentrated the whole available chivalry, and all the martial pomp, which the power and riches of the English monarch could command.

Robert was particularly anxious that no succours from the English army should be allowed, previous to the engagement, to reach the garrison in Stirling castle, and enjoined Randolph, who commanded the left wing of his army, to be vigilant in repelling any attempt which might be made for that purpose. This precaution was not unsuccessful; for, as the English forces drew near, a body of eight hundred horsemen were detached under the command of Clifford, who, making a circuit by the low grounds to the east and north of St Ninians, attempted by that means to pass the front of the Scottish army, and approach the castle. They were perceived by the king, who, coming hastily up to Randolph, angrily exclaimed, "Thoughtless man! you have suffered the enemy to pass

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where you were set to keep the way. A rose has fallen from your chaplet." On receiving this sharp reproof, Randolph instantly made haste, at the head of a body of five hundred spearmen, to redeem his negligence, or perish in the attempt. The English cavalry, perceiving his advance, wheeled round to attack him. Randolph drew up his small body of men into a compact form, presenting a front of spears extending outwards on all sides, and with steady resolution awaited the charge of the enemy. In this porcupine-like form were they assailed on every side by the greatly superior force of Clifford's cavalry, but without effect. At the first onset a considerable number of the English were unhorsed, and Sir William Daynecourt, an officer of rank, was slain. Environed, however, as he was, there seemed no chance by which Randolph and his desperate band might escape speedy destruction. Douglas, who witnessed with deep interest the jeopardy of his friend, requested permission of the king to go and succour him. "You shall not move from your ground," said Robert; "let Randolph extricate himself as he best may. I will not for him break purpose." "In truth," replied Douglas, after a pause, "I cannot stand by and see Randolph perish; and, with your leave, I *must* aid him." The king unwillingly consented, and Douglas hastened to the assistance of his friend. The generous support of the good knight was not required; for, he had not advanced far when he perceived the English to waver, and fall into confusion. Ordering his followers to halt, "those brave men," said he, "have repulsed the enemy; let us not diminish their glory by sharing it." The assailants had indeed begun to flag in their fruitless efforts; when Randolph, who watched well his opportunity, ordering, in his turn, a sudden and furious charge among them, put the whole body to flight with great slaughter, sustaining on his own side a loss so small as to seem almost incredible.

While this spirited combat was yet being maintained in one part of the field, another, of a still more extraordinary and striking character, was destined to arrest the attention of both armies. The English army, which had slowly advanced in order of battle towards the Scottish position, had at length, before evening, approached so near, that the two opposing van-guards came distinctly into view of each other. Robert was then riding leisurely along the front of the Scottish line, meanly mounted on a small palfrey, having a battle axe in his hand, and distinguished from his knights by a circlet or crown of gold over his helmet, as was the manner in those days. Henry de Bohun, an English knight, completely armed, chanced to ride somewhat in advance of his companions, when recognising the Scottish king alone, and at such disadvantage, he rode furiously towards him with his spear couched, trusting surely to have unhorsed or slain him on the spot. Robert calmly awaited the encounter, avoided agily the spear of his adversary, and next instant raising himself in the stirrups, struck Bohun, as he passed, to the earth, with a blow of his battle axe, so powerfully dealt as to cleave the steel helmet of the knight, and break the handle of the axe into two. The Scots much animated by this exploit of their leader, advanced with a great shout upon the vanguard of the English, who immediately fell back in some confusion upon their main body, leaving a few of their number slain upon the field. When the Scottish army had again recovered order, some of the king's principal men gathering about him, kindly rebuked Robert for his imprudence. The king, conscious of the justice of their remarks, said nothing, but that he was sorry for the loss of his good battle axe. These two incidents falling out so opportunely upon the eve of battle, strengthened the confidence, and greatly animated the courage of the patriot army; while, in a like degree, they abashed and dispirited the proud host of the enemy.

On Monday the 24th of June, at break of day, the two armies mustered in

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order of battle. The van of the English, consisting of archers and lancemen, was commanded by the earl of Gloucester, nephew of king Edward, and the earl of Hereford, constable of England. The main body, comprising nine great divisions, was led on by the king in person, attended by the earl of Pembroke and Sir Giles d'Argentine, a knight of Rhodes, and a chosen body of five hundred well-armed horse, as his body guards. The nature of the ground did not permit the extension of this vast force, the van division alone occupying the whole front of battle, so that to the Scots they appeared as composing one great compact column of men. The Scots drew up in the order which we have already described. Maurice, abbot of Inchaffrey, placing himself on an eminence in view of the whole Scottish army, celebrated high mass, the most imposing ceremony of the catholic worship, and which was then believed of efficacy to absolve all faithful and penitent assistants from the burthen of their past sins. Then passing along the line barefooted, and bearing a crucifix in his hand, he exhorted the Scots in few and forcible words to combat for their rights and their liberty; upon which the whole army knelt down and received his benediction. When king Edward observed the small and unpretending array of his hardy enemies, he seemed surprised, and turning himself to Sir Ingram Umfraville, exclaimed, "What! will yon Scotsmen fight?" "Yea, sickerly," replied the knight; who even went the length of advising the king, that instead of making an open attack under so great disadvantages of position, he should feign a retreat, pledging himself, from his own experience, that by such means only could he break the firm array of the Scots, and overwhelm them. The king disdained this counsel; and chancing then to observe the whole body of the Scots kneel themselves to the ground—"See," said he, "yon folk kneel to ask mercy." "You say truly," Sir Ingram replied, "they ask mercy, but it is not of you, but of God. Yon men will win the field or die." "Be it so, then!" said the king, and immediately gave order to sound the charge.

The signal of attack being given, the van of the English galloped on to charge the right wing of the Scots, commanded by Edward, the king's brother, and were received with intrepid firmness. The advance of this body allowed part of the main body of the English to come up, who moving obliquely to the right of their own van, were soon engaged with the centre and left flank of the Scottish army. The conflict, thus, soon became general along the whole Scottish line, and the slaughter considerable on both sides. Repeated and desperate attempts were made by the English cavalry to break the firm, or as they seemed immovable, phalanxes of the enemy, but with no effect. Straitened and harassed by the nature of the ground, they with difficulty maintained order; and but that they were pressed on by the mass in their rear, the front lines of the English would have been inevitably repulsed. The king of Scots perceiving that his troops were grievously annoyed by the English archers, detached a small but chosen band of cavalry under Sir Robert Keith, who, making a circuit by the right extremity of the Scottish line, fell furiously upon the unprotected archers in flank, and put them to flight. This body of men, whose importance in an English army has been so often and so fatally exemplified, both before and since, were so effectually discomfited, as to be of no after use in the battle, and by their precipitate retreat were instrumental in spreading confusion and alarm through the whole army. Robert with the body of reserve under his command now joined battle; and though the fury on both sides was not relaxed, the forces of the English were every moment falling more and more into disorder. Matters were in this critical state, when a singular accident or device, for it never has been ascertained which, turned decisively the fortune of the day. We have before stated, that the Scottish camp was attended by a large body of disorderly followers,

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amounting to about fifteen thousand in number; and that these, along with the camp baggage, were stationed by Bruce to the rear of a little eminence called Gillies' hill. These men, either instructed for the purpose, or, what seems more likely, perceiving from their position that the English army began to give way, resolved with what weapons chance afforded them, to fall down into the rear of their countrymen, that by so doing they might share in the honour of the action, and the plunder of the victory. Choosing leaders, therefore, among themselves, they drew up into a sort of martial order, some mounted on the baggage horses and others on foot, having sheets fastened upon tent-poles and spears, instead of banners. The sudden and appalling spectacle of what seemed to the English in the distance, to be a new and formidable army, completed the confusion and consternation which had already begun widely to invade their ranks. The Scots felt their advantage; and raising a great shout, in which they were joined heartily by the auxiliaries in their rear, they pressed forward on the ground of their enemies with a fury which became more and more irresistible. Discipline and union were soon entirely lost, and the rout, on every side, became general and disastrous.

Pembroke, when he saw that the day was lost, seized Edward's horse by the bridle, and constrained him, though not without difficulty, to leave the field. When Sir Giles d' Argentine, the brave knight of Rhodes, was informed of the king's flight, and pressed to accompany him;—"It never was my wont to fly," said he, and putting spurs to his horse, he rushed furiously into the battle and met his death. It was a vulgar opinion, that the three greatest warriors of that age were Henry of Luxemburg emperor of Germany, Robert king of Scotland, and Sir Giles d'Argentine. Sir James Douglas, with sixty horsemen, followed hard in pursuit of the English king. At the Torwood he was met by Sir Lawrence Abernethy with twenty horse hastening to the English rendezvous, but who, as soon as he understood that the Scots were victorious, joined the party of Douglas in the pursuit. Edward rode on without halting to Linlithgow; and had scarcely refreshed himself there, when the alarm that the Scots were approaching, forced him to resume his flight. Douglas and Abernethy followed so close upon his route, that many of the king's guards, who, from time to time, had chanced to fall behind their companions, were slain. This pertinacious chace continued as far as Tranent, a distance of about forty miles from the field of battle, and was only given up from the inability of the horses to proceed further. Edward at length reached the castle of Dunbar, where he was received by the Earl of March, and shortly afterwards conveyed by a little fishing skiff to Bamborough, in England.

Thirty thousand of the English are estimated to have fallen upon the field of Bannockburn. Of barons and bannerets there were slain twenty-seven, and twenty-two were taken prisoners; and of knights the number killed was forty-two, while sixty were made prisoners. Barbour affirms that two hundred pairs of gilt spurs were taken from the heels of slain knights. According to English historians the most distinguished among those who fell, were the Earl of Gloucester, Sir Giles d'Argentine, Robert Clifford, Payen Tybelot, William le Mareschal, and Edmund de Mauley, seneschal of England. Seven hundred esquires are also reckoned among the number of the slain. The spoil of the English camp was great; and large sums also must have accrued from the ransom of so many noble prisoners. If we may believe the statement of the monk of Malmsbury, a contemporary English writer, the loss sustained by his countrymen on this occasion did not amount to less than two hundred thousand pounds; a sum equal in value to upwards of three millions of our present currency. The loss sustained by the Scots is allowed on all hands to have been very inconsiderable;

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and the only persons of note slain were Sir William Vipont and Sir Walter Ross. The last named was the particular friend of Edward Bruce, who, when informed of his death, passionately exclaimed, "Oh that this day's work was undone, so Ross had not died." On the day after the battle, Mowbray surrendered the castle of Stirling, according to the terms of the truce, and thenceforward entered into the service of the king of Scotland.

Such was the signal victory obtained by Robert at Bannockburn, than which none more important was ever fought, before or since, between the so long hostile nations of England and Scotland. It broke effectually and for ever the mastery, moral and physical, which the one had so nearly succeeded in achieving over the other; and, while it once more re-established the liberties of Scotland, awakened or restored that passion for independence among her people which no after dangers or reverses could subdue. "We have only," as a late historian[1] has well observed, "to fix our eyes on the present condition of Ireland, in order to feel the present reality of all that we owe to the victory at Bannockburn, and to the memory of such men as Bruce, Randolph, and Douglas."

We have, hitherto, thought it proper to enter with considerable, and even historical, minuteness into the details of this life; both as comprising events of much interest to the general reader, and as introducing what may be justly called the first great epoch in the modern history of Scotland. The rise, progress, and establishment of Bruce, were intimately connected with the elevation, progression, and settled estate of his people, who as they never before had attained to a national importance so decided and unquestionable, so they never afterwards fell much short in the maintaining of it. It is not our intention, however, to record with equal minuteness the remaining events of king Robert's reign; which, as they, in a great measure, refer to the ordering and consolidating of the power which he had acquired, the framing of laws, and negotiating of treaties, fall much more properly within the province of the historian to discuss, than that of the biographer.

The Earl of Hereford, who had retreated after the battle to the castle of Bothwell, was there besieged and soon brought to surrender. For this prisoner alone, the wife, sister, and daughter of Bruce, were exchanged by the English, along with Wisheart bishop of Glasgow, and the young Earl of Marr. Edward Bruce and Douglas, leaving the English no time to recover from their disastrous defeat, almost immediately invaded the eastern marches, wasted Northumberland, and laid the bishopric of Durham under contribution. Proceeding westward, they burnt Appleby and other towns, and returned home loaded with spoil. "So bereaved," says an English historian, "were the English, at this time, of their wonted intrepidity, that a hundred of that nation would have fled from two or three Scotsmen." While the fortunes of Edward were in this state of depression, Bruce made advances towards the negotiating of a peace, but this war, now so ruinous on the part of the English, was yet far from a termination. Robert, however desirous he might be to attain such an object, was incapable of granting unworthy concessions; and Edward was not yet sufficiently abased by his ill-fortune in war, or borne down by factions at home, to yield that which, in his hands, had become but a nominal possession. England was again invaded within the year; and, during the winter, the Scots continued to infest and threaten the borders with predatory incursions.

In the spring of the ensuing year, 1315, while the English king vainly endeavoured to assemble an army, the Scots again broke into England, penetrated to the bishopric of Durham, and plundered the sea-port town of Hartlepool. An

[1] Tytler, i. p. 320.

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attempt was shortly afterwards made to gain possession of Carlisle, but it was defeated by the vigorous efforts of the inhabitants. A scheme to carry Berwick by surprise also failed. This year was remarkable for an act of the estates settling the succession to the crown; and the marriage of the king's daughter, Marjory, to Walter the Stewart of Scotland, from whom afterwards descended the royal family of the Stewarts.

The Irish of Ulster, who had long been discontented with the rule of England, now implored the assistance of the Scottish king, offering, that should they be relieved from the subjugation under which they laboured, to elect Edward Bruce as their sovereign. The king accepted of their proposals; and his brother, on the 25th May, 1315, landed at Carrickfergus in the north of Ireland with an army of six thousand men. He was accompanied in the expedition by the Earl of Moray, Sir Philip Mowbray, Sir John Soulis, Fergus of Ardrossan, and Ramsay of Ochterhouse. With the aid of the Irish chieftains who flocked to his standard, he committed great ravages on the possessions of the English settlers in the north; and over-ran great part of the country. Edward Bruce met, however, with considerable difficulties in the prosecution of his enterprise, and had several times to send for reinforcements from Scotland, notwithstanding which, he was solemnly crowned king of Ireland on the 2nd May, 1316. King Robert, hearing of his difficulties, magnanimously resolved, with what succours he could afford, to go to the relief of his brother in person. Intrusting, therefore, the government of the kingdom, in his absence, to the Stewart and Douglas, he embarked at Lochryan, in Galloway, and landed at Carrickfergus. The castle of that place was, at the time, besieged by the forces of Edward Bruce, and was soon brought to surrender after his junction with his brother. The united armies then entered, by forced marches, the province of Leinster, with intent to seize upon Dublin, on the fate of which the existence of the English government in Ireland depended; but the hostile spirit and intrepidity of the inhabitants of that city rendered this effort abortive. Thence they marched to Callen in Kilkenny, and continued their devastating progress as far as Limerick; but being there threatened with the greatly superior forces collected by the English under Roger, Lord Mortimer, and experiencing great extremities from want, they were forced to terminate the expedition by a retreat into the province of Ulster, in the spring of 1317.

The particular history of the two Bruce's campaigns in Ireland, seems to have been imperfectly known, and is very obscurely treated of by most contemporary writers. Barbour, however, to whom the historians who treat of this period are so much indebted, has given the relation with much circumstantiality and apparent correctness. We cannot omit quoting one exploit, which this author has recorded in a manner at once lively and characteristical. The Scottish army, in its march into the province of Leinster, was marshalled into two divisions, one of which, the van, was commanded by Edward Bruce; while the rear was led by Robert in person, assisted by the Earl of Moray. The Earl of Ulster, on the alert to oppose their progress, had collected an army of forty thousand men, which he posted in an extensive forest through which the Scottish line of march led, proposing from this concealment, to attack the rear division of the enemy, after the van should have passed the defile. Edward, naturally impetuous and unguarded, hurried onward in his march, neglecting even the ordinary precautions of keeping up a communication with the rear body, or of reconnoitring the ground through which he passed. Robert advanced more slowly and with circumspection, at some distance in the rear, with his division, which amounted in all to no more than five thousand men. As he approached the ambushments of the enemy, small parties of archers appeared from among the thickets, who

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commenced, as they best could, to molest his soldiers in their march. Seeing their boldness, the king judged rightly that they must have support at no great distance, and immediately he issued strict commands to his men to march in exact order of battle, and on no pretence whatever to quit their ranks. It happened that two of these archers discharged their arrows near to the person of Sir Colin Campbell, the king's nephew, which irritated him so much, that, neglecting the king's injunctions, he rode off at full speed to avenge the insult. Robert, highly incensed, followed after him, and struck his nephew so violent blow with his truncheon that he was nearly beaten from his horse. "Such breach of orders," said he, "might have brought us all into jeopardy. I wot well, we shall have work to do ere long." The numbers of the hostile archers increased as the Scots advanced; till arriving at a large opening or glade of the forest, they descried the forces of the Earl of Ulster drawn up in four divisions ready to dispute their passage. The king's prudential foresight was now fully justified; and, though the danger was imminent, so much confidence had the soldiers in the sagacity and martial pre-eminence of their leader, that, undaunted either by the sudden appearance or overwhelming numbers of the enemy, they, with great spirit and bravery, were the first to commence the attack. After an obstinate resistance the Scots prevailed, and the great but ill-assorted Anglo-Irish army was, with much slaughter, driven from the field. Edward Bruce, soon after the defeat, rejoined his brother, regretting bitterly, that he should have been absent on such an emergency. "It was owing to your own folly," said the king, "for you ought to have remembered that the van, always, should protect the rear."

King Robert, after the retreat of his brother's force upon Carrickfergus, was necessitated, from the urgency of his own affairs, to return to Scotland. We may, in order to have no occasion to revert to the subject afterwards, state briefly in this place, the catastrophe which, in the following year, closed the career of Scottish sovereignty in Ireland. For some time the gallant but rash Edward maintained a precarious authority in Ulster. In the month of October, 1318, he lay encamped at Fagher, near Dundalk, with an army amounting to about two thousand men, exclusive of the native Irish, who, though numerous, were not much to be depended on. The Anglo-Irish approached his position under the command of Lord John Bermingham. Their force was strong in cavalry, and out-numbered the Scots by nearly ten to one. Contrary to the counsel of all his officers, Edward engaged with the enemy; and was slain almost at the first onset; an event which was speedily followed up by the total discomfiture of his army. John Maupas, by whose hand Edward fell, was found, after the battle, stretched dead over the body of the prince. Edward of England, like all kings who are weak and obstinate, could also, when he dared, be wicked. Affecting to consider the gallant enemy who now had fallen, in the light of a traitor or rebellious subject, the corpse was subjected to the ignominies consequent upon the punishment of such; being quartered and exposed to view in four different quarters of the island. The head was carried over to England, and presented to Edward by Bermingham himself; who obtained the dignity of Earl of Lowth for his services.

During the absence of king Robert in Ireland, the English made various attempts to disturb the tranquillity of Scotland, which all, happily, proved abortive. The Earl of Arundel, with a numerous force, invaded the forest of Jedburgh; but falling into an ambush prepared for him by Douglas, he was defeated. Edmund de Cailand, the governor of Berwick, having made an inroad into Teviotdale, was attacked by the same victorious commander, and himself and many of his followers slain. The same fate befell Robert Neville a knight, then

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resident at Berwick, who had boastingly declared that he would encounter Douglas, so soon as he dared display his banner in that neighbourhood. The English also invaded Scotland with a considerable force by sea, coming to anchor off the town of Inverkeithing in the Firth of Forth. The panic caused by the unexpected appearance of this armament was great; and only five hundred men under the command of the Earl of Fife, and sheriff of the county, were mustered to oppose their landing. When the English, with somewhat of the revived intrepidity of their nation, proceeded boldly to shore, so much terror did they inspire, that, without any attempt at hindrance, the force drawn up against them hastily retreated towards the interior. They had scarcely, however, thus committed themselves, when they were met by William Sinclair, bishop of Dunkeld, at the head of a body of sixty horse advancing, in all haste, to assist in repelling the invaders. "Whither in such haste," said he, to the disordered rout, "you deserve to have your gilt spurs hacked off." Putting himself then at the head of the little troop, casting aside his bishop's vestment, and seizing a spear, the bold ecclesiastic continued—"Who loves his king, or his country, turn with me." The unexpectedness and spirit of this challenge redeemed the honour and the courage of all who heard it. The English, who had not yet completed their landing, were in turn seized with the panic they themselves had communicated; and were driven to their ships with great loss. Five hundred, it is asserted, were killed upon the strand, and many drowned by the swamping of an overloaded boat. When king Robert was informed of the particulars of this gallant exploit, he said, "Sinclair shall always after be my own bishop;" and long after was the prelate honourably remembered by his countrymen by the appellation of *the king's bishop*.

Baffled in these attempts, and under serious apprehensions for the safety of Berwick and his own borders, the English king contrived, about this time, to employ in his favour the spiritual weapons of the church of Rome. John XXII, the then pope, was easily induced to hearken to his representations; and a bull was issued commanding a truce for two years between the two hostile kingdoms, under pain of excommunication. Two cardinals, privately instructed to denounce the pontifical censures, should they see fit, upon Bruce and "whomsoever else," were despatched to make known these commands to the two kings. The cardinals arrived in England, and in prosecution of their errand they sent two messengers, the bishop of Corbeil and Master Aumery, into Scotland with the letters and instructions intended for the Scottish king. Robert listened to the message delivered by these nuncios with attention, and heard read the open letters from the Pope; but when those sealed and addressed 'Robert Bruce, governor of Scotland,' were produced, he firmly declined receiving them. "Among my barons," said he, "there are many of the name of Robert Bruce, who share in the government of Scotland. These letters may possibly be addressed to one of them; but they are not addressed to *me*, who am king of Scotland." The messengers attempted to apologise for this omission, by saying, that "the holy church was not wont, during the dependence of a controversy, to say or do aught which might prejudice the claims of either contending party." "Since then," replied the king, "my spiritual father and my holy mother would not prejudice the cause of my adversary by bestowing on me the title of king during the dependence of the controversy, they ought not to have prejudiced my cause by withdrawing that title from me. It seems that my parents are partial to their English son. Had you," added he, with resolute but calm dignity, "presumed to present letters with such an address to any other sovereign prince, you might, perhaps, have been answered more harshly; but I reverence you as the messengers of the holy see." In

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consequence of the failure of this negotiation, the cardinals resolved to proceed with their further instructions, and proclaim the papal truce in Scotland.

In an enterprise so hazardous the Roman legates were at some loss how to proceed; but at length they fell upon a devoted monk of the name of Adam Newton, who was willing to risk himself in the service. Newton being fully charged with his commission, and intrusted with letters to some of the Scottish clergy, proceeded forthwith upon his journey. He found the Scottish king encamped with his army in a wood near Old Cambus, busily engaged in making preparations for the assault of Berwick. He was denied admission to the presence, but ordered, at the same time, to deliver what letters or messages he might have to the king's seneschal or clerk. These were quickly returned to him, unopened, with the brief verbal answer, "I will listen to no bulls until I am treated as king of Scotland, and have made myself master of Berwick." The poor monk, environed, as he himself expresses it, with danger, and troubled how to preserve his papers and his own mortal life, earnestly entreated that he might have a safe conduct granted him to pass further into Scotland, or at least that he might return without peril to Berwick; but both requests were denied him, and he was ordered to leave the country without delay. On his road to Berwick, he was encountered by four armed ruffians, who stripped him of all his papers and effects, and even of the greater part of his clothes. Thus ended this memorable transaction with the papal court, in a manner very unusual for that age; but the weakness and injustice of Edward, and the injustice and servility of Rome were so obvious in it, that Robert secure, otherwise, in the affections of his subjects, both clerical and laical, could safely deride and defy the effects of both.

While Robert, for some reason or other which has not been explained, had given over the preparations he had been engaged in for the siege of Berwick, the treachery of one of the inhabitants, of the name of Spalding, who had been harshly treated by the governer, occurred to render the attainment of his object more easy and sure, than otherwise, in all likelihood, it would have proved. This person wrote a letter to the Earl of March, to whom he was distantly connected by marriage, in which he offered to betray, on a certain night, that post on the wall where he kept guard. The nobleman, not daring of himself to engage in such an enterprise, communicated the intelligence to the king. "You have done well," said Robert, "in making me your confidant; for, if you had told this to either Randolph or Douglas, you would have offended the one whom you did not trust. You shall now, however, have the aid of both." By the king's directions, the Earl of March assembled his troops at a certain place, where, on an appointed day and hour, he was joined by the forces of Randolph and Douglas. Thus cautiously assembled, the army by a night march approached the city. Having reached the appointed part of the walls, near to that place still known by the name of the Cowport, they, with the assistance of Spalding, scaled the walls, and were, in a few hours, masters of the town. The castle, after a brief siege, in which the king assisted in person, was forced to surrender. Scotland, by this event, was at length wholly regained to its ancient sovereignty; and, though the place was in an after reign retaken by the English, so pertinaciously was the old right to it maintained at the union of the two kingdoms, that, as a compromise of the difference, it was legislatively allowed to belong to neither kingdom, and it still forms a distinct and independent portion of the British dominions.

The Scottish army, after the reduction of Berwick, invaded England by Northumberland; took by siege the castles of Werk and Harbolth, and that of Mitford by surprise. These events occurred in the spring of 1318. In May of the same year, the Scots penetrated into Yorkshire, and in their devastating pro-

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gress burned the towns of Northallerton, Boroughbridge, Scarborough, and Skipton; returning home loaded with spoil, and, says an English author, "driving their prisoners before them like flocks of sheep." Bruce was, at this time, solemnly excommunicated by the pope's legate in England; but so little was this sentence regarded, that, in a parliament which was assembled at Scone, the whole clergy and laity of the kingdom renewed their allegiance to the king; and by a memorable mode of expression by which, doubtless, they meant to include the pope, as well as the king of England, solemnly engaged, to protect the rights and liberties of Scotland against all mortals, *however eminent they may be in power, authority, and dignity.*

Edward of England, having effected a temporary reconciliation of the discordant factions of his kingdom, was enabled, in the succeeding year, to collect a considerable army for the purpose of retaking the town and citadel of Berwick. The place had been left by Robert under the command of the Stewart, with a strong garrison, and was plentifully stored with provisions. To prevent the approach of succours to the place, the English drew lines of countervallation round it; and confident in their numbers, commenced a general and vigorous assault. After a long and desperate contest they were repulsed. They next made their attacks more systematically on various places, and often simultaneously, aided by engines and contrivances which are curiously and minutely described by ancient historians; but these attempts admirably conducted as they were, according to the engineering science of that day, seconded by the bravery of the assailants, proved abortive. One of those engines used by the English upon this occasion, was called a *sow*. As nearly as can be ascertained, it was a huge fabric, reaching in height above the top of the wall, and composed of beams of timber, well roofed, having stages within it. It moved upon wheels, and was calculated for the double purpose of conducting miners to the foot of the wall, and armed men for scaling it. To oppose this and other such machines, the Scots, under the direction of one John Crab a Fleming, had provided themselves with movable engines called cranes, similar to the catapultæ of the ancients, capable of throwing large stones with great projectile force. As the sow advanced, however, great fears were entertained by the besieged. The engineer, by whom the monstrous piece of work had been constructed, had, meantime, become a prisoner in the hands of the Scots; who, actuated by a very unjust revenge upon the man's unlucky ingenuity, and upon their own fears, brought him to that part of the wall against which the engine was directed, threatening with instant death any remissness he should show in his efforts towards its destruction. The engineer caused one of the cranes formerly mentioned to be placed directly opposite to the approaching machine of the enemy, and prepared to work it with all his art. The first stone, launched with prodigious force, flew beyond the object at which it was directed; the second, aimed with an opposite incorrectness, fell within the mark. There was time only for a third trial, upon the success of which all seemed to depend; for the English, aware that their safety lay in getting under or within the range of the catapult, strained every nerve to advance, and were now within very little of accomplishing their purpose. The third great stone passed in an oblique and nearly perpendicular line, high into the air, making a loud whizzing noise as it rose, and whether owing to chance or art, it was so happily directed, as to fall with a dreadful crash upon the devoted machine now so nearly within reach of its destination. The terrified men within, instantly rushed from beneath their cover; and the besieged upon the walls, raising a loud shout, called out to them, "that their great sow had farrowed her pigs." Grappling irons were quickly fastened upon the shattered apparatus, and it was set on fire. While all this was transacting upon the land side of Berwick, its reduced and worn out garrison

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had to sustain an assault, no less desperate, on that part towards the river or estuary; where, by means of vessels of a peculiar construction, having falling bridges mid-mast high, by which to reach the top of the walls, the city was vigorously, and almost successfully stormed. These, and various other desperate attempts, seemed in no way to exhaust the ardour of the besiegers; and they did not lessen, though they tempered, the confidence of the besieged.

King Robert, unable from the strength and fortified position of the English army, to render any direct assistance to the beleagured garrison, at the same time saw, that if the Stewart were not shortly relieved he must be brought to a speedy surrender. In this emergency he resolved, by a destructive invasion of England, to make a diversion in his favour, and, if possible, draw off the forces of Edward from the siege. This expedition was committed to the charge of Randolph and Douglas, who, entering England by the western marches, penetrated into Yorkshire. It is asserted, that they entertained some scheme of carrying off the wife of Edward from her residence near York. Disappointed in this, they wasted that rich province, far and near, with fire and sword. The archbishop hastily collected a numerous but ill-assorted army, great part of which is said to have been composed of ecclesiastics, and placing himself at their head, determined to check the progress of the invading enemy. The Scots then lay encamped at Milton, near Boroughbridge, in the north riding of Yorkshire. The English, on coming up with that hardy, disciplined, and successful army, were charged with so great rapidity and fury, that, scarcely waiting to strike a blow, they gave way in the utmost disorder, and three thousand are reported to have been slain in the rout. From the great numbers of churchmen who fell in this battle, it came, from a sort of humour of the times, to be popularly distinguished by the name of *the Chapter of Milton.*

The effects which Robert expected from this invasion of England were not miscalculated. The news of the devastations and successes of the Scots no sooner reached Berwick, than they caused concern in all, and much diversity of opinion among the English commanders. A retreat was finally resolved upon; and it would seem injudiciously, as, had the now unopposed career of the Scots continued many days longer, the damage to England must have been immeasurably great. On retiring from before Berwick, Edward attempted, unsuccessfully, to intercept Douglas and Randolph on their return. After some brief negotiations a truce of two years was concluded between the two nations.

The following year, 1320, was remarkable for a bold and spirited manifesto, transmitted by the estates of the kingdom to the pope, displaying in a remarkable degree, that genuine earnestness and acuteness of style, which can alone spring from a sincere and lively conviction in the writer. His Holiness is told, in one part of this singular document, that Robert, "like another Joshua, or a Judas Maccabeus, gladly endured toils, distresses, the extremities of want, and every peril, to rescue his people and inheritance out of the hands of the enemy. Our due and unanimous consent," say they, "have made him our chief and king. To him in defence of our liberty we are bound to adhere, as well of right, as by reason of his deserts, and to him we will in all things adhere; for through him salvation has been wrought unto our people. Should he abandon our cause, or aim at reducing us and our kingdom under the dominion of the English, we will instantly strive to expel him as a public enemy, and the subverter of our rights and his own, and we will choose another king to rule and protect us; for, while there exist an hundred of us, we will never submit to England. We fight not for glory, wealth, or honour, but for that liberty which no virtuous man will survive." After describing with much animation the English king's ambition and injustice, and praying the interposition of his holiness, the manifesto proceeds:—

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"Should you, however, give a too credulous ear to the reports of our enemies, distrust the sincerity of our professions, and persist in favouring the English, to our destruction, we hold you guilty in the sight of the most high God, of the loss of lives, the perdition of souls, and all the other miserable consequences which may ensue from war between the two contending nations." The pope, however much he may have been incensed at the boldness of this address, appears also to have been alarmed. In a bull which he shortly afterwards sent to Edward, he strongly recommends pacific measures, and bestows upon Bruce the ambiguous title of "Regent of the kingdom of Scotland."

The parliament which distinguished itself by this spirited and honourable measure was, in the course of its sitting, engaged in one of a more unpleasing character. This was the investigation of a conspiracy in which some of the highest men in the kingdom were implicated. The affair is now, from the loss of records, but indistinctly understood. After a trial of the conspirators, Soulis, and the countess of Strathern were condemned to perpetual imprisonment. Gilbert de Malerb, and John de Logie, both knights, and Richard Brown, an esquire, were found guilty of treason and suffered accordingly. Roger de Moubray died before sentence; yet, according to a practice long retained in Scottish law in cases of treason, judgment was pronounced upon the dead body. The king, however, was pleased to mitigate this rigour, and he was allowed the honours of sepulture. The fate of David de Brechin, the king's nephew, who suffered on this occasion, excited universal and deep compassion. His crime alone lay in the concealing of the treason, which was communicated to him under an oath of secrecy. He had neither approved of, nor participated in it; yet notwithstanding these alleviations, and his near relationship to the king, he was made an example of rigorous, though impartial justice. This parliament was, in reference to this transaction, long remembered popularly under the appellation of *the black parliament*.

During the inactive period of the truce, various methods were used towards effecting a peace between England and Scotland, but without effect. The pope as well as the French king offered their services for this purpose; but the exultation in which Edward then was, from having successfully crushed the Lancasterian faction which had so long disturbed his personal peace and government, permitted him not to give ear to any moderate councils whatever. "Give yourself," says he to the pope, "no further solicitude about a truce with the Scots. The exigencies of my affairs inclined me formerly to listen to such proposals; but now I am resolved to establish peace by force of arms." While he was engaged in these preparations, the Scots penetrated by the western marches into Lancashire, committing their wonted devastations, and returned home loaded with spoil. The king of Scots, who, at this time found no occasion for a general engagement with his greatly superior enemy, fell upon a simple and effectual expedient to render such an event unlikely, if not impossible. All the cattle and provisions of the Merse, Tiviotdale, and the Lothians, he ordered to be removed into inaccessible or secure places; an order which was so exactly executed, that according to tradition, the only prey which fell into the hands of the English was one solitary bull at Tranent, which, from lameness, had been unable to travel along with the other cattle. "Is that all ye have got?" said the earl Warenne to the spoilers as they returned to the camp; "I never saw so dear a beast." Edward advanced without opposition to the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, where having in vain waited for some time for supplies from his fleet, he was necessitated, from absolute famine, to retire. In their countermarch into England, the soldiers committed whatever outrages were possible in so desolate a rout. Their license even got the better of their superstition. Monks, who believed that the

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sanctity of their character would have protected them, were wantonly murdered, and their monasteries and abbeys plundered and burned. When this unfortunate army got once more into the peace and plenty of their own country, it was little better with them; for, in proportion as their privations had been extreme, so, now, were their indulgences excessive; and an English historian has left it on record, that almost one half of the great army which Edward had led into Scotland, was destroyed either by hunger or intemperance.

The remains of the English army had scarcely once more been restored to order, when the Scots, who had followed closely upon their rear, entered England, and laid siege to the castle of Norham. Edward, himself, then lay at the abbey of Biland in Yorkshire; the main body of his troops being encamped in a strong position in the neighbourhood, supposed to be accessible only by one narrow pass. The Scots, commanded by Robert in person, suddenly raising the siege, marched onward in the hope of finding the English unprepared, or, as some say, of seizing the person of Edward, by the aid of some of that monarch's treacherous attendants. This latter design, if at all entertained, which is not improbable, must have been found of too difficult execution. Douglas resolved to force the defile within which the English had entrenched themselves; and Randolph, leaving his own peculiar command in the army, determined to join his friend in the enterprise. The attack and defence continued obstinate and bloody on both sides, but, in every likelihood, the men of Douglas must have been obliged to retire, had not an unexpected aid come to their relief. The king of Scots, who commanded the main and inactive body of his army on the plain, had soon perceived the difficulty, if not impracticability of the adventure in which his two brave generals had engaged themselves. With the same bold and accurate forecast, which on some other occasions marked his generalship, he fell upon the only, because in a great measure well-timed, means of extrication and success which his situation afforded. Between the two armies lay a long craggy hill of very difficult access, except through the narrow pass of which we have made mention, and which the body of men under Douglas were vainly endeavouring to force. A party of Highlanders from Argyle and the Isles, admirably suited for the service, were ordered, at some little distance, to scale the eminences and so gain command of the pass from the ground above, where they might, with signal effect, annoy the English underneath, and in flank. The manœuvre was successfully executed, the pass carried, and the whole English army shortly after put to complete rout. They were pursued by the Stewart at the head of five hundred men, to the gates of York. Edward, himself, escaped to the same place with the greatest difficulty, abandoning all his baggage and treasure to the enemy, leaving behind him even the privy seal of his kingdom. This was the last battle in which this undeserving and equally unfortunate prince engaged the Scots; and it may be curious to remark how, in its result, it bore some resemblance to the disaster and shame of the first. The Scots, after committing extensive devastations on the unprotected and dispirited country, returned home, carrying along with them many prisoners, and an immense booty.

From this period to the accession of Edward III. to the throne of England in 1327, there occurred little which can properly come within our province to relate. A truce for fifteen years was with much willingness acceded to by the English king, who could never, however, be induced to relinquish his claim of sovereignty over Scotland. The pope was much pressed, particularly in an embassy conducted by Randolph, to permit the reconciliation of Robert with the church; but the king of Scots, as yet, possessed too little interest in that venal court, and the king of England too much, to allow of such a concession. The pontiff, however, showed all the favour he could possibly, consistent with such a

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denial; and though pressed by Edward, under various pretences, to renew the publication of his former censures, could by no means be induced to comply. The king of France was more honourable and just, though, probably at the same time, politic, and concluded, in 1326, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with Scotland.

On the accession of Edward III., hostilities almost immediately re-commenced between the two kingdoms. That these originated on the side of the Scots seems generally allowed; but the motives which led to them are now only matter of conjecture. One historian assigns as the cause, that the Scots had detected the general bad faith of the English. According to Barbour, the ships of that nation had seized upon several Scottish ships bound for the low countries, slain the mariners, and refused to give satisfaction. That the king of Scotland, during the then weak state of the councils of England, had determined to insist upon the full recognition of his title, seems to have been, from the decisiveness of his preparations, the true, or more important, motive of the war. The campaign which followed, though, perhaps, as curious and interesting as any which occurred during these long wars, cannot be entered upon in this place, at length sufficient to render it instructive; and it much more properly falls to be described in the lives of those two great generals, Randolph and Douglas, by whom it was conducted. The enterprise, on the part of England, was productive of enormous expense to that kingdom; and it terminated not only without advantage, but without honour.

The so long desired peace between the two kingdoms was now near at hand. To attain this had been the grand and constant aim of all king Robert's policy; and the court of England seemed, at length, persuaded of the immediate necessity of a measure, the expediency of which could not but have long appeared obvious. A negotiation was therefore entered into, and brought to a happy issue in a parliament held at Northampton in April, 1328. The principal articles were the recognition of king Robert's titles; the independent sovereignty of the kingdom; and the marriage of Johanna, king Edward's sister, to David, the son and heir of the king of Scots.

Robert survived not long this consummation of his political life. He had for some time laboured under an inveterate distemper, in those days called a leprosy; a consequence of the fatigues, hardships, and sufferings which, to such an unparalleled degree, he had endured in the early part of his career. It was probably the same disease as that with which he was afflicted prior to the battle of Inverury; but though, at that time, the ardour of youth and enterprise, and a naturally powerful constitution, had triumphed over its malignity, Robert seemed now fully aware that it must prove mortal. The two last years of his life were spent in comparative seclusion, in a castle at Cardross, situated on the northern shore of the firth of Clyde; where, from documents still extant, Robert passed these few peaceful, though embittered days of his life, in a style of munificence every way becoming his high station. Much of his time was devoted to the construction of ships; and whether he himself joined personally in such amusements or not, the expense of aquatic and fishing excursions, hawking, and other sports, appears to have formed a considerable item of his domestic disbursements. From the same authentic source, it is pleasing to observe, that his charities to the poor were regular and befitting.

Robert the First of Scotland died in this retirement, on the 7th day of June, 1329, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-third year of his reign. Prior to this event a remarkable and affecting scene is recorded to have taken place between the dying monarch and several of his esteemed counsellors and companions in arms. Having spoke to these, generally, upon matters connected with the

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ordering and well-being of his kingdom, Robert called Sir James Douglas to his couch, and addressed him in somewhat the following manner:—"Sir James, my dear and gallant friend, you know well the many troubles and severe hardships I have undergone in recovering and defending the rights of my crown and people, for you have participated in them all. When I was hardest beset of all, I made a vow, that if I ever overcame my difficulties, I would assume the cross, and devote the remainder of my days to warring against the enemies of our Lord and Saviour. But it has pleased providence, by this heavy malady, to take from me all hope of accomplishing, what, in my heart and soul, I have earnestly desired. Therefore, my dear and faithful companion, knowing no knight more valiant, or better fitted than yourself for such a service, my earnest desire is, that when I am dead, you take my heart with you to Jerusalem, and deposit it in the holy sepulchre, that my soul may be so acquitted from the vow which my body is unable to fulfil." All present shed tears at this discourse. "My gallant and noble king," said Douglas, "I have greatly to thank you for the many and large bounties which you have bestowed upon me; but chiefly, and above all, I am thankful, that you consider me worthy to be intrusted with this precious charge of your heart, which has ever been full of prowess and goodness; and I shall most loyally perform this last service, if God grant me life and power." The king tenderly thanked him for his love and fidelity, saying, "I shall now die in peace." Immediately after Robert's decease, his heart was taken out, as he had enjoined, and the body deposited under a rich marble monument, in the choir of the Abbey church of Dunfermline.

So died that heroic, and no less patriotic monarch, to whom the people of Scotland, in succeeding ages, have looked back with a degree of national pride and affection, which it has been the lot of few men in any age or country to inspire. From a state of profligate degeneracy and lawless barbarity, originating in, and aggravated by, a foreign dominion and oppression, he raised the poor kingdom of Scotland to a greater degree of power and security than it had ever before attained; and by a wise system of laws and regulations, forming, in fact, the constitution of the popular rights and liberties, secured to posterity the benefit of all the great blessings which his arms and policy had achieved.

BRUCE, Robert, an eminent divine of the seventeenth century, a collateral relation of the sovereign who bore the same name, and ancestor at the sixth remove of the illustrious Abyssinian traveller, was born about the year 1554, being the second son of Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth in Stirlingshire, by Janet, daughter of Alexander, fifth Lord Livingston, and Agnes, daughter of the second Earl of Morton. We learn from Birrel's Diary, a curious chronicle of the sixteenth century, that Sir Alexander, the father of this pious divine, was one of those powerful Scottish barons, who used to be always attended by a retinue of armed servants, and did not scruple, even in the streets of the capital, to attack any equally powerful baron with whom they were at feud, and whom they might chance to meet. Birrel tells us, for instance, that on "the 24th of November, 1567, at two in the afternoon, the laird of Airth and the laird of Weems [ancestor of the Earl of Wemyss] mett upon the heigh gait of Edinburghe [the High Street], and they and thair followers faught a *verey bloudy skirmish*, wher ther wes maney hurte on both sydes by shote of pistole." The father of the subject of this memoir was descended from a cadet of the Bruces of Clackmannan, who, in the reign of James I. of Scotland, had married the eldest daughter of William de Airthe, and succeeded to the inheritance. The Bruces of Clackmannan, from whom, we believe, all the Bruces of Stirlingshire, Clackmannanshire, Kinross, &c., (including the Earl of Elgin,) are descended, sprung from a younger son of Robert de Bruce, the competitor with Baliol for the Scottish throne, and

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therefore uncle to King Robert. The reader may perhaps remember the proud saying of the last Lady of Clackmannan, who, on being complimented by Robert Burns as belonging to the family of the Scottish hero, informed the poet, that King Robert belonged to her family: it will be seen from our present statement that the old lady made a slight mistake.

While the eldest son of Sir Alexander Bruce was designed to inherit the property of Airth, a comparatively small appanage, consisting of the lands of Kinnaird, was appropriated to Robert; but to eke out his provision for life, he was devoted, like many other cadets of Scottish families, to the profession of the law. With a view to qualify him for the bar, he was sent to Paris, where he studied the principles of Roman jurisprudence under the most approved masters. Afterwards returning to his native country, he completed his studies at Edinburgh, and began to conduct his father's business before the Court of Session. That court was then, like the other parts of government, corrupt and disordered; the judges were court partizans; and justice was too often dispensed upon the principles of an auction. Young Bruce, whose mind was already tinctured with an ardent sentiment of religion, shrunk appalled from a course of life which involved such moral enormities, and, without regarding the prospect of speedily becoming a judge, which his father, according to the iniquitous practice of the time, had secured for him *by patent!* he determined on devoting himself to the church, which, it must be confessed, at that time opened up fully as inviting prospects to an ambitious mind as the bar. His parents, to whom the moral *status* of a clergyman in those days was as nothing compared with the nominal rank of a judge, combated this resolution by all the means in their power, not excepting the threatened withdrawal of his inheritance. But Bruce, who is said to have felt what he considered a spiritual call towards his new profession, resigned his pretensions to the estate without a sigh, and, throwing off the embroidered scarlet dress which he had worn as a courtier, exchanged his residence at Edinburgh for the academical solitude of St Andrews, where he commenced the study of theology.

At this period, Andrew Melville, the divinity professor of St Andrews, was undergoing banishment on account of his opposition to the court; but being permitted to resume his duties in 1586, Bruce enjoyed the advantage of his prelections for the ensuing winter, and appears to have become deeply imbued with his peculiar spirit. In the summer of 1587, he was brought to Edinburgh by Melville, and recommended to the General Assembly, as a fit successor to the deceased Mr Lawson, who, in his turn, had been the successor of Knox. This charge, however, Bruce scrupled to undertake, lest he should be found unfit for its important duties; he would only consent to preach till the next synod, by way of trying his abilities. It appears that he filled the pulpit for some months, though not an ordained clergyman; which certainly conveys a strange impression of the rules of the church at that period. He was even persuaded, on an emergency, to undertake the task of dispensing the communion—which must be acknowledged as a still more remarkable breach of ecclesiastical system. He was soon after called by the unanimous voice of the people to become their pastor; but partly, perhaps, from a conscientious aversion to ordination, and partly from a respect to his former exertions, he would never submit to any ceremonial, such as is considered necessary by all Christian churches in giving commission to a new member. He judged the call of the people and the approbation of the ministry to be sufficient warrant for his undertaking this sacred profession.

So rapidly did the reputation of Bruce advance among his brethren, that, in six months after this period, at an extraordinary meeting of the General Assem-

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bly, which was called to consider the means of defence against the Spanish Armada, he was chosen *Moderator*. A charge was preferred to this court against a preacher named Gibson, who had uttered disrespectful language in his pulpit regarding king James. The accused party was charged to appear, and, failing to do so, was suspended for contumacy. There can be no doubt that the church was most reluctant to proceed to such an extremity with one of its members on a court charge; and its readiness to do so can only be accounted for as necessitated in some measure by the avowed constitution of the church itself, which repeatedly set forth that it did not claim an exemption for its members from ordinary law, but only desired that an impeached individual should *first* be tried by his brethren. Accordingly we find the conscience of the Moderator immediately accusing him in a strange way for having yielded a brother to lay vengeance; for, on that night, he thought he heard a voice saying to him, in the Latin language, 'Why hast thou been present at the condemnation of my servant?' When the destruction of the Spanish Armada was known in Scotland, Bruce preached two thanksgiving sermons, which were published in 1591, and display a strength of sentiment and language fully sufficient to vindicate the contemporary reputation of the author to posterity.

Master Robert Bruce,[1] as he was styled in compliance with the common fashion of the time, figured conspicuously in the turbulent proceedings which, for some years after this period, characterised the ecclesiastical history of Scotland. By king James he seems to have been regarded with a mixture of respect, jealousy, and fear, the result of his powerful abilities, his uncompromising hostility to undue regal power, and the freedom with which he censured the follies and vices of the court. It was by no means in contradiction to these feelings that, when James sailed for Denmark in 1589, to bring home his queen, he raised Master Robert to the Privy Council, and invested him with a non-commissioned power of supervision over the behaviour of the people during his absence; telling him, at the same time, that he had more confidence in him and the other ministers of Edinburgh, than in the whole of his nobles. The king knew well enough that if he did not secure the exertions of the clergy on the side of the government during his absence, they would certainly act against it. As might have been expected from the influence of the clergy, the usual disorders of the realm ceased entirely during the paramouncy of this system of theocracy; and the chief honour of course fell upon Bruce. The turbulent Earl of Bothwell, who was the nominal head of the government, proposed, during James's absence, to make a public repentance for a life of juvenile profligacy. The strange scene, which exhibited the first man in the kingdom humbled for sin before an ordinary Christian congregation, took place on the 9th of November in the High Church. On this occasion Bruce preached a sermon from 2 Tim., chap. ii., verses 22–26, which was printed among others in 1591, and abounds in good sense, and in pointed and elegant language. When the sermon was ended, the Earl of Bothwell upon his knees confessed his dissolute and licentious life, and with tears in his eyes uttered the following words—'I wald to God, that I might mak sic a repentance as mine heart craveth; and I desire you all to pray for it.' But it was the repentance of Esau, and soon effaced by greater enormities.

On the return of king James with his queen, in May, 1590, Bruce received the cordial thanks of his Majesty for his zeal in composing differences during his absence, and his care in tutoring the people to behave decently before the queen and her Danish attendants. He was also honoured with the duty of placing the

1 The affix, *Master*, appears to have been first used in Scotland as part of the style of the clergy. Throughout the whole of the seventeenth century, it is not observed to have been applied to any other class of men.

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crown upon the queen's head at her coronation; which was considered a great triumph on the part of the Presbyterian church over the titular bishops. In the ensuing June, Bruce was himself married to Margaret, daughter of Douglas of Parkhead, a considerable baron, who some years after rendered himself conspicuous by assassinating James Stuart, Earl of Arran, who had been the favourite of king James, and the arch-enemy of the Presbyterian polity. The parents of Bruce appear to have been now reconciled to him, for, on the occasion of his marriage, they gave him back his inheritance of Kinnaird.

The Protestant Church of Scotland had been so highly exasperated against the Catholics at the Reformation, and was now so imminently threatened by them, that its conduct in regard to that body at this period, bears very much the aspect of persecution. Three Catholic earls, Huntly, Angus, and Errol, had entered into the views which Spain for some years entertained against both divisions of Britain; and they were now justly liable to the extreme vengeance of their sovereign for treason. James, however, never could be brought to put the laws fully in force against them, from a fear lest the Catholic party in general might thereby be provoked to oppose his succession to Elizabeth. The backwardness of James, and the forwardness of the clergy in this cause naturally brought them into violent collision, and as Bruce, next to Melville, was now the leader of the clergy, he became exceedingly odious to his sovereign. The following anecdote, related by an Episcopalian pamphleteer of a succeeding age, will illustrate their relative positions better than any thing else. "It is to this day remembered," says Maxwell, bishop of Ross, in the Burden of Issachar, printed 1646, "that when Master Robert Bruce came from his visitation in the east, returning to Edinburgh, and entering by the Canongate, king James, looking out at his window in the palace of Holyroodhouse, with indignation (which extorted from him an oath), said, 'Master Robert Bruce, I am sure, intends to be king, and declare himself heir to king Robert de Bruce.' At another time, wishing to recall the three banished lords, Angus, Huntly, and Errol, James attempted to gain the consent of Master Robert, who possessed more power in Edinburgh, through his command of consciences, than the sovereign himself. Being ushered into the king's bed-chamber, James opened unto him his views upon the English crown, and his fears lest the Papists in Scotland, of whom these lords were the chief, should contrive to join with their brethren in England, and raise obstacles to his succession. He continued, 'Do you not think it fit, Master Robert, that I give them a pardon, restore them to their honour and lands, and by doing so gain them, that thus I may save the effusion of Christian blood?' To this demand, so piously made, the answer was, 'Sir, you may pardon Angus and Errol, and recall them; but it is not fit, nor will you ever obtain my consent to pardon or recall Huntly.' To this the most gracious king sweetly replied, 'Master Robert, it were better for me to pardon and recall him without the other two, than the other two without him: first, because you know he hath a greater command, and is more powerful than the other two; secondly, you know I am more assured of his affection to me, for he hath married my near and dear kinswoman, the Duke of Lennox his sister.' His rejoinder was, 'Sir, I cannot agree to it.' The king desiring him to consider it, dismissed him; but when sent for once more, Mr Robert still continued inexorable: 'I agree with all my heart,' said he, 'that you recall Angus and Errol; but for Huntly it cannot be.' The king resumed, and repeated his reasons before mentioned, and added some more; but he obstinately opposed and contradicted it. * * * King James desired his reasons; he gave none, but spoke majestically. Then the king told him downright, 'Master Robert, I have told you my purpose; you see how nearly it concerneth me; I have given you my reasons for my resolutions; you give me your

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opinion, but you strengthen it not with reasons. Therefore, I will hold my resolution, and do as I first spoke to you.' To which, with Christian and subject-like reverence, Bruce returned this reply, 'Well, Sir, you may do as you list; but choose you, you shall not have me and the Earl of Huntly both for you.'" Though this tale is told by an enemy, it bears too many characteristic marks to be altogether false; and certainly it presents a most expressive picture of the comparative importance of the leader of the Scottish church and the leader of the Scottish state. Maxwell insinuates interested and unworthy motives for Bruce's conduct on this occasion; but the whole tenor of the man's life disproves their reality. There can be no doubt that he was actuated solely by a fear for the effect which Huntly's great territorial influence might have upon the Scottish church. To show that his conduct on this occasion was by no means of an uncommon kind, we may relate another anecdote. On the 6th of June, 1592, the king came to the Little Kirk, to hear Bruce's sermon. In his discourse, Bruce moved the question, "What could the great disobedience of the land mean now, while the king was present? seeing some reverence was borne to his shadow while absent." To this he himself answered, that it was the *universal contempt of his subjects*. He therefore exhorted the king "to call to God, before he either ate or drank, that the Lord would give him a resolution to execute justice on malefactors, although it should be with the hazard of his life: which, if he would enterprise courageously, the Lord would raise enough to assist, and all his impediments would vanish away. Otherwise," said he, in conclusion, "you will not be suffered to enjoy your crown alone, but *every* man will have one." When we find the king obliged to submit to such rebukes as this before his subjects, can we wonder at his finding it a difficult task to exact obedience from those subjects, either to himself or the laws.

The extraordinary power of the Scottish church came at length to a period. During a violent contention between the church and court in 1596, the partizans of the former were betrayed by their zeal into a kind of riot, which was construed by the king into an attack upon his person. The re-action occasioned by this event, and the increased power which he now possessed in virtue of his near approach to the English throne, enabled him to take full advantage of their imprudence, in imposing certain restrictions upon the church, of an episcopal tendency. Bruce, who preached the sermon which preceded the riot, found it necessary, though not otherwise concerned, to fly to England. He did not procure permission to return for some months, and even then he was not allowed to resume his functions as a parish minister. For some time, he officiated privately in the houses of his friends. Nor was it till after a long course of disagreeable contentions with the court, that he was received back into one of the parochial pulpits of Edinburgh.

This was but the beginning of a series of troubles which descended upon the latter half of Bruce's life. In August, 1600, the king met with the strange adventure known by the name of the Gowrie Conspiracy. When he afterwards requested the ministers of Edinburgh to give an account of this affair to their congregations, and offer up thanks for his deliverance, Bruce happened to be one of a considerable party who could not bring themselves to believe that James had been conspired against by the two young Ruthvens, but rather were of opinion that the whole affair was a conspiracy of his own to rid himself of two men whom he had reason to hate. A strange incoherent notion as to the attachment of these young men to the presbyterian system, and the passion which one of them had entertained for the queen, took possession of this party, though there is not the slightest evidence to support either proposition. To king James, who was full of his wonderful deliverance, this scepticism was exceedingly

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annoying, for more reasons than one; and accordingly it was not surprising that he should have been disposed to take the sharpest measures with a recusant of so much popular influence as Bruce. "Ye have heard me, ye have heard my minister, ye have heard my council, ye have heard the Earl of Mar," exclaimed the enraged monarch; yet all would not do. The chancellor then pronounced a sentence dictated by the council, prohibiting Bruce and three of his brethren to preach in the kingdom under pain of death.

Bruce, after spending some time as a prisoner in the town of Airth, his paternal seat, embarked at Queensferry on the 5th of November, and, in five days after, landed at Dieppe in Normandy. When he went on board, which was near midnight, a luminous glow lighted the heavens, in a remarkable manner, an accident which the people, ignorant of such phenomena, imputed to the Divine approbation of his piety, and which his own mind probably accepted in that sense. The rest of the recusants, adopting a more worldly line of conduct, submitted to the royal pleasure, and were returned to their charges.

The public character and usefulness of Bruce were shipwrecked for ever by this unfortunate event. He had here sacrificed his profession, his Christian ministrations, the affections of his flock, and the pleasures of his home and country, to a paltry quibble, which might have been evaded by the least exertion of prudence, and without the expense of any good feeling or principle, unless the pride of singularity can be so entitled. What is worse than this, he had sacrificed himself for a quibble about words—for it was no better—at a time when his presence was of the last importance to a cause which he esteemed that of religion itself, and for which his life and its exertions ought to have been reserved.

It would appear that he soon saw how splendid a triumph his obstinacy had afforded to his enemies, for next year he attempted to come to an accommodation with the king, which advanced so far that he obtained permission to return to Scotland. He had two interviews with James, one of them at the very moment when his majesty mounted horse on his journey to England. But the minions of the court and friends of the episcopal religion contrived to prevent his offers of submission from having their due weight. He was formally deposed in 1605, and sent to Inverness, which was then a frequent place of banishment for obnoxious clergymen. There he remained for eight years, only exercising his gifts in a private way, but still with the best effect upon the rude people who heard him. In 1613, his son procured permission for his return to Kinnaird, upon the condition that he would confine himself to that place. There, however, he soon found himself very painfully situated, on account of the comparatively dissolute manners of the neighbouring clergy, who are said to have persecuted him in return for the freedom he used in censuring their behaviour. He obtained leave from the Privy Council to retire to a more sequestered house at Monkland, near Bothwell, where, however, he soon attracted the notice of the Bishop of Glasgow, on account of the crowds which flocked to hear him. He was obliged to return to Kinnaird. In 1621, the Scottish parliament was about to pass the famed articles of Perth, in order to bring back something like form to the national system of worship. Bruce could not restrain his curiosity to witness this awful infliction upon the church; he took advantage of some pressing piece of private business to come to Edinburgh. The bishops watched the motions of their powerful enemy with vigilance, and he was soon observed. They entered a petition and complaint before the Council, and he was committed to Edinburgh castle for several months, after which he was again condemned to Inverness. Some of the lords of the council, who were his friends, wrote to court, in order to have the place of confinement fixed at his family seat; but James had heard of the effect of his preachings at that place, and returned for answer,—'It is not

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for the love of him that ye have written, but to entertain a schism in the kirk; we will have no more popish pilgrimages to Kinnaird; he shall go to Inverness.' Thus did he again forfeit a theatre of exertion comparatively valuable, for the sake of an unworthy object. He remained at Inverness till the death of James in 1625, when he obtained permission once more to reside at his own house. He was even allowed, for some time after this, to preach in some of the parish churches around Edinburgh, whither large crowds flocked to hear him. At length, in 1629, he became so conspicuous for these irregular ministrations, that Charles wrote to the Council, requesting that he might again be confined strictly to Kinnaird, or the space of two miles around it. The church of Larbert having been neglected by the bishops, and left in ruins without either minister or stipend; he had repaired it at his own expense, and, now finding it within the limits of his confinement, he preached there every Sunday to a numerous and eager audience. At one of his sermons, either in that church or in the neighbourhood, he gained a proselyte who revenged his cause, and that of presbyterians in general, a few years after. This was the celebrated Alexander Henderson, minister at Leuchars, in Fife, whom he converted from episcopal sentiments, by preaching from the first verse of the tenth chapter of St John's gospel.

Bruce had now lived to see the Scottish presbyterian church altered for an imperfect episcopacy, and as he prepared for the fate which three score and ten years had long marked out for him, he must have felt convinced that what remained of his favourite system could not long survive him. The revival of the presbyterian polity, in all its pristine glory, was reserved in its proper time for his pupil Henderson. Exhausted with the infirmities of age, he was for some time almost confined to his chamber; yet, as he laboured under no active disease, his end advanced slowly. On the 13th of August, 1631, having breakfasted with his family, in the usual manner, he felt death approaching, and warned his children that his master called him. With these words, he desired a bible to be brought, and finding that his sight was gone, he requested his daughter to place his hand on the two last verses of the Epistle to the Romans. These were highly expressive of his life, his resolution, and his hopes. When his hand was fixed on the words, he remained for a few moments satisfied and silent. He had only strength to add, 'Now God be with you, my children; I have breakfasted with you, and shall sup to-night with the Lord Jesus Christ.' He then closed his eyes, and peacefully expired.

Such was the end of the long and various life of Robert Bruce. Whatever opinion may be entertained of his religious principles, by the friends or foes of a particular church, the fears of his opponents were a sufficient testimony of his learning and abilities. The merits and the faults of his character are alike to be judged with a reference to the age in which he lived: the former would have made up a noble character at any time, while the latter—even that fantastic obstinacy which caused him, very culpably, to lose the means of extensive usefulness for a trifling point of punctilio—could only have cast a shade over his character in such an age of polemical contention as that of James the Sixth. His bold and comprehensive mind, his stern independence, and stainless integrity, are qualities, which, under every disadvantage, procure the respect of mankind, and indicate superior character. Less violent than Melville, more enlightened than Knox, he viewed with a brighter and milder eye the united interests of the church and nation. With a mind only a little more accommodating to the circumstances of the time, he must have become the first man of his age and country, instead of spending the latter half of his life in exile. But if he had been so, it is to be feared he would not have been the really great man which downright principle has rendered him. The fortitude of Robert Bruce in his

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adversity redeems the meanness of its cause; and it is at least certain that, if he had not been banished for an unreasonable insult to the king, he would speedily have been displaced for some reason, leaving his enemies less to say in their own defence.

The person of Robert Bruce was tall and dignified. His countenance was majestic, and his appearance in the pulpit grave, and expressive of much authority. His manner of delivery was, in the words of a presbyterian historian, 'an *earthquake to his hearers*, and he rarely preached but to a weeping auditory.' It is told, as an instance of the effect of his sermons, that a poor Highlander one day came to him after he had concluded, and offered to him his whole wealth (two cows), on condition that he would make God his friend. Accustomed to continual prayer and intense meditation on religious subjects, his ardent imagination at times appears to have lost itself in visions of the divine favour; a specious, but natural illusion, by which the most virtuous minds have been deceived and supported, when reason and philosophy have been summoned in vain. His knowledge of the Scriptures was extensive, and accurate beyond the attainment of his age. His skill in the languages, and the sciences of those times, not to mention his acquaintance with the laws and constitution of the kingdom, a branch of knowledge possessed by few of his brethren, was equal, if not superior, to that of any of the Scottish reformers. His sermons, of which sixteen were printed in his lifetime, display a boldness of expression, regularity of style, and force of argument, seldom to be found in the Scottish writers of the sixteenth century. A translation of their rich idiomatic Scottish into the English tongue was printed in 1617, and is that which is now most common in Scotland.

This great man was buried within the church of Larbert, in which he had often preached during the latter part of his life. People assembled from all quarters to attend his funeral; and, according to Calderwood, between four and five thousand persons followed his corps to the grave. It is impossible to conclude this narrative of his life, without remarking how much of his person and character revived in the Abyssinian Bruce, his descendant in the sixth degree, whose person was also majestic, and whose mind, while diminished a little in utility by hasty passion and a want of accommodation to circumstances, was also of the most powerful cast, and calculated to produce a great impression upon those around it.

BRUNTON, Mrs Mary, an eminent moral novelist of the present century, was born in the island of Burra, in Orkney, November 1, 1778. Her father was Colonel Thomas Balfour of Elwick, a cadet of one the most respectable families in the county of Orkney. Her mother was Frances Ligonier, only daughter of Colonel Ligonier of the 13th dragoons, and neice of the Earl of Ligonier, under whose care she was educated. Previous to her sixteenth year, Mary Balfour had received some instructions in music, and in French and Italian, from her mother; and her education was completed by a short residence at a boarding-school in Edinburgh. At the early age mentioned, she had to undertake the charge of her father's household, from which she was removed in her twentieth year, to be the wife of the Rev. Alexander Brunton, minister of the parish of Bolton in East Lothian. In the retirement, and moderate elegance of a Scottish manse, Mrs Brunton was only at first conspicuous for her attention to her household duties. Afterwards, however, the tastes of her husband led her gradually into habits of study, and she went, with his direction and assistance, through a course of reading, in history, philosophy, criticism, and the belles lettres. The promotion of her husband to a ministerial charge at Edinburgh, which took place six years after her marriage, was favourable to the expansion

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and improvement of her intellect, by introducing her into a circle of society more enlightened than any in which she had hitherto moved. The native powers of her mind were slowly developed; she ripened from the simple housewife into the clear-minded and intelligent *savante*. Yet for many years, she was only known as a well-informed, but perfectly unpretending female. So far from displaying any disposition to active literature, she felt the composition of a letter to be burdensome. A trivial circumstance is said to have operated, with several other causes, in inducing her to attempt a regular work. She had often urged her husband to undertake some literary work, and once she appealed to an intimate friend, who was present, whether he would not publish it. This third party expressed a ready consent, but said he would, at least as willingly publish a book of her own writing. This seemed at the time to strike her with a sense of her powers hitherto not entertained, and she asked more than once whether he was in earnest. She then appears to have commenced her novel, entitled "Self Control," of which she had finished a considerable part of the first volume before making even her husband privy to her design. In 1811, the work was published at Edinburgh, in two volumes, and the impression which it made upon the public was immediate and decisive. It was acknowledged that there were faults of a radical and most unfortunate kind—such as the perpetual danger to which the honour of the heroine was exposed, (an intolerable subject of fictitious writing,) but every one appreciated the beauty and correctness of the style, and the acuteness of observation, and loftiness of sentiment, which pervaded the whole. The modesty of Mrs Brunton, which was almost fantastic, induced her to give this composition to the world without her name. Four years afterwards, she published a second novel in three volumes, entitled "Discipline," which was only admired in a degree inferior to the first. She afterwards commenced a third tale under the title "Emmeline," which she did not live to finish.

Mrs Brunton had been married twenty years without being blessed with any offspring. In the summer of 1818, when a prospect of that blessing occurred, she became impressed with a belief that she should not survive. With a tranquillity, therefore, which could only be the result of great strength of mind, joined to the purest sentiments of religion and virtue, she made every preparation for death, exactly as if she had been about to leave her home upon a journey. The clothes in which she was to be laid in the grave, were selected by herself; she herself had chosen and labelled some tokens of remembrance for her more intimate friends; and she even prepared with her own hand a list of the individuals to whom she wished intimations of her death to be sent. Yet these anticipations, though so deeply fixed, neither shook her fortitude, nor diminished her cheerfulness. They neither altered her wish to live, nor the ardour with which she prepared to meet the duties of returning health, if returning health were to be her portion.

To the inexpressible grief of her husband and friends, and, it may be said, of the literary world at large, the unfortunate lady's anticipations proved true. On the 7th of December, she gave birth to a still-born son, and for some days recovered with a rapidity beyond the hopes of her medical attendants. A fever, however, took place, and, advancing with fatal violence, terminated her valuable life on the 19th, in the forty-first year of her age.

The whole mind and character of Mrs Brunton was "one pure and perfect chrysolite" of excellence. We are so agreeably anticipated in an estimate of her worth by an obituary tribute paid to her memory by Mrs Joanna Baillie, that we shall make no scruple for laying it before the reader:—

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No more shall bed-rid pauper watch
The gentle rising of the latch,
And as she enters shift his place,
To hear her voice and see her face.
The helpless vagrant, oft relieved,
From her hath his last dole received.
The circle, social and enlightened,
Whose evening hours her converse brightened,
Have seen her quit the friendly door,
Whose threshold she shall cross no more.
And he, by holy ties endear'd,
Whose life her love so sweetly cheer'd,
Of her cold clay, the mind's void cell,
Hath ta'en a speechless last farewell.
Yea, those who never saw her face,
Now did on blue horizon trace
One mountain of her native land,
Nor turn that leaf with eager hand,
On which appears the unfinish'd page,
Of her whose works did oft engage
Untired attention, interest deep,
While searching, healthful thoughts would creep
To the heart's core, like balmy air,
To leave a kindly feeling there,—
And gaze, till stain of fallen tears,
Upon the snowy blank appears.
Now all who did her friendship claim,
With alter'd voice pronounce her name,
And quickly turn, with wistful ear,
Her praise from stranger's lips to hear,
And hoard as saintly relics gain'd,
Aught that to her hath e'er pertain'd.

The last beautiful allusion is to the unfinished tale of Emmeline, which was published by her husband, Dr Brunton (now professor of Oriental Languages in the university of Edinburgh), along with a brief, but most elegant and touching memoir of her life.

BRYDONE, Patrick, F. R. S., the well known author of A Tour in Sicily and Malta, one of the most entertaining works in the language, was the son of a clergyman in the neighbourhood of Dumbarton, and born in 1741. Having received an excellent university education, which qualified him for the duties of a travelling preceptor, he was engaged in that capacity, first by Mr Beckford, of Somerly in Suffolk, and afterwards Mr Fullarton, who was known in after life as commander of a large body of troops in India, and finally as one of the three commissioners for the government of Trinidad. His excursion with the former gentleman took place in 1767-8; the latter in 1770. In the second tour, he visited Sicily and Malta, which were then almost unknown to the English. Having written an account of this journey in a series of letters to Mr Beckford, he was induced by a consideration of the uninformed state of the British public upon this subject, to publish his work in 1773, under the title of "A Tour through Sicily and Malta." This work is not only a most original and amusing narrative, but it contains a great deal of scientific knowledge, especially regarding the temperature of the air, which was the object of Mr Brydone's particular study. For the purpose of carrying on his scientific observations, he travelled with an apparatus as perfect as could then be procured, or as it was possible to carry in the luggage of a traveller. Having returned to

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England in 1771, he obtained a respectable appointment under government, and after the publication of his travels, which procured for him no common share of reputation and respect, was nominated a member of several learned societies, particularly of the Royal Society, London. In the transactions of this learned body, are several papers of Mr Brydone, chiefly on the subject of electricity, of which he was a profound student, and a close and anxious observer. He spent the latter part of his life in retirement, at Lennel House, near Coldstream, where he was visited by the most distinguished persons in literature and public life. The author of Marmion has introduced into that work, the following episode respecting Mr Brydone:—

"Where Lennel's convent closed their march:
There now is left but one frail arch,
Yet mourn thou not its cells;
Our time a fair exchange has made;
Hard by, in hospitable shade,
A reverend pilgrim dwells,
Well worth the whole Bernardine brood,
That e'er wore sandal, frock, or hood."

Patrick Brydone died at Lennel in 1818, at an advanced age.

BUCHAN, Elspith, the leader of a small sect of fanatics, now extinct, was the daughter of John Simpson, who kept an inn at Fitney-Can, the half way house between Banff and Portsoy. She was born in 1738, and educated in the Scottish Episcopal communion. Having been sent when a girl to Glasgow, in order to enter into a life of service, she married Robert Buchan, a workman in the pottery belonging to her master, with whom she lived for several years, and had several children. Having changed her original profession of faith for that of her husband, who was a burgher-seceder, her mind seems to have become perplexed with religious fancies, as is too often the case with those who alter their creed. She fell into a habit of interpreting the Scriptures literally, and began to promulgate certain strange doctrines, which she derived in this manner from holy writ. Having now removed to Irvine, she drew over to her own way of thinking, Mr Hugh Whyte, a Relief clergyman, who consequently abdicated his charge, and became her chief apostle. The sect was joined by persons of a rank of life in which no such susceptibility was to be expected. Mr Hunter, a writer, and several trading people in good circumstances, were among the converts. After having indulged their absurd fancies for several years at Irvine, the mass of the people at length rose in April, 1784, and assembled in a threatening and tumultuous manner around Mr Whyte's house, which had become the tabernacle of the new religion, and of which they broke all the windows. The Buchanites felt this insult so keenly, that they left the town to the number of forty-six persons, and, proceeding through Mauchline, Cumnock, Sanquhar, and Thornhill, did not halt till they arrived at a farmhouse, two miles south from the latter place, and thirteen from Dumfries, where they hired the out-houses for their habitation, in the hope of being permitted, in that lonely scene, to exercise their religion without further molestation. Mrs Buchan continued to be the great mistress of the ceremonies, and Mr Whyte to be the chief officiating priest. They possessed considerable property, which all enjoyed alike, and though several men were accompanied by their wives, all the responsibilities of the married state were given up. Some of them wrought gratuitously at their trades, for the benefit of those who employed them; but they professed only to consent to this, in order that they might have opportunities of bringing over others to their own views. They scrupulously abjured all worldly considerations whatsoever, wishing only to lead a quiet and holy life, till the commencement of the Millennium, or

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the day of judgment, which they believed to be at hand. Observing, they said, how the young ravens are fed, and how the lilies grow, we assure ourselves that God will feed and clothe us. Mrs Buchan, who was said to have given herself out to be the Virgin Mary, at first denied that she was so. Instead of being the mother of Christ, she said, after the flesh, she was his daughter after the spirit. The little republic existed for some time, without any thing occurring to mar their happiness, except the occasional rudeness of unbelieving neighbours. At length, as hope sickened, worldly feelings appear to have returned upon some of the members; and, notwithstanding all the efforts which Mrs Buchan could make to keep her flock together, a few returned to Irvine. It would seem that as the faith of her followers declined, she greatly increased the extravagance of her pretensions, and the rigour of her discipline. It is said that when any person was suspected of an intention to leave the society, she ordered him to be locked up, and ducked every day in cold water, so that it required some little address in any one to get out of her clutches. In the year 1786, the following facts were reported by some of the seceding members on their return to the west. "The distribution of provisions she kept in her own hand, and took special care that they should not pamper their bodies with too much food, and every one behoved to be entirely directed by her. The society being once scarce of money, she told them she had a revelation, informing her they should have a supply of cash from heaven: accordingly, she took one of the members out with her, and caused him to hold two corners of a sheet, while she held the other two. Having continued for a considerable time, without any shower of money falling upon it, the man at last tired, and left Mrs Buchan to hold the sheet herself. Mrs Buchan, in a short time after, came in with £5 sterling, and upbraided the man for his unbelief, which she said was the only cause that prevented it from coming sooner. Many of the members, however, easily accounted for this pretended miracle, and shrewdly suspected that the money came from her own hoard. That she had a considerable purse was not to be doubted, for she fell on many ways to rob the members of every thing they had of value. Among other things, she informed them one evening, that they were all to ascend to heaven next morning; therefore it was only necessary they should lay aside all their vanities and ornaments, ordering them, at the same time, to throw their rings, watches, &c. into the ash-hole, which many were foolish enough to do, while others more prudently hid every thing of this kind that belonged to them. Next morning she took out all the people to take their flight. After they had waited till they were tired, not one of them found themselves any lighter than they were the day before, but remained with as firm a footing on earth as ever. She again blamed their unbelief—said that want of faith alone prevented their ascension; and complained of the hardship she was under, in being obliged, on account of their unbelief, to continue with them in this world. She at last fell upon an expedient to make them light enough to ascend: nothing less was found requisite than to fast for forty days and forty nights. The experiment was immediately put in practice, and several found themselves at death's door in a very short time. She was then obliged to allow them some spirits and water; but many resolved no longer to submit to such regimen, and went off altogether. We know not," thus concludes the statement, "if the forty days be ended; but a few experiments of this kind will leave her, in the end, sole proprietor of the society's funds."

What adds to the curiosity of this strange tale of fanaticism, is, that Mrs Buchan's husband was still living in pursuit of his ordinary trade, and a faithful adherent of the burgher-seceders. One of her children, a boy of twelve or fourteen, lived with the father; two girls of more advanced age were among her own followers. Notwithstanding her increased absurdity, and we may add, the

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increased tyranny of her behaviour, she continued to have a few followers in 1791, when she approached her last scene. Among these was her first apostle, Mr Whyte. Finding that she was about to go the way of all the earth, she called her disciples together, and exhorted them to continue steadfast and unanimous in their adherence to the doctrine which they had received from her. She told them she had one secret to communicate—a last desperate effort at imposition—that she was in reality the Virgin Mary, and mother of our Lord; that she was the same woman mentioned in the Revelations as being clothed with the sun, and who was driven into the wilderness; that she had been wandering in the world ever since our Saviour's days, and only for some time past had sojourned in Scotland: that though she might appear to die, they needed not be discouraged, for she would only sleep a little, and in a short time would visit them again, and conduct them to the new Jerusalem. After her death, which took place, May 1791, it was a long time before her votaries would straighten or dress the corpse; nor would they coffin her, until obliged by the smell; and after that they would not bury her, but built up the coffin in a corner of the barn, always expecting that she would rise again from the dead, according to her promise. At last, the neighbouring country people, shocked with these proceedings, went to a justice of peace, and got an order that she should be buried; so that the famous Mrs Buchan was at length reduced to a level with all the dead generations of her kind.

BUCHAN, William, M. D. a popular medical writer of great celebrity, was born in 1729, at Ancrum in Roxburghshire. His grandfather had been obliged, for some time, to reside with his family in Holland, on account of the religious troubles which preceded the Revolution. His father possessed a small estate, in addition to which he rented a farm from the Duke of Roxburgh. His genius for medicine was displayed before he could have received any adequate instruction; and even when a school-boy, he was at once the physician and surgeon of the village. Nevertheless, being destined by his friends for the church, he repaired to Edinburgh, to study divinity. At the university he spent the unusual time of nine years, studying anything rather than theology. At this period of his life, mathematics and botany were among his favourite pursuits. Finally, he devoted himself wholly to medicine. He enjoyed, at this time, the friendship of the illustrious Gregory, whose liberal maxims are believed to have had great influence over his future life. Before taking his degree, he was induced, by the invitation of a fellow-student, to settle in practice for some time in Yorkshire. While established in that district, he became a candidate for the situation of Physician to the Foundling Hospital, then supported by parliament at Ackworth, and, after a fair trial of skill with ten professional men, was successful. In this situation he laid the foundation of that knowledge of the diseases of children, which afterwards appeared so conspicuous in his writings. Having returned to Edinburgh to take out his degree, he became acquainted with a well-connected lady of the name of Peter, whom he soon after married. He continued to be Physician to the Ackworth Foundling Hospital, till parliament, becoming convinced of the bad effects of such an institution, withdrew the annual grant of sixty thousand pounds, upon which it had hitherto been supported. He then removed to Sheffield, where for some time he enjoyed extensive practice. He appears to have spent the years between 1762 and 1766, in this town. He then commenced practice at Edinburgh, and for several years was very well employed, though it was allowed that he might have enjoyed much more business, if his convivial habits had not distracted so much of his attention. He was not, however, anxious for an extensive practice. Having for a considerable time directed his attention to a digest of popular medical knowledge, he published, in

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1769, his work entitled, "Domestic Medicine; or, the Family Physician—being an attempt to render the Medical Art more generally useful, by showing people what is in their own power, both with respect to the prevention and cure of diseases: chiefly calculated to recommend a proper attention to regimen and simple medicines." This work, which had been much indebted, in respect of its composition, to the ingenious William Smellie, was published by Balfour, an eminent bookseller at Edinburgh, at the price of six shillings; and such was its success, that "the first edition," says the author, "of 5000 copies, was entirely sold off *in a corner of Britain*, before another could be got ready." The second edition appeared in 1772, "with considerable additions." The Domestic Medicine is constructed on a plan similar to that adopted by Tissot in his *Avis au Peuple*. It appealed to the wants and wishes of so large a class of the community, that, considering it to have been the first work of the kind published in Britain, there is no wonder that it should have attained such success. Before the death of the author in 1805, nineteen large editions had been sold, by which the publishers were supposed to realise annually about £700, being exactly the sum which they are said to have given at first for the copyright. The learned Duplanil of Paris, Physician to the Count d'Artois [Charles X.], published an elegant translation in five volumes, with some excellent notes, which rendered the work so popular on the Continent, that in a short time no language in Christendom, not even the Russian, wanted its translation. It would almost appear that the work met with more undivided applause on the Continent than in Britain. While many English and Scottish physicians conceived that it was as apt to generate as to cure or prevent diseases, by inspiring the minds of readers with hypochondriacal notions, those of other countries entertained no such suspicions. Among the testimonies of approbation which Dr Buchan received from abroad, was a huge gold medallion, sent by the Empress Catherine of Russia, with a complimentary letter. The work is said to have become more popular in America and the West Indies, than in the elder hemisphere. The reputation which the author thus acquired, induced him to remove to London, where for many years he enjoyed a lucrative practice, though not so great as it might have been made by a more prudent man. It was his custom to resort daily to the Chapter Coffee-house, near St Paul's, where he partly spent his time in conversation with literary and eminent men, and partly in giving advice to patients, who here resorted to him in great numbers, exactly as if it had been his own house. At one time, he delivered lectures on Natural Philosophy, which he illustrated by an excellent apparatus, the property of his deceased friend James Ferguson. And in this capacity he is said to have manifested as respectable abilities as in his character of a physician.[1]

Dr Buchan was a man of pleasing exterior, most agreeable manners, and great practical benevolence. He cherished no species of antipathy, except one against apothecaries, whom he believed to be a set of rogues, actuated by no principle except a wish to sell their own drugs, at whatever hazard to their patients. His conversation was much courted on account of his lively spirits, and a fund of anecdote which seemed to be perfectly exhaustless. He enjoyed a good constitution, which did not give way till the 25th of February, 1805, when he died in a moment, at his own house, while walking between his sofa and his bed. The disorder was water in the chest, which had been advancing upon him for some time, but was, up to the last moment, so little alarming, that immediately before rising from the sofa, he had been talking in his usual manner. The

1 Two other works were published by the Doctor. 1. A Treatise on Gonorrhea: 2. An Advice to Mothers on the subject of their own health, and on the means of promoting the health, strength, and beauty of their offspring. Each in one volume, 8vo.

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Doctor left a son and daughter—the former a man of respectable gifts, and a fellow of the London Royal College of Physicians. His remains were interred in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey, next to those of the celebrated Jebb.[2]

BUCHANAN, Dugald, a Highland poet of eminent merit, was born, in the early part of the eighteenth century, in the parish of Balquhidder, Perthshire. In early youth he is said to have been of a dissolute character; but little is known of him till he was found keeping a small school in a hamlet of his native country, and in possession of much local fame as a writer of devotional and pious verses. Some respectable persons, struck by his talents, interested themselves in his fate, and obtained for him the superior situation of school-master and catechist at Rannoch, on the establishment of the society for propagating Christian knowledge. When he first went to reside in that remote district, the people were so rude, from the want of religious instruction, that they hardly recognised the sacred nature of the Sabbath. They were in the habit of meeting at different places, on that day, to amuse themselves with foot-ball and other sports. The parish clergyman visited them once every three weeks; but, from the extent of the parish, he seems to have been unable to exercise any proper control over them. Buchanan, it is said, invited them all to come and enjoy their Sunday recreations with him, and when they arrived, began to perform divine worship, which he seasoned with a lecture on the sin of Sabbath-breaking. Though many were disgusted at first, all of them became at length convinced of their error, and Buchanan in time brought them into a state of high religious culture, the effects of which are said to be visible at this day in Rannoch. The education of this poor scholar was not of the best order; yet he was acquainted with divinity, natural philosophy, and history, and possessed a most felicitous gift of poetry, which he almost exclusively employed for sacred purposes. His writings, which are unknown to English readers, and never can be adequately translated, resemble those of Cowper. An effort was made to obtain for him a license as a preacher of the Scottish church, but without success. He was of much service to the Rev James Stewart of Killin, in translating the New Testament into Gaelic. Having accompanied that gentleman to Edinburgh, in order to aid him in superintending the press, he took the opportunity of improving himself by attendance on the classes for natural philosophy and anatomy in the college. He was at the same time introduced to David Hume, who maintained, in conversation with him, that, although the bible was an excellent book, it was surpassed in beauty and sublimity of language by many profane authors. In support of his assertion, he quoted the lines—

> "The cloud-capt towers, the gorgeous palaces,
> The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
> Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
> And, like the baseless fabric of a vision,
> Leave not a wreck behind."

The devout bard admitted the beauty and sublimity of these lines, but said, that he could furnish a passage from the New Testament still more sublime, and recited the following verses: (Rev. xx. 22.) "And I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it, from whose face the earth and the heavens fled away; and there was found no place for them. And I saw the dead, small and great,

2 The following somewhat ungracious anecdote, which appears in the obituary notice of Dr Buchan, in the Gentleman's Magazine, must have been contributed, we suspect, by a professional hand:—"A day or two after his decease, one gentleman said to another, 'The poor Doctor's gone!' The other replied, 'Do you know how Omnium is to-day?' A third, asking, 'Which would be most felt, Omnium or the loss of the Doctor?' was answered, 'Omnium would be felt by every body, on account of the taxes laid on to pay the interest of the loan; whereas the loss of the Doctor would not be generally felt.'"

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stand before God; and the books were opened: and another book was opened, which was the book of life:—And the sea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them: and they were judged every man according to their works." Buchanan was very tender-hearted, insomuch, that when he heard a pathetic tale recounted, he could not abstain from weeping. He was equally subject to shed tears when his bosom was excited with joy, gratitude, and admiration. In his conversation, he was modest, mild, and unassuming, and distinguished by great affability; always the best and truest marks of a man of poetical genius. His poems and hymns, which have been repeatedly printed, are allowed to be equal to any in the Gaelic language for style, matter, and harmony of versification. The pieces entitled "Le a' Bhreitheanais" and "an Claigionn" are the most celebrated, and are read with perfect enthusiasm by all Highlanders. Though the circumstances of this ingenious poet were of the humblest description, he was most religiously cheerful and contented under his lot. He died, on the 2nd of July, 1768, under very painful circumstances. On returning home from a long journey, he found two of his children lying sick of a fever. Shortly after, six more of them were seized by it, together with himself and two of his servants. While his family lay in this sad condition, his wife could prevail upon no one to engage in her service, and being herself in a peculiarly delicate condition, she was unable to do much for their comfort. The poor poet soon became delirious, and, in a few days, he and all his family were swept off, leaving only his wife to lament his fate, and her own melancholy condition.[1]

BUCHANAN, Claudius, D. D. Few persons have engaged with greater zeal, or met with greater success, in the business of the civilization of India, in spreading the knowledge of the Christian Religion through the eastern world, and in making Europeans better acquainted with that interesting country, than the Rev. Dr Buchanan, who was born at Cambuslang, on the 12th March, 1766. His father, Alexander Buchanan, followed the honourable profession of a school-master; and if we may judge from his success in life, he appears to have been a man of some abilities, and better qualified than ordinary teachers for the discharge of the peculiar duties of his office. Before his death, he was Rector of the Grammar School of Falkirk. His mother's name was —— Somers, daughter of Mr Claudius Somers, who was an elder in the parish of Cambuslang. He is represented as having been one of those who received their first impressions of religion under the ministry of the Rev. Mr M'Culloch, the parish minister, and which were confirmed afterwards by the celebrated Mr George Whitfield. A certain class of Scottish dissenters publicly declared, that all such impressions were a delusion of the devil, and in the most abusive language reviled Whitfield, and all who defended his cause. But be this as it may, Mr Somers and a good many others became reformed characters; and during the course of a long life, gave undeniable evidence that they were better moral men and better members of society.

In 1773, Dr Buchanan was sent to Inverary, in the shire of Argyle, where he remained under the care of his father's relations till 1779. He was early sent to school; and besides being taught to read English, to write, and cast accounts, he was initiated into a knowledge of Latin. When only fourteen years of age, he was engaged to be tutor to the two sons of Campbell of Dunstaffnage. It is by no means an uncommon case in Scotland for young men to be employed, at that tender age, as domestic tutors in remote parts of the country, and at a dis-

[1] For the greater part of the information contained in this article I am indebted to "Bibliotheca Scoto-Celtica, an Account of all the Books which have been printed in the Gaelic Language. By John Reid." Glasgow, 1832.

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tance from any school. He continued in this situation for two years, and then repaired to the university of Glasgow, in 1782. Here his funds permitted him to remain only for two sessions. In 1784, he went to the island of Islay, and was tutor in the family of Mr Campbell of Knockmelly. In the following year he removed to Carradell, in Kintyre, as tutor to Mr Campbell of Carradell. In 1786 he returned to Glasgow College, with the intention of prosecuting his studies there, preparatory to his commencing the study of divinity; for it had always been his intention to be a clergyman of the Church of Scotland. At the end of the session, however, he was struck with the strange and romantic idea of making a tour of Europe on foot. He seems to have been highly delighted with Dr Goldsmith's poetry, and particularly with his *Traveller*. Having perused some accounts of Goldsmith's adventures, he became inspired with a wish to attempt something of the same kind. He could not, like the poet of Auburn, play on the flute, but he was a tolerable performer on the fiddle, and he foolishly imagined, that with its assistance, he might be able to accomplish what he had so much at heart. He was a pretty good player of Scotch reels; and with this slender recommendation, and hardly any other provision against want, he determined to sally forth.

He accordingly left Edinburgh in the month of August, 1787. He had carefully concealed his design from his parents, lest it should be the occasion of giving them pain, for he seems to have been well aware in what light his imprudence would be viewed by others. What road he took, or how long he was on his journey between Edinburgh and Newcastle, is not known. But he arrived there, as it would seem, sufficiently disgusted with his undertaking; for, instead of directing his course to the capital by land, he embarked in a *collier* at North Shields, and sailed for the metropolis, where he arrived on the 2d of September. Here he was as much, if not more at a loss, than ever. At last, seeing an advertisement in a paper, that a clerk was wanted, after having suffered incredibly from hunger and cold, he applied and obtained this paltry appointment. By habits of industry and attention to business, he recommended himself to his employer, and after various incidents he at last engaged in the service of a solicitor, with whom he remained for nearly three years.

This employment, though exceedingly trifling, was sufficient to supply him food and clothes. He describes himself, at this period, as having little or no sense of religion upon his mind. He did not attend church regularly; and the Sunday was generally spent in idleness, though at no time of his life was he given to habits of dissipation. About this time he got acquainted with the Rev. John Newton of St Mary's, Woolnoth, London, the friend of Cowper, who introduced him to the celebrated Henry Thornton. This latter person, whose heart and fortune were alike bounteous, was the chief occasion of his being afterwards so successful and distinguished in life. As Mr Buchanan had now formed the resolution of becoming a clergyman, though he could not regularly enter the church of England, for want of a university education, Mr Thornton offered him the Chaplaincy of the Sierra Leone company, in which association he bore a leading part. The appointment was accepted by Mr Buchanan, but, for some unknown reason, was not acted upon. Mr Thornton, however, generously resolved not to leave his ward destitute or unprovided. He sent him to Queens' College, Cambridge, which was then conducted by his friend Dr Milner, Dean of Carlisle. Mr Buchanan was admitted into this Society in 1791, and in the 25th year of his age. It has been mentioned, that he was two sessions at the university of Glasgow, but it may be doubted whether this was of essential service to him, so different are the regulations, customs, and habits of the two establishments. He was disposed to enter as a *Sizar*, that is a scholar of the lowest

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rank, the same as *Servitor* at Oxford; but it was arranged that he should be admitted as a pensioner, or a scholar who pays for his Commons. He distinguished himself at College by great assiduity, and though his mind does not appear to have had any particular bent to the science of quantity, he devoted some attention to the favourite pursuit of the university, the higher branches of mathematics. Having got a theme or subject to write upon in Latin, he succeeded so well as to gain the most marked commendation of his superiors; and he was appointed to declaim in Latin upon the 5th of November, which is always esteemed by the students as a singular honour—this day being one of the most solemn festivals of the year. He was also appointed, about the same time, Librarian to the College, an office of which the duties were more honourable than severe; and he was the senior wrangler of his year.

About the year 1794, the Rev. John Newton proposed to him a voyage to India. The precise nature of this proposal is not stated; but it might only be a hint to him to turn in his mind how he would relish such an appointment. His education being now complete, he was, in September, 1795, regularly ordained deacon of the church of England, by Bishop Porteous. He was immediately admitted curate to Mr Newton, which was his first appointment. On 30th March, 1796, he was appointed Chaplain to the East India Company, through the interest of the director, Mr Charles Grant, who continued to patronise him through life. Dr. Milner and others now recommended him a second time to the Bishop of London, from whom he received Priest's orders, so that he was qualified to accept of any situation in the English establishment. In the month of May he went to Scotland, in order to take leave of his relations before setting out for India. He immediately returned to England, and left Portsmouth for Bengal, 11th August 1796. Landing at Calcutta, he was soon sent into the interior to Barrackpore, where he resided for some time. India was to him a scene perfectly new: at this period hardly any decency was observed in the outward relations of life. There was no divine service at Barrackpore, and horse-racing was practised on Sunday. Of course it was an excellent field for the exertions of a Christian minister. Mr Buchanan having been appointed third chaplain to the presidency in Calcutta, by Lord Mornington, preached so much to the satisfaction of his audience, that he received thanks from the Governor General in council. The plan of a Collegiate Institution had been for some time under the consideration of his lordship. In 1800, it was formally established by a minute in council, and vested in a provost and vice-provost, with three other officers. There were also to be established professorships in the languages spoken in India, in Hindoo, and Mahomedan laws, in the negotiations and laws enacted at the several presidencies for the civil government of the British territories—in Political Economy, Commercial institutions and interests of the East India Company, and in various branches of literature and science. Some of the learned natives attached to the college, were employed in teaching the students, others in making translations, and others in composing original works in the Oriental tongues. This institution, which has been of immense service to British India, was called the College of Fort William. Mr Buchanan was professor of the Greek, Latin, and English classics. The translation of the original Scriptures from the originals into modern languages had always been with him a favourite scheme. To effect a similar purpose, he proposed prizes to be competed for by the universities, and some of the public schools in the United Kingdom. These were afterwards more fully explained in a memoir by him, in 1805. A translation of the Bible into the Chinese language was also patronized by him. In the course of the same year, he wrote

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an account of the College of Fort William; and the University of Glasgow conferred upon him the degree of D. D.

In May, 1806, he undertook a journey to the coast of Malabar, and returned to Calcutta in 1807. He paid a second visit to Malabar, and powerfully assisted in procuring a version of the Scriptures into Malayalim. In March, 1808, he undertook a voyage to Europe. Second prizes of L.500 each were offered by him to Oxford and Cambridge; and in pursuance of his proposals, sermons were preached at both universities.

In September, 1808, Dr Buchanan undertook a journey into Scotland, where he had the gratification of finding his mother in good health. He preached in the episcopal chapel at Glasgow, and mentions that the people came in crowds to hear him, "notwithstanding the *organ*." He observed a more tolerant spirit among the different orders of religion in Scotland than what formerly prevailed. On his return, he preached, at Bristol, his celebrated sermon, "The Star in the East," which was the first of that series of able and well-directed efforts by which, in pursuance of a resolution formed in India, he endeavoured to cherish and extend the interest he had already excited for the promotion of Christianity in the east. In spring, 1809, he spent some days at Oxford, collating oriental versions of the bible. He next paid a visit to Cambridge, where he deposited some valuable biblical manuscripts, which he had collected in India. The university honoured him with the degree of D.D. About this period, he preached regularly for some time in Wilbeck chapel, London, after which he retired to Kirby Hall, in Yorkshire, the seat of his father-in-law, Henry Thompson, Esq. His health now began to decline, and as he was advised by his physicians to study less unremittingly, he formed the idea of uniting the recovery of his health, and some share of continued usefulness, by travelling to the Holy Land, and endeavouring to re-establish the gospel on its native ground. This design, however, he never executed. Various paralytic affections, which, one after another, fell upon his frame, admonished him that the day of active exertion with him was past. He was nevertheless able, within the course of a few years, to publish the following works: 1, Three Jubilee Sermons; 2, Annual Missionary Sermon, before the Church Missionary Society, June 12, 1810; 3, Commencement Sermons at Cambridge; 4, Christian Researches in Asia; 5, Sketch of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India; 6, Colonial Ecclesiastical Establishment.

He had been twice married, but survived both of his spouses. He ultimately went to reside at Cheshunt in Hertfordshire, to superintend a Syriac edition of the New Testament. Here he died, February 9, 1815, while his task was still incomplete, at the early age of forty-eight. The exertions of this amiable and exemplary man in propagating the Christian religion in India, will long keep his name in grateful remembrance, among all to whom the interests of religion are in the least endeared.

BUCHANAN, Francis, M. D. author of Travels in the Mysore, a History of Nepal, &c. was born at Branziet, in Stirlingshire, February 15th, 1762. He was the third son of Dr Thomas Buchanan of Spital, who afterwards succeeded as heir of entail to the estate of Leney, in Perthshire, and Elizabeth Hamilton heiress of Bardowie, near Glasgow. As a younger brother he was, of course, destined to a profession. He chose that of his father; and after the finishing the elementary parts of his classical education with considerable credit, at the Grammar School of Glasgow, he commenced his medical studies at the university, where he remained till he had received his diploma. Glasgow college has always enjoyed a high reputation for literature and ethics; but, with the exception, perhaps, of the department of anatomy, its fame, as a medical school, has

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never equalled that of Edinburgh. During the latter part of the eighteenth century especially, the capital enjoyed a reputation for medical science scarcely inferior to that of any medical school in Europe. Its degrees were eagerly desired by students from all parts of Great Britain, and from many parts of the continent, and its diploma was available in almost every part of the world as a powerful letter of recommendation. Buchanan was anxious to secure for himself the advantage of pursuing his professional studies under the eminent professors, who, at that time, more than sustained the high reputation which Edinburgh college had already acquired. Here he remained till he received his degree in 1783. He soon after was appointed assistant-surgeon on board a man-of-war, a situation from which he was afterwards obliged to retire on account of ill health. He now spent some years at home, in the country, his health being so bad as to disqualify him for all active exertion, till 1794, when he received an appointment as surgeon in the East India Company's service, on the Bengal establishment. The voyage to India completely restored his health, and on his arrival he was sent with Captain Symes on his mission to the court of Ava. In the course of his medical studies, Dr Buchanan had paid particular attention to botany, and its cognate branches of natural science; and during his present visit to the Birman Empire, he had an opportunity of making some valuable collections of the plants of Pegu, Ava, and the Andaman Islands, which, together with several interesting drawings, he transmitted to the court of directors, by whom they were presented to Sir Joseph Banks. On his return from Ava, he was stationed at Luckipoor, near the mouth of the Burrampooter, where he remained two years, principally occupied in describing the fishes found in the neighbourhood.

In 1798, he was employed by the board of trade at Calcutta, on the recommendation of Dr Roxburgh, superintendant of the botanical garden, to visit the district of Chatigang and its neighbourhood, forming the chief part of the ancient kingdom of Tripura. The extensive and well-watered districts of *India beyond the Ganges*, afforded him a wide and rich field for pursuing his favourite study. The numerous specimens which he collected in this interesting country were also transmitted to Sir Joseph Banks, and added to his collection. Part of the following year, Dr Buchanan spent in describing the fishes of the Ganges, of which he afterwards published an account.

In 1800, he was employed by Marquis Wellesley, then governor-general of India, to examine the state of the country which the company's forces had lately conquered from Tippoo Sultan, together with the province of Malabar. The results of his inquiries in the Carnatic and Mysore he afterwards, on his return to England, in 1807, published under the patronage of the court of directors. This work, "Travels in the Mysore," &c., extending to three large quarto volumes, illustrated with maps and drawings, contains much valuable information concerning the agriculture, laws, customs, religious sects, history, &c., of India generally, and particularly of the interior dependencies of Madras. In criticising the work the Edinburgh reviewers observe, "Those who will take the trouble to peruse Dr Buchanan's book, will certainly obtain a far more accurate and correct notion of the actual condition and appearance of India, and of its existing arts, usages, and manners, than could be derived from all the other books relating to it in existence." The reviewer adds still more valuable praise—a praise not always deserved by travellers in countries comparatively little known—when he acknowledges that "every thing the author has seen is described perspicuously, unaffectedly, and, beyond all question, with the strictest veracity." *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xiii. Oct. 1808.

Soon after Dr Buchanan had finished his survey of the Mysore country, he

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changed the scene of his labours from the south to the north-east of Hindoostan, being appointed, in 1802, to accompany the embassy to Nepal, conducted by Captain Knox. In the course of this journey, and his subsequent residence in Nepal, he made large additions to his former collections of rare plants; which, with descriptions and numerous drawings, he transmitted to Mr J. E. Smith. It was during this period also that he collected the greater part of the materials for his "History of Nepal," which he published in 1818, some years after he had retired from the Company's service. On his return from Nepal he was appointed surgeon to the governor-general, and he employed such leisure time as he had for the study of natural history, in superintending the menagerie founded by the Marquis Wellesley, and in describing the animals which it contained. Of Lord Wellesley Dr Buchanan always spoke in terms of high admiration and devoted attachment; he considered his government in India as being not less wise and beneficent, than it was eminently successful. Undoubtedly India owes much to this distinguished nobleman; and it would have been happy, both for her native population, and her merchant princes, had her government been always intrusted to men of such practical capacity and unblemished integrity. In 1805, Dr Buchanan accompanied his noble patron to England; and, in the following year, was again sent to India by the court of directors, for the purpose of making a statistical survey of the territory under the presidency of Fort William, which comprehends Bengal Proper and several of the adjoining districts. With this laborious undertaking he was occupied for upwards of seven years, after which he returned to Calcutta; and, on the death of Dr Roxburgh, in 1814, succeeded him as superintendant of the botanical garden, having been appointed successor to that respectable botanist by the Court of Directors so early as 1807. But he was now exhausted with long continued exertion: his services had been liberally rewarded by the East India Company; an independant and honourably acquired fortune relieved him from the necessity of encountering any longer the hardships incident to his former mode of life, among tribes half-civilized, and often somewhat less than half-friendly, and exposed to the malignant influence of Indian climate; and he naturally wished to enjoy the close of a busy life, free from the responsibility and inquietudes of public service, in some peaceful retirement in his native land.

While he was preparing for his voyage home, he was deprived, by the Marquis of Hastings, of all the botanical drawings which had been made under his inspection, during his last stay in India, and which he intended to have deposited with his other collections in the library of the India house. This circumstance he greatly regretted, as he feared that the drawings would thus be totally lost to the public. "To me," says Dr Buchanan, in a paper which was published among the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, "to me, as an individual, they were of no value, as I preserve no collection, and as I have no occasion to convert them into money."

On his arrival in England in 1815, he presented to the court of Directors, his collection of plants and minerals, some papers on the geography of Ava, several genealogical tables, nine hundred Indian coins, gold and silver, a collection of Indian drugs, his notes on Natural History, a few drawings, and about twenty curious Hindoo MSS. He then proceeded to Scotland, where he hoped to enjoy the fruits of his toil in quiet. On his arrival, he found his elder brother, Colonel Hamilton, involved in pecuniary difficulties, from which he could only be partially relieved by the sale of such parts of the family estates as had not been entailed. Dr Buchanan, who was himself next heir, Colonel Hamilton having no children, agreed to pay his brother's debts, which amounted altogether to upwards of £15,000. His brother soon after died abroad, whither

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he had gone in the hope of recovering his health, and Dr Buchanan, succeeding him in his estates, adopted his mother's family name of Hamilton. He now fixed his residence at Leney, where he amused himself with adding to the natural beauties of one of the loveliest spots in Perthshire, such improvements as a cultivated taste and an ample fortune enabled him to supply. In this sweet retirement he still found pleasure in prosecuting the studies and scientific pursuits which had engrossed the busier part of his life. His garden occupied much of his attention; he introduced into his grounds many curious plants, shrubs, and saxifrages; he contributed largely to the scientific journals of the day, particularly the Edinburgh Philosophical Journal, the Edinburgh Journal of Science, the transactions of the Linnæan Society of London, the Memoirs of the Hibernian Natural History Society, and the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. Also in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society are several papers taken from his statistical survey of the provinces under the Presidency of Fort William, deposited in the Library of the East India Company: these papers, at the instance of Dr Buchanan were liberally communicated to the Society, accompanied with explanations by Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Esq., one of the Directors. In 1819, he published his History of the Kingdom of Nepal, already mentioned, and in the same year a Genealogy of the Hindoo Gods, which he had drawn up some years before with the assistance of an intelligent Brahman. In 1822 appeared his Account of the Fishes of the Ganges, with plates.

Dr Buchanan was connected with several distinguished literary and scientific societies. He was a member of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta—a fellow of the Royal Society, the Linnæan Society, and Society of Antiquaries of London—an ordinary member of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries—a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh—a member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. &c. In 1826, he was appointed a deputy lieutenant for Perthshire, and took a warm interest in the politics of the day. His own principles were Tory, and he was not a little apt to be violent and overbearing in discussion with men of the opposite party. But although hasty in his temper and violent in his politics, Dr Buchanan was of a generous and liberal disposition: he was extremely charitable to the poor, warm in his personal attachments, and just and honourable in his public capacity of magistrate. He married late in life, and fondness for the society of his children, joined with studious habits, left him little leisure or inclination for mixing in the gayeties of the fashionable world. He lived, however, on terms of good understanding and easy intercourse with his neighbours. His own high attainments and extensive information eminently qualified him for enjoying the conversation and appearing to advantage in the society of men of liberal education, and to such his house was always open. His intimate acquaintance with oriental manners, geography, and history, made his conversation interesting and instructive; his unobtrusive manners, his sober habits, his unostentatious and unaffected hospitality made him an agreeable companion and a good neighbour; while the warmth and steadiness of his attachments rendered his friendship valuable. The following high estimate of his character we find in Dr Robertson's statistical account of the Parish of Callander, so early as the year 1793. 'The most learned person who is known to have belonged to this parish is Dr Francis Buchanan, at present in the East Indies. In classical and medical knowledge he has few equals, and he is well acquainted with the whole system of nature.' Dr Buchanan carried on an extensive correspondence with men of eminence in the literary and scientific world; he repeatedly received the public thanks of the Court of Directors, and of the Governor-General in council, for his useful collections and his information

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on Indian affairs; and when his former patron Marquis Wellesley went as Lord Lieutenant to Ireland he was solicited to accompany him in an official capacity—an offer which his declining health and love of domestic quiet induced him to decline. Dr Buchanan died, June 15th, 1829, in the 67th year of his age.

BUCHANAN, GEORGE, one of the most distinguished reformers, political and religious, of the sixteenth century, and the best Latin poet which modern Europe has produced, was born in the parish of Killearn, Stirlingshire, in February, 1506, "of a family," to use his own words, "more ancient than wealthy." His father, Thomas, was the second son of Thomas Buchanan of Drumikill, from whom he inherited the farm of Moss, on the western bank of the water of Blane, the house where, though it has been several times rebuilt, still, in honour of the subject of this memoir, preserves its original shape, and dimensions, with a considerable portion of its original materials. His mother was Agnes Heriot of the family of Tabroun in East Lothian. The Buchanans of Drumikill were highly respectable, being a branch of the family of Buchanan of Buchanan, which place they held by charter as far back as the reign of Malcom III. Antiquity of descent, however, is no preservative against poverty, of which our poet's family had their full share, for the bankruptcy of his grandfather, the laird of Drumikill, and the death of his father while in the flower of his age, left George Buchanan, when yet a child, with four brothers and three sisters, with no provision for their future subsistence but their mother's industry. She appears, however, to have been a woman of excellent qualities; and by the prudent management of the farm, which she retained in her own hands, brought up her family in a respectable manner, and had the satisfaction of seeing them all comfortably settled. George, the third son, received the rudiments of his education in the school of his native village, which was at that time one of the most celebrated in Scotland; and having at an early period given indications of genius, his maternal uncle, James Heriot, was induced to undertake the care and expence of his education; and, in order to give him every possible advantage, sent him, in 1520, when fifteen years of age, to prosecute his studies in the university of Paris. Here he studied with the greatest diligence, and impelled, as he has himself told us, partly by his inclination, and partly by the necessity of performing the exercises of his class, put forth the first blossom of a poetical genius that was afterwards to bear the rich fruits of immortality. Scarcely, however, had his bright morning dawned when it became suddenly overcast. Before he had completed his second year, his uncle died, leaving him in a foreign land, exposed to all the miseries of poverty, aggravated by bodily infirmity, occasioned, most probably, by the severity of his studies, for, at the same time that he was in public competing with the greatest talent of the several nations of Europe, who, as to a common fountain, were assembled at this far famed centre of learning, he was teaching himself Greek, in which he was latterly a great proficient. He was now obliged to return home, and for upwards of a twelvemonth was incapable of applying to any business. In 1523, he joined the auxiliaries brought over from France by Albany, then Regent of Scotland; and served as a private soldier in one campaign against the English. He tells us that he took this step from a desire to learn the art of war; but perhaps necessity was as strong a prompter as military ardour. Whatever were his motives, he marched with the army commanded by the Regent in person, who entered England and laid siege to the castle of Werk, in the end of October, 1523. Repulsed in all his attempts on the place, Albany, from the disaffection among his troops and the daily increasing strength of the enemy, soon found himself under the necessity of re-crossing the Tweed; and being overtaken by a

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severe snow storm in a night march toward Lauder, lost a great part of his army; Buchanan escaped, but, completely cured of his warlike enthusiasm, if any such sentiment ever inspired him, was confined the rest of the winter to his bed. In the ensuing spring, being considerably recovered, and having completed his eighteenth year, he was sent to the university of St Andrews to attend the prelections of John Mair, or Major, who at that time, according to his celebrated pupil, "taught logic, or, more properly, the art of sophistry," in St Salvator's college. Buchanan's eldest brother, Patrick, was matriculated at the same time. Having continued one session at St Andrews, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, on the 3d of October, 1525, being then, as appears from the college registers, a pauper or exhibitioner, he accompanied Major to France the following summer. Mackenzie says, that, on account of his great merits and at the same time his great poverty, Major sent for him, in 1524, and took him into his house as a servant, in which capacity it was that Buchanan went with him to Paris, and remained with him two years; but this has been regarded by the vindicators of Buchanan as a story set forth for the purpose of fixing a charge of ingratitude upon the poet, for an epigram which he wrote upon one of Major's productions, and in which his old instructor is termed "solo cognomine major."

On returning to France, Buchanan became a student in the Scots college of Paris, and in March was incorporated a bachelor of Arts—the degree of Master of Arts he received in April, 1528. In June the following year he was elected procurator for the German nation, one of the four classes, into which the students were divided, and which included those from Scotland. The principles of the Reformation were by this time widely extended on the continent, and every where excited the most eager discussion. Upon Buchanan's ardent and generous mind they made a powerful impression, and it was not in his nature to conceal it. Yet he seems to have acted with considerable caution, and was in no haste to renounce the established forms of worship, whence we conclude that the reported mortifications he is said to have met with at this time and on that account, are without foundation. At the end of two years he was elected a professor in the college of St Barbe, where he taught grammar three years; and, if we may believe himself, his remuneration was such as to render his circumstances at least comparatively comfortable. It appears to have been in 1529, that this office was conferred upon him; he was consequently only in his twenty-third year. Soon after entering on his professorship, Buchanan attracted the notice of Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Cassillis, then residing in Paris, whither he had been sent to prosecute his studies, as the Scottish nobility at that period generally were; and at the end of three years Buchanan was engaged to devote his time entirely to the care of the young Earl's education. With this nobleman he resided as a preceptor for five years; and to him, as "a youth of promising talents and excellent disposition," he inscribed his first published work, a translation of Linacre's rudiments of Latin grammar, which was printed by the learned Robert Stephens, in 1533.

In 1536, James V. made a matrimonial excursion to France, where he found the earl of Cassillis, who had just finished his education. James having, on the 1st of January, 1537, married Magdalene, daughter of Francis I., returned to Scotland in May, bringing with him Cassillis and George Buchanan. This accounts for the future intimacy between the latter person and the king, which in the end was like to have had a tragical termination. The connexion between Buchanan and the earl seems, however, not to have been immediately dissolved; for it was while residing at the house of his pupil, that the poet composed Somnium or the Dream, apparently an imitation of a poem of Dunbar's,

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entitled "How Dunbar was desyred to be ane frier," and a bitter satire upon the impudence and hypocrisy of the Franciscans. This piece of raillery excited the utmost hostility on the part of its objects, and to avoid their vengeance, which he had every reason to dread, Buchanan had determined to retire to Paris, where he hoped to be able to resume his former situation in the college of St Barbe. James V., however, took him under his protection, and retained him as preceptor to his natural son James Stuart, not the prior of St Andrews, whose mother was of the family of Mar, but one of the same baptismal name who held the abbacies of Melrose and Kelso, and whose mother was Elizabeth Schaw, of the family of Sauchie, and who died in the year 1548. James, who about this time was not satisfied with the conduct of the clergy, in regard to a conspiracy against his life, said to have been entered into by some of the nobility, sent for Buchanan, and not aware that he had already rendered himself obnoxious to the Franciscans, commanded him to write a satire against them. Wishing to gratify the king, and yet give as little additional ground of offence to the friars as possible, Buchanan wrote his Palinodia in two parts, a covert satire, which he hoped might afford no ground of open complaint to those against whom it was directed. The king, himself a poet coarse and licentious, did not at all relish this delicate kind of irony, and it wounded the ecclesiastics still more painfully than its predecessor the Somnium; so that, as it usually happens in an attempt to please one party without offending the other, the poet's labour proved vain. Finding it impossible to propitiate the friars, and the king still insisting upon their vices being fully and fairly exposed, he at last gave full scope to his indignation at the impudence, ignorance, impiety, and sensuality that distinguished the whole order almost without an individual exception, in his poem intitled Franciscanus, one of the most pungent satires to be found in any language. In this composition Buchanan had little occasion to exercise his fancy, facts were so abundant. He had but to embody in flowing language, what was passing before all men's eyes, and depict the clergy as the most contemptible and the most depraved of human beings, who, besides being robbers of the poor, lived, the far greater part of them, in the open and avowed practice of the most loathsome debauchery. Still they were the most powerful body in the state; and after the death of Magdalene who had been bred under her aunt, the queen of Navarre, a protestant, and was friendly to the cause, they gained an entire ascendancy over the too facile King, who had not the grace to protect the tutor of his son from the effects of their rage, occasioned by poems that had been written at his own express command. Towards the end of the year 1538, measures were taken for the total suppression of the new opinions, and in February following, five persons were committed to the flames; nine saved their lives by burning their bills, as it was called, or in other words recanting. Among the rest George Buchanan was on this occasion seized, and to secure ample vengeance upon him, Cardinal Beaton offered the king a sum of money for his life; a piece of supererogatory wickedness, for which there was not the smallest occasion, as the prejudices of his judges would infallibly have secured his condemnation, had he been brought before any of their tribunals; but aware of the mortal enmity of his accusers, he fled into England. By the way he happily escaped a pestilential distemper, which was at that time desolating the north of England, and when he arrived in London, experienced the protection of an English knight, Sir John Rainsford, who both supplied his immediate necessities, and protected him from the fury of the papists, to whom he was now every where obnoxious. On this occasion it was that he addressed himself to Henry VIII. and to his minister Cromwell, both of whom treated him with neglect. Several of his little pieces written at this time attest the straits to which he was reduced. England at that period had few at-

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tractions for a Scotsman; and it must have been peculiarly galling to the lofty spirit of Buchanan, after stooping to solicit patronage among the natural enemies of his country, to find his efforts despised, and his necessities disregarded. Meeting with so little encouragement there, he passed over to Paris, where he was well known, and had many acquaintances. But here to his dismay he found Cardinal Beaton resident as ambassador from the Scottish court. This circumstance rendered it extremely unsafe for him to remain; happily he was invited to Bourdeaux by Andrew Govia, a Portuguese, principal of the college of Guienne, lately founded in that city, through whose interest he was appointed professor of humanity in that afterwards highly famed seminary. Here Buchanan remained for three years, during which he completed four Tragedies, besides composing a number of poems on miscellaneous subjects. He was all this while the object of the unwearied enmity of Cardinal Beaton and the Franciscans, who still threatened his life. The Cardinal at one time wrote to the bishop of Bourdeaux, commanding him to secure the person of the heretical poet, which might perhaps have been done; but the letter falling into the hands of one of the poet's friends, was detained till the appearance of a pestilence in Guienne absorbed every lesser concern. The death of James V. following soon after, with the distractions consequent on that event, gave the Cardinal more than enough to do at home without taking cognizance of heretics abroad. Among his pupils at Bourdeaux, Buchanan numbered the celebrated Michael de Montagne, who was an actor in every one of his dramas; and among his friends were not only his fellow professors, but all the men of literature and science in the city and neighbourhood. One of the most illustrious of these was the elder Scaliger, who resided and practised as a physician at Agin; at his house Buchanan and the other professors used to spend part of their vacations. Here they were hospitably entertained, and in their society Scaliger seems not only to have forgot, as he himself acknowledges, the tortures of the gout, but, what was more extraordinary, his natural talent for contradiction. The many excellent qualities of this eminent scholar, and the grateful recollection of his conversational talents, Buchanan has preserved in an elegant Latin Epigram, apparently written at the time when he was about to quit this seat of the muses, to enter upon new scenes of difficulty and danger. The younger Scaliger was but a boy when Buchanan visited at his father's house; but he inherited all his father's admiration of the Scottish poet, whom he declared to be decidedly superior to all the Latin poets of those times. After having resided three years at Bourdeaux, and conferred lustre upon its University by the splendour of his talents, Buchanan removed for reasons which we are not acquainted with, to Paris; and in 1544, we find him one of the regents in the college of Cardinal le Moire, which station he seems to have held till 1547. There he had for his associates, among other highly respectable names, the celebrated Turnebus and Muretus. By a Latin elegy addressed to his late colleagues Tastœus and Tevius, we learn that about this period he had a severe attack of the gout, and that he had been under the medical care of Carolus Stephanus, who was a doctor of physic of the faculty of Paris, and, like several of his relations, was equally distinguished as a scholar and as a printer. In the same elegy, Buchanan commemorates the kindness of his colleagues, particularly of Gelida, an amiable and learned Spaniard, less eminent for talents than Buchanan's other colleagues, Turnebus and Muretus, but as a man of true moral worth and excellence, at least equal to the former and vastly superior to the latter, who, though a man of splendid talents, was worthless in the extreme. To Muretus, Buchanan addressed a copy of verses on a Tragedy written by him in his youth, entitled Julius Cæsar; but Muretus had not as yet put forth those

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monstrosities of character, that ought long ago to have buried his name in oblivion.[1]

In the year 1547 Buchanan again shifted his place, and, along with his Portuguese friend, Andrew Govea, passed into Portugal. Govea, with two brothers, had been sent for his education into France, by John III. of Portugal, who having now founded the university of Coimbra, recalled him to take the principal superintendence of the infant establishment. Aware, at the same time, that his whole kingdom could not furnish a sufficiency of learned men to fill the various chairs, his majesty commissioned Govea to bring a number of learned men with him for that purpose. The persons selected were George Buchanan, his elder brother Patrick, Gruchius, Geruntæus, Tevius, and Vinetus, all of whom had already distinguished themselves by the publication of learned works. Arnoldus Fabricius, John Costa, and Anthony Mendez, the two latter natives of Portugal, completed the establishment, and all of them, Patrick Buchanan and Fabricius excepted, had, under Govea, been teachers in the college of Guienne. France, at this period, threatened to be the scene of great convulsions, and Buchanan regarded this retirement to Portugal as an exceedingly fortunate circumstance, and for a short time his expectations were fully realized. Govea, however, died in less than a twelvemonth, and, deprived of his protection, the poor professors soon found themselves exposed to the jealousy of the natives on account of being foreigners, and to the unrelenting bigotry of the priests because they were scholars. Three of their number were very soon immured in the dungeons of the inquisition, and, after a tedious confinement, brought before that tribunal, which, unable to convict them of any crime, overwhelmed them with reproaches, and remanded them to their dungeons, without permitting them so much as to know who were their accusers. Buchanan did not escape his share of this persecution. Franciscanus was again revived against him, though the inquisitors knew nothing of that poem; for he had never parted with a copy, save that which he gave to his own king, James V., and he had taken care to have the whole affair properly explained to the Portuguese monarch before he set foot in his dominions. He was also charged with eating flesh in Lent, a practice quite common in Portugal at that time, and with having asserted that Augustine's opinion of the Eucharist coincided with the protestant rather than with the Romish views on the subject, and two witnesses were found to declare that he was an enemy to the Roman faith. More merciful than on many other occasions, the inquisition, after dealing with Buchanan for upwards of a year and a half, sentenced him to be confined in a monastery for some months, that he might by the inmates be better instructed in the principles and practice of religion. Fortunately, the monks to whose care Buchanan was thus consigned were not without humanity, though he found them utterly ignorant of religion; and he consoled himself by planning, and in part executing, his unrivalled paraphrase of the Psalms of David, which placed him immeasurably above all modern Latin poets, and will transmit his name with honour and admiration to the latest posterity. That this was a task imposed upon him by his ghostly guardians, is an idle tale totally devoid of foundation. The probability is that the poor monks were incapable of appreciating his labours, but he seems to have gained their good will, for he was restored to his liberty, and soliciting the king's permission to return to France, was requested to remain, and pre-

1 Of Muretus's impious book, *De Tribus Impostoribus*, or the three impostors, Moses, Jesus, and Mahomet, a late biographer of Buchanan has said "it is extremely evident that such a book never existed." We are informed, however, that a copy exists in the MS. collection of the University of Glasgow.

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sented with a small sum of money for subsistence till a situation worthy of his talents should be found.

After having suffered so much from the inquisition, Buchanan could not be very ambitious of Portuguese preferment, and the promise of the king not being likely to be hastily fulfilled, he embarked in a Greek vessel at Lisbon and sailed for England. To England, however, he certainly had no partiality; and though Edward VI. was now on the throne, and doing all he could to advance the work of reformation, and though some very advantageous offers were made to induce him to settle in that country, he proceeded direct to France, where he arrived in the beginning of 1553. It was at this time that Buchanan wrote his poem, Adventus in Galliam, in which his contempt and resentment of the Portuguese, and the treatment he had received, together with his affection for the French nation, are strongly expressed. Perhaps it would be too much to say that the French nation was attached to Buchanan, but many individuals of it certainly were, and immediately on his arrival in Paris he was appointed to a regency in the college of Boncourt. In this station he remained till 1555, when he was engaged by the celebrated Comte de Brissac, to act as domestic tutor to his son, Timoleon de Cosse. To this nobleman he had addressed a poetical tribute after the capture of Vercelli, an event which occurred in September, 1553; and to him also he dedicated his tragedy of Jepthes in the summer of 1554. The Comte, who seems not to have been insensible to this species of flattery, next year called the poet into Italy, where he himself presided over the French dominions, and charged him with the education of his son. Though much of his time had been spent amidst the tumults of war, the Marshal de Brissac was a man of a liberal mind, who, living in a state of princely magnificence, cultivated an acquaintance with the most eminent scholars. During his campaigns he had often been accompanied by men of learning, and had the discernment to discover in the preceptor of his son, powers of mind equal to any station in society. He therefore treated him with the utmost deference, often placing him at the council board among his principal officers, and on the most important occasions thought it no discredit to take the benefit of his superior sagacity. When committed to the tuition of Buchanan, Timoleon de Cosse was only twelve years of age, and he parted with him at the age of seventeen. He was afterwards distinguished for his bravery, for his acquaintance with military science, and his literary attainments were such as reflected honour on a young nobleman destined for the profession of arms. His short but brilliant career terminated at the siege of Mucidan, where he fell by a musket ball, aged only twenty-six years. During the five years of his connexion with this illustrious family, Buchanan's residence was alternately in France and Italy, and as his pupil was destined to the profession of arms, and had different masters to attend him, he found leisure for prosecuting his poetical studies, and formed the design, and composed part of his philosophical poem *De Sphera*, which he addressed to his pupil. His future avocations prevented him from completing this poem. He likewise published the first specimen of his version of the Psalms, and his translation of the Alcestes of Euripides, which he inscribed to Margaret, daughter of Francis I., a munificent princess, afterwards married to the Duke of Savoy. His ode on the surrender of Calais was also composed while in Brissac's family. But much of his spare time was employed in a manner still more important—in examining the grounds of his religious belief, and settling to his own satisfaction the great question (that has ever since, more or less, agitated Europe) between the Romish and the reformed churches. That he had all along inclined to the side of the reformed, is indisputable; but he had never relinquished his connexion with the ancient church,

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which he had probably thought still right in the main, though disfigured and disgraced by the figments and the follies of an ignorant and corrupt priesthood. The result of this examination, however, was a perfect conviction that many of the Romish doctrines were erroneous; that the worship was idolatrous; and the discipline utterly depraved and perverted; and, consequently, that the necessity of separation from this church was imperative upon all who had any regard to the Word of God and the salvation of their own souls: and no sooner did he arrive in Scotland than he acted accordingly.

As Buchanan's connexion with the Marshal de Brissac terminated in 1560, when the civil wars in France had already begun, he probably returned immediately to Scotland, though the exact period has not been ascertained. He had courted, while he resided in France, the notice of Mary, by an Epithalamium on her marriage with the Dauphin; and in January, 1561-2, we find Randolph, the English ambassador, writing thus from Edinburgh to his employers: "Ther is with the quene [Mary] one called George Bowhanan a Scottishe man very well learned, that was Schollemaster unto Mons^r de Brissack's son, very Godlye and honest." And in a subsequent letter, dated from St. Andrews, he says, "the quene readeth daylie after her dinner, instructed by a learned man, Mr George Bowhanan, somewhat of Livy." Mary had been sent to France in the sixth year of her age, and her education had in some respects been carefully attended to. She spoke Scottish and French, as if both had been her vernacular tongue, which in some degree they might be said to be. With Italian and Spanish she was familiar, and she was so much a master of Latin as to compose and pronounce in that language, before a splendid auditory, a declamation against the opinion of those who would debar the sex from the liberal pursuits of science and literature. This oration she afterwards translated into French, but neither the translation nor the original has been published. Mary was at this time in the full bloom of youth and beauty, and to have such a pupil must have been highly gratifying to Buchanan, who, with all the leaders of the reformation in Scotland, was at first much attached to her. This attachment he took occasion to express in a highly finished copy of Latin verses, prefixed to his translation of the Psalms, which he had just finished, and sent to the press of his friend Henry Stephens. The exact date of the first full edition of this important work is not known, no date being on the title; but a second edition was printed in 1566, in which was included the author's tragedy of Jepthes. On the titlepage of both these impressions, Buchanan is styled *Poetarum nostri sæculi facile princeps*, and the paraphrase was recommended by copies of Greek verses by the printer, Henry Stephens, one of the first scholars of the age, by Franciscus Portus, and Fredricus Jamotius, and in Latin verses by Henry Stephens and Castlevetro. Mary must have been highly pleased by a compliment which carried her fame over all Europe, and as a reward for his services, bestowed upon her preceptor and poet, in 1564, the temporalities of the abbey of Crossraguell, vacant by the death of Quintin Kennedy, brother to Buchanan's former pupil, the Earl of Cassillis. These temporalities were valued at five hundred pounds Scots a-year, and the poet seems to have held them till the day of his death. Mary's love of power, and her attachment to popery, soon, however, alienated the affections of her friends; and, aware that he held her favour by a precarious tenure, Buchanan sedulously cultivated the friendship of the leaders of the reformation, which was now become the first object of his solicitude. In the same year in which he was promoted to the temporalities of Crossraguell, he prepared for the press a collection of satires, "Fratres Fraterrimi," in which the fooleries and impurities of the popish church were treated with the keenest irony, and

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assailed with the most vehement invective. He also now put the finishing hand to his Franciscanus, which he published, with a dedication to his friend and patron, the Earl of Murray. Through the interest of this nobleman, Buchanan was nominated to be principal of St Leonard's college, St Andrews, in 1566. In November this year, his name appears as one of the auditors of the faculty questor's accounts in the university of St Andrew's, where he had now fixed his residence. The chamber which he occupied, as principal of St Leonard's, is now part of a private dwelling house, and is supposed to have undergone scarcely any transformation. The following inventory of its furniture, in 1544, has been preserved;—"Twa standard beds, the foreside of aik and the northside and the fuits of fir—Item ane feather bed and ane white plaid of four ells and ane covering woven o'er with images—Item another auld bed of harden filled with straw with ane covering of green—Item ane cod—Item ane inrower of buckrum of five breeds part green part red to zaillow—Item ane Hunters counter of the middlin kind—Item ane little buird for the studzie—Item ane furm of fir and ane little letterin of aik on the side of the bed with ane image of St Jerom—Item ane stool of elm with ane other chair of little pine—Item ane chimney weighing * * *—Item ane chandler weighing * * *." In 1566, and the two ensuing years, he was one of the four electors of the rector, and by each of the three officers who were successively chosen was nominated a prorector; and in the public register he is denominated by the honourable title which, in publishing his Psalms, Stephanus had bestowed on him. As principal of the college, he delivered occasional prelections on theology, as well as at the weekly meetings of the clergy and other learned men of the district, held for expounding the Scriptures, then styled the exercise of prophesying, and in the general assembly of the Scottish church he sat as a doctor from the year 1563 to 1567, in which last year he had the honour of being chosen moderator. This same year he published another collection, consisting of Elegiæ Silvæ Hendecasyllabi, to which was prefixed an epistle to his friend Peter Daniel, the learned editor of Virgil, with the commentary of Servius, in which he gives several notices respecting his avocations, and especially respecting his poetical works. "Between the occupations of a court, and the annoyance of disease, I have hardly," he remarks, "been able to steal any portion of time which I could devote to my friends or to myself, and I have therefore been prevented from maintaining a frequent correspondence with them, and from collecting my poems which lie so widely dispersed. For my own part I was not extremely solicitous to recall them from perdition, for the subjects are generally of a trivial nature, and such as at this period of life are at once calculated to inspire me with disgust and shame. But as Pierre Montauré, and some other friends, to whom I neither can nor ought to refuse any request, demanded them with such earnestness, I have employed some of my leisure hours in collecting a portion, and placing it in a state of arrangement. With this specimen, which consists of one book of elegies, another of miscellanies, and a third of hendecasyllables, I in the meantime present you. When it shall suit your convenience, I beg you will communicate them to Montauré, des Mesmes, and other philological friends, without whose advice I trust you will not adopt any measure relative to their publication. In a short time I propose sending a book of iambics, another of epigrams, another of odes, and perhaps some other pieces of a similar description. All these I wish to be at the disposal of my friends, as I have finally determined to rely more on their judgment than on my own. In my paraphrase of the Psalms, I have corrected many typographical errors, and have likewise made various alterations. I must therefore request you to advise our friend Stephanus not to publish a new edition without my knowledge. Hitherto

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I have not found leisure to finish the second book of my poem *De Sphera*, and therefore I have not made a transcript of the first. As soon as the former are completed I shall transmit them to you. Salute in my name all our friends at Orleans, and such others as it may be convenient. Farewell. Edinburgh, July the twenty-fourth, 1566." The work, of course, met with his friend's approbation, and was printed in Paris by Robert Stephens in 1567, 12mo. We have already noticed that the poem *De Sphera* was never completed. From the above letter it appears that it was Buchanan's intention to return to it when he should have finished some others that were in a greater state of forwardness, and did not require such a full command of his time as a work of greater magnitude. Circumstances, however, soon put a period to these peaceful and pleasing pursuits.

The marriage of Mary and Darnley, the murders of Rizzio and Darnley, the union between the Queen and Bothwell, the flight of the latter, Mary's surrender to the confederated lords, her imprisonment in Lochleven castle, and her escape from it, the defeat of her army at Langside, and her escape into England, are the events best known of any in Scottish history, and it is needless here to enlarge upon them. When Elizabeth thought fit to appoint commissioners, and call witnesses from Scotland for the purpose of substantiating the charges upon which Mary had been expelled from the throne, the main burden of the proof was devolved upon Buchanan, who had accepted favours from the Queen, indeed, but did not on that account either decline the task of becoming her accuser, or perform it with the less severity. He accordingly accompanied the Regent Murray into England upon that occasion, having composed in Latin a Detection of Mary's actions, which was laid before the commissioners at Westminster, and was afterwards most industriously circulated by the English court. To the same pen has also been ascribed the *Actio contra Mariam Scotorum Reginam*, a coarse and scurrilous invective, which was printed in England along with the Detection, but of which no man capable of reading Buchanan's works will believe that he ever composed one line. "The Detection," says an eminent historian, "is a concise historical deduction of facts, a rapid narrative written with that chaste and classical precision of thought and language by which each sentence acquires an appropriate idea distinct from the preceding, neither anticipated, repeated, nor intermixed with others; and the style is so strictly historical that the work is incorporated in Buchanan's history almost without alteration. But the Action against Mary is a dull declamation and a malignant invective, written in professed imitation of the ancient orators, whom Buchanan has never imitated, without arrangement of parts, coherence, or a regular train of ideas, and without a single passage which Buchanan in his history has deigned to transcribe." The assassination of the Regent Murray soon after his return from England, threw the nation into a still deeper ferment, and Buchanan, strongly suspicious of the selfish policy of the Hamiltons, which he regarded as the principal source of the calamities that now afflicted the nation, addressed "Ane admonition direct to the true lordis maintainirs of the kingis graces authorite," in which he earnestly adjured them to protect the young king and the children of the late regent from the perils that seemed to impend over them. The same year he composed a satirical delineation of the character of the secretary Lethington, entitled, Chameleon, which, through the vigilance of the secretary, was prevented from being published at the time. A copy, however, was preserved among the Cotton MSS. dated 1570, and it was printed at London, in 1710, in the Miscellanea Scotica. It has been often reprinted since. These two pieces appear to be all that he ever composed in his vernacular tongue, and they are of such excellence as to make it matter of regret that he did not turn his attention

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oftener to the cultivation of his native language. As the hopes of the protestant party were entirely centred in King James, Buchanan was, in 1570, selected by the lords of the privy council, and others of the nobility, assembled on occasion of the slaughter of the regent Murray, to take the superintendence of that important matter, the education of the royal youth. On this occasion he "compeared personally in presence of the said lords of the council, nobility, and others of the estates, and at their desire, and of his own free will and proper motive, demitted and gave over his charge and place of master of the said college, (St Leonards,) in the favours of his well-beloved Master Patrick Adamson, and no otherwise."[1]

Buchanan commenced his new duties with ardour; and the very respectable scholarship which his pupil exhibited in after life, shows that so far he executed his task with great success. James had been committed, during his infancy, to the charge of the Earl of Mar, a nobleman of the most unblemished integrity, and he was now in the fourth year of his age. His governor was Sir Alexander Erskine, brother to the Earl of Mar, "a gallant well-natured gentleman, loved and honoured by all men." The preceptors associated with Buchanan were Mr Peter Young, and the abbots of Cambuskenneth and Dryburgh, both of them related to the family of Mar. Young was a man of a mild disposition, respectable both for his talents and learning; and he discharged his office with a prudent attention to his future interests. Recollecting that his pupil was soon to be the sole dispenser of public favour, he was careful to secure his good graces, and of course was afterwards employed in several political transactions of considerable importance, obtained the honour of knighthood, and an annual pension of considerable amount. The two abbots, also, were wise and modest, according to Sir James Melville, but the Lady Mar was wise and sharp, and held the king in great awe, and so did Mr George Buchanan. "But Mr George," Melville adds, "was a Stoic philosopher, who looked not far beforehand; a man of notable endowments for his learning and knowledge of Latin poesy; much honoured in other countries; pleasant in conversation, rehearsing at all occasions moralities short and instructive, whereof he had abundance, inventing when he wanted." The austere spirit of Buchanan was not to be swayed by considerations of self-interest. Called in his old age to the discharge of this task, he seems to have performed it with an entire disregard of personal consequences. The result was, as we have said, that he certainly succeeded in beating a respectable degree of scholarship into his royal pupil, but left James's mind untinged with any respect or affection for his instructor. On the contrary, the king long remembered him with a feeling of horror, and used to say of one of his English courtiers, in the latter part of his life, that he never could help trembling at his approach, he reminded him so strongly of his pedagogue. Concerning Buchanan's treatment of his royal pupil there are preserved more anecdotes than in reference to any other period of his life; which, if we are to believe them, show that he neither spared castigation nor reproach. The Master of Erskine, who was the prince's playmate, had a tame sparrow, possession of which was coveted by James, and ineffectually entreated from the owner. James had recourse to violence in order to obtain what he desired, and the one boy pulled and the other held till the poor sparrow was killed in the struggle. The loss of his little favourite caused the

[1] This is supposed to have been Mr Patrick Adamson, afterwards archbishop of St Andrews, but it does not appear from the records of the university that he ever entered upon his new functions. If we may credit Dr Mackenzie, Adamson was at this time, or at least shortly after it, in France, whence he did not return till after the Bartholomew massacre. This nomination, therefore, was probably made in his absence, and before he could order his affairs abroad and be ready to enter upon his office, other arrangements might have become necessary.

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Master of Erskine to shed tears, and make, as is usual in such cases, a lusty outcry. This brought the matter under the notice of Buchanan, who, Mackenzie says, "gave the king a box on the ear, and told him that what he had done was like a true bird of the bloody nest of which he had come." A more pleasing anecdote is thus related by Dr Irving:—"One of the earliest propensities which he [James] discovered, was an excessive attachment to favourites; and this weakness, which ought to have been abandoned with the other characteristics of childhood, continued to retain its ascendancy during every stage of his life. His facility in complying with every request alarmed the prophetic sagacity of Buchanan. On the authority of the poet's nephew, Chytræus has recorded a ludicrous expedient which he adopted for the purpose of correcting his pupil's conduct. He presented the young king with two papers which he requested him to sign; and James, after having slightly interrogated him concerning their contents, readily appended his signature to each, without the precaution of even a cursory perusal. One of them was a formal transference of the regal authority for the term of fifteen days. Having quitted the royal presence, one of the courtiers accosted him with his usual salutation: but to this astonished nobleman he announced himself in the new character of a sovereign; and with that happy urbanity of humour, for which he was so distinguished, he began to assume the high demeanor of royalty. He afterwards preserved the same deportment towards the king himself; and when James expressed his amazement at such extraordinary conduct, Buchanan admonished him of his having resigned the crown. This reply did not tend to lessen the monarch's surprise; for he now began to suspect his preceptor of mental derangement. Buchanan then produced the instrument by which he was formally invested; and, with the authority of a tutor, proceeded to remind him of the absurdity of assenting to petitions in so rash a manner."

When nominated the king's preceptor, Buchanan was also appointed director of the chancery; but this he does not appear to have long held. The same year he was made keeper of the privy seal in the room of John, afterwards lord, Maitland, who was deprived for his adherence to the queen. This office, both honourable and lucrative, and which entitled him to a seat in parliament, he held for several years. In April, 1578, he nominally resigned it in favour of his nephew, Thomas, son of Alexander Buchanan of Sleat; but this seems to have been done only to secure the reversion, for, in the following June and July, he continued to vote in parliament, and, so late as 1580, was addressed by his foreign correspondents as preceptor and counsellor to king James. In the management of public affairs Buchanan seems to have taken a lively interest, and to have been equally consulted as a politician and a scholar. Accordingly, in 1578, we find him forming one of a numerous commission, among whom was another poet and scholar, archbishop Adamson, appointed to examine and digest the existing laws; a most desirable object, but one that from its difficulty was never carried fully into effect. He was also included in two commissions for the improvement of education. The first was to rectify an inconvenience arising from the use of different grammars in the schools. Of the committee appointed for this purpose, Buchanan was president, and the other members were Messrs Peter Young, Andrew Sympson, and James Carmichael. They met in Stirling palace, and were entertained during the continuance of their labours at the charge of the king. Having declared all the grammars in use defective, they resolved that three of their number should compile a new one. To Sympson were assigned the rudiments; to Carmichael what is improperly termed etymology; and to Buchanan the department of prosody. Their respective tracts were committed to the press, and authorized by an order of the king and council; but they con-

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tinued to be standards of instruction for a very short time, and have long been utterly forgotten. The second commission to which we have referred, was appointed by the parliament of 1578, to visit the colleges, to reform such things as tended to popery, to displace unqualified persons, and to establish such persons therein as they should judge fit for the education of youth. The university of St Andrews was the subject of the first experiment. Having found many things to alter and redress, the commissioners prepared a scheme of reformation, which was ratified by parliament. This document, written in the Scottish tongue by George Buchanan, is still preserved. The plan of improvement is skilfully delineated, and evidently pre-supposes that there was no want of learned men in the nation, but it was never carried into effect.

With the regents Murray, Lennox, and Mar, Buchanan was cordially united; but Morton in the end forfeited his good-will by the plans of self-aggrandisement which he so sedulously pursued;[1] and it was principally by his advice and that of Sir Alexander Erskine that Morton was deposed, and the reins of government put into the king's hands, though he was yet only in his twelfth year. He was of course a member of the privy council appointed for the young monarch, but seems to have been displaced on Morton's return to power; and we are uncertain if he ever again held any political office. It is probably to this short period of political influence that we are to ascribe the following anecdote of Buchanan, related by Dr Gilbert Stuart in his Observations concerning the Public Law and the Constitutional History of Scotland:—"In feudal times," that writer observes, "when the sovereign upon his advancement to the royalty was to swear fidelity to his subjects, and to pay homage to the laws, he delivered his naked sword into the hands of the high constable. 'Use this in my defence,' said he, 'while I support the interests of my people; use it to my destruction when I forsake them.' In allusion to this form, Buchanan made a naked sword to be represented on the money coined in the minority of James VI., with these words, *Pro me; si mereor, in me.*"

A list of twenty-four Scotsmen has been preserved, whom, on the king's assuming the reins of government, Elizabeth thought it necessary to attach to her interest by pensions, and among these Buchanan stands at £100 per year; no contemptible sum in those days, and the same that was assigned to some of the first nobles of the land. There is no evidence that he ever received this gratuity, or that it was offered to him. Mackenzie, however, states it as a certainty, and adds, that the composition of his "De Jure Regni apud Scotos," was the grateful service he performed in return,—an assertion not likely, considering that the doctrines of this book were not very consonant to the views of that high minded princess. The "De Jure" was composed principally with a view to instruct his royal pupil in what belonged to his office.

In 1576, he prepared his Baptistes, and dedicated it to the young king, with a freedom of sentiment bordering upon disrespect, which is to be regretted, because if his lessons had been conveyed in a less dictatorial manner, there would have been more likelihood of their being attended with advantage. "This trifle may seem," he says, "to have a more important reference to you, because it clearly discloses the punishment of tyrants, and the misery which awaits them even when their prosperity is at the highest. Such knowledge I consider it not only expe-

[1] Sir James Melville assigns a different, and perhaps equally powerful, reason for Buchanan's disagreement with Morton: "He became the Earl of Morton's great enemy, for that a nag of his chanced to be taken from his servant, during the civil troubles, and was bought by the Regent, who had no will to part with the said horse, because he was sure-footed and easy; but because he would not part with him, from being the Regent's great friend, he became his mortal enemy, and from that time forth spoke evil of him at all times and upon all occasions."

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dient but necessary that you should acquire, in order that you may early begin to hate what you ought always to shun; and I wish this work to remain as a witness to posterity, that if impelled by evil councillors, or suffering the licentiousness of royalty to prevail over a virtuous education, you should hereafter be guilty of any improper conduct, the fault may be imputed not to your preceptors, but to you who have not obeyed their salutary admonitions." Three years after, in 1579, he published the above-mentioned compendium of political Philosophy, the professed object of which is to delineate the rights of the Scottish crown. The origin of the work, which is sufficiently remote from that assigned by Mackenzie, is fully detailed in the dedication to the king, which is of so peculiar a character, that it would be unpardonable to pass it over. "Several years ago," he begins, "when our affairs were in a most turbulent condition, I composed a dialogue on the prerogatives of the Scottish crown, in which I endeavoured to explain, from their very cradle, if I may adopt that expression, the reciprocal rights and privileges of kings and their subjects. Although the work seemed to be of some immediate utility, by silencing certain individuals, who, with importunate clamours, rather inveighed against the existing state of things, than examined what was conformable to the standard of reason, yet in consequence of returning tranquillity, I willingly consecrated my arms to public concord. But having lately met with this disputation among my papers, and supposed it to contain many precepts necessary for your tender age, (especially as it is so conspicuously elevated in the scale of human affairs,) I have deemed its publication expedient, that it may at once testify my zeal for your service, and admonish you of your duty to the community. Many circumstances tend to convince me, that my present exertions will not prove fruitless, especially your age yet uncorrupted by perverse opinions, a disposition above your years spontaneously urging you to every noble pursuit, a facility in obeying not only your preceptors, but all prudent monitors; a judgment and dexterity in disquisition which prevents you from paying much regard to authority, unless it be confirmed by solid argument. I likewise perceive that by a kind of natural instinct you so abhor flattery, the nurse of tyranny, and the most grievous pest of a legitimate monarchy, that you as heartily hate the courtly solecisms and barbarisms, as they are relished and affected by those who consider themselves as the arbiters of every elegance, and who, by way of seasoning their conversation, are perpetually sprinkling it with majesties, lordships, excellencies, and if possible with expressions still more putid. Although the bounty of nature, and the instruction of your governors, may at present secure you against this error, yet am I compelled to entertain some slight degree of suspicion, least evil communication, the alluring nurse of the vices, should lend an unhappy impulse to your still tender mind, especially as I am not ignorant with what facility the external senses yield to seduction. I have therefore sent you this treatise, not only as a monitor, but even as an importunate, and sometimes impudent dun, who in this turn of life may convey you beyond the rocks of adulation, and may not merely offer you advice, but confine you to the path which you have entered; and if you should chance to deviate, may reprehend you, and recall your steps. If you obey this monitor, you will insure tranquillity to yourself and to your subjects, and will transmit a brilliant reputation to the most remote posterity." The eagerness with which this work was sought after, by those of Buchanan's own principles on the Continent, is manifested by a letter from one of his correspondents. "Your dialogue de Jure Regni," says this epistle, "which you transmitted to me by Zolcher, the letter carrier of our friend Sturmius, I have received—a present which would be extremely agreeable to me, if the importunate entreaties of some persons did not prevent me from enjoying it; for the moment it was delivered into my hand, Dr

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Wilson requested the loan of it—he yielded it to the importunity of the chancellor, from whom the treasurer procured a perusal of it, and has not yet returned it; so that, to this day, it has never been in my custody."

Amidst multiplied labours Buchanan was now borne down with the load of years, aggravated by the encroachments of disease. His poetical studies seem now to have been entirely suspended, but his history of Scotland was unfinished, and was probably still receiving short additions or finishing touches. His life, too, at the request of his friends, he compiled when he had reached his 74th year, and his epistolary correspondence, which was at one time very extensive, was still continued with some of the friends of his earlier days. He had been long in the habit of writing annually, by some of the Bourdeaux merchants, to his old friend and colleague Vinetus, and one of these letters, written in March 1581, the year before his death, gives a not unpleasing picture of his state of feeling. "Upon receiving accounts of you," he says, "by the merchants who return from your courts, I am filled with delight, and seem to enjoy a kind of second youth, for I am there apprised, that some remnants of the Portuguese peregrinations still exist. As I have now attained to the 75th year of my age, I sometimes call to remembrance through what toils and inquietudes I have sailed past all those objects which men commonly regard as pleasing, and have at length struck upon that rock beyond which, as the ninetieth Psalm very truly avers, nothing remains but labour and sorrow. The only consolation that now awaits me, is to pause with delight on the recollection of my coeval friends, of whom you are almost the only one who still survives. Although you are not, as I presume, inferior to me in years, you are yet capable of benefiting your country by your exertion and counsel, and even of prolonging, by your learned compositions, your life to a future age. But I have long bade adieu to letters. It is now the only object of my solicitude, that I may remove with as little noise as possible from the society of my ill-assorted companions, that I who am already dead, may relinquish the fellowship of the living. In the meantime I transmit to you the youngest of my literary offspring, in order that when you discover it to be the drivelling child of age, you may be less anxious about its brothers. I understand that Henry Wardlaw, a young man of our nation, and the descendant of a good family, is prosecuting his studies in your seminary with no inconsiderable application. Although I am aware of your habitual politeness, and you are not ignorant that foreigners are peculiarly entitled to your attention, yet I am desirous he should find that our ancient familiarity recommends him to your favour." Thuanus, who had seen this epistle in the possession of the venerable old man to whom it was addressed, says it was written with a tremulous hand, but in a generous style.

The last of Buchanan's productions was his history of Scotland, which it is doubtful whether he lived to see ushered fairly into the world or not. By the following letter to Mr Randolph, dated at Stirling in the month of August, 1577, it would appear that this work was then in a state of great forwardness. "Maister, I haif resavit diverse letters from you, and yit I haif ansourit to naine of thayme, of the quhylke albiet I haif mony excusis, as age, forgetfulness, besines, and desease, yit I wyl use nane as now except my sweirness and your gentilness, and geif ye thynk nane of theise sufficient, content you with ane confession of the falt w'out fear of punnition to follow on my onkindness. As for the present, I am occupiit in wryting of our historie, being assurit to content few and to displease mony tharthrow. As to the end of it, yf ye gett it not or thys winter be passit, lippen not for it, nor nane other writyngs from me. The rest of my occupation is wyth the gout, quhylk haldis me busy bath day and nyt. And quhair ye say ye haif not lang to lyif, I truist to God to go before

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you, albeit I be on fut and ye ryd the post [Randolph was post master to the queen's grace of England] prayin you als not to dispost my host at Newerk, Jone of Kilsterne. Thys I pray you, partly for his awyne sake, quhame I tho' ane gude fellow, and partly at request of syk as I dare not refuse, and thus I take my leif shortly at you now, and my lang leif quhen God pleasis, committing you to the protection of the Almyty." By this letter it is evident that he expected to publish his history immediately. A long delay, however, took place, for when, in September 1581, he was visited by Andrew Melville, James Melville, and his cousin Thomas Buchanan, the work was only then printing. Of this visit, James Melville has left a most interesting account. "'That September in tyme of vacans, my uncle Mr Andro, Mr Thomas Buchanan, and I, heiring y' Mr George Buchanan was weak, and his historie under ye press, past ower to Edinbro annes earand to visit him and sie ye wark. When we cam to his chalmer we fand him sitting in his chairre teatching his young man that servit him in his chalmer to spel a, b, ab, e, b, eb, &c. After salutation, Mr Andro says, 'I sie, Sir, ye are not ydle.' 'Better,' quoth he, 'than stelling sheep or sitting ydle, whilk is als ill.' Yrefter he shew ws the epistle dedicatorie to the king, the quhylk when Mr Andro had read, he told him that it was obscure in some places, and wanted certain wordis to perfyt the sentence. Sayes he, 'I may do na mair for thinking on another matter.' 'What is that,' says Mr Andro. 'To die,' quoth he; 'but I leave that an mony ma things to you to help.' We went from him to the printer's wark hous, whom we fand at the end of the 17 buik of his chronicle, at a place quhilk we thought verie hard for the tyme, quhilk might be an occasion of steying the hail wark, anent the burial of Davie. Therefore steying the printer from proceeding, we cam to Mr George again, and fand him bedfast by [contrary to] his custome, and asking him whow he did, 'Even going the way of weilfare,' sayes he. Mr Thomas, his cousin, shaws him of the hardness of that part of his story, y' the king wald be offendit w' it, and it might stey all the wark. 'Tell me, man,' sayes he, 'if I have told the truth.' 'Yes,' says Mr Thomas, 'I think sa.' 'I will byd his feide and all his kin's, then,' quoth he. 'Pray, pray to God for me, and let him direct all. Sa be the printing of his chronicle was endit that maist learned, wyse, and Godlie man endit this mortal lyff."

The printing of the history must have gone on very slowly, for though it was printed as above, up to the seventeenth book, it was not finished till nearly a year after, the dedication to the king being dated August the twenty-ninth, 1582, only thirty days before the death of the author, which happened on Friday the 28th of September following, when he had reached the age of seventy-six years and eight months. He died in much peace, expressing his full reliance on the blood of Christ. He was buried in the Greyfriar's churchyard, a great multitude attending his funeral. A throughstone, with an inscription, is said to have marked his grave; but the inscription has long been invisible, and the existence of the stone itself appears to be more than doubtful. An obelisk has, by the gratitude of posterity, been reared to his memory in his native village Killearn. His death, like that of all men who live out the full term of human life, excited less emotion than might have been expected. Andrew Melville, who had often celebrated him while alive, discharged the last debt of lettered friendship in an elegant Latin poem; Joseph Scaliger also wrote an epitaph for him in terms of liberal and appropriate praise.

Buchanan was never married, and left, of course, no children to perpetuate his memory; and though he held latterly one of the great offices of state, and possessed other considerable sources of emolument, he acquired no great estates,

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and his whole property at his death consisted of £100, arrears due upon his pension of Crossragwell.

A story is told upon the authority of the Earl of Cromarty, who had it from his grandfather, Lord Invertyle, that Buchanan, on his death-bed, finding the money he had about him insufficient to defray the expenses of his funeral, sent his servant to divide it among the poor; adding, that if the city, meaning its authorities, did not choose to bury him, they might let him lie where he was, or throw his corpse where they pleased. This anecdote has been by some rejected as apocryphal; but there is no proof of its untruth, and it certainly does not startle us on account of any incongruity with Buchanan's character, which was severe, even to moroseness. He had passed through almost every vicissitude of human life, and, stern and inflexible, perhaps he had less sympathy with human frailty than the weaknesses of most men require. He was subject to that irritability of feeling which frequently attends exalted genius, but manifested at all times a noble generosity of spirit, which made him be regarded by his friends with a warmth of affection which mere intellectual eminence, though it were that of an archangel, could never inspire. By the general voice of the civilised world he held a pre-eminence in literature that seemed to render competition hopeless; but his estimate of his own attainments was consistent with the most perfect modesty, and no man was more ready to discover and acknowledge genuine merit in others. His brilliant wit and unaffected humour rendered his society highly acceptable to persons of the most opposite tastes and dispositions.

In 1584, only two years after the publication of the history, it was condemned along with De Jure Regni by the parliament of Scotland, and every person possessed of copies commanded to surrender them within forty days in order that they might be purged of the offensive and extraordinary matters which they contained.

We shall close this sketch of Buchanan's life with the concluding reflections of his learned biographer Dr Irving. "In his numerous writings," says the Doctor, "he discovers a vigorous and mature combination of talents which have seldom been found united in equal perfection. According to the common opinion, intellectual superiority is almost invariably circumscribed by one of the two grand partitions which philosophers have delineated; it is either founded on the predominancy of those capabilities which constitute what is termed the imagination, or of those which, in contradistinction, are denominated the understanding. These different powers of exertion, though certainly not incompatible with each other, are but rarely found to coalesce in equal maturity. Buchanan has, however, displayed them in the same high degree of perfection. To an imagination excursive and brilliant he unites an undeviating rectitude of judgment. His learning was at once elegant, various, and profound. Turnebus, who was associated with him in the same college, and whose decisions will not be rashly controverted, has characterised him as a man of consummate erudition. Most of the ancient writers had limited their aspiring hopes to one department of literature, and even to excel in one demand, the happy perseverance of a cultivated genius. Plato despaired of securing a reputation by his poetry. The poetical attempts of Cicero, though less contemptible perhaps than they are commonly represented, would not have been sufficient to transmit an illustrious name to future ages. Buchanan has not only attained to excellence in each species of composition, but in each species has displayed a variety of excellence. In philosophical dialogue and historical narrative, in lyric and didactic poetry, in elegy, epigram, and satire, he has never been equalled in modern, and hardly surpassed in ancient, times. A few Roman poets of the purest age have excelled him

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in their several provinces, but none of them has evinced the same capability of universal attainment. Horace and Livy wrote in the language they had learned from their mothers, but its very acquisition was to Buchanan the result of much youthful labour. Yet he writes with the purity and elegance of an ancient Roman. Unfettered by the classical restraints which shrivel the powers of an ordinary mind, he expatiates with all the characteristic energy of strong and original sentiment; he produces new combinations of fancy, and invests them with language equally polished and appropriate. His diction uniformly displays a happy vein of elegant and masculine simplicity, and is distinguished by that propriety and perspicuity which can only be attained by a man perfectly master of his ideas and of the language in which he writes.[1] The variety of his

1 It is probable that nineteen out of every twenty of the readers of these pages, are already aware of the great merit of Buchanan's poetry, without having ever seen or read a single line of it, either in its original, or in a translated form. I shall endeavour to correct this, by subjoining *translations* of three of his best small poems, executed by my esteemed friend, Mr Robert Hogg of Edinburgh, whose accurate taste and deep poetical sensibility are conspicuous in two articles already contributed by him to this work—Dr Blacklock and Michael Bruce. It will be observed, from these compositions, which present the ideas and spirit of the original with wonderful fidelity, how different a poet Buchanan must have been from the stiff and conceited rhymesters of his own age and country.

ON THE FIRST OF MAY.

All hail to thee, thou First of May,
Sacred to wonted sport and play,
To wine, and jest, and dance and song,
And mirth that lasts the whole day long.
Hail! of the seasons, honour bright,
Annual return of sweet delight;
Flower of reviving summer's reign,
That hastes to time's old age again!
When Spring's mild air, at Nature's birth,
First breathed upon the new-form'd earth;
Or when the fabled age of gold,
Without fixed law, spontaneous roll'd;
Such zephyrs, in continual gales,
Pass'd temperate along the vales,
And softened and refreshed the soil,
Not broken yet by human toil;
Such fruitful warmths perpetual rest
On the fair islands of the blest—
Those plains where fell disease's moan,
And frail old age are both unknown.
Such winds with gentle whispers spread,
Among the dwellings of the dead,
And shake the cypresses that grow
Where Lethe murmurs soft and slow
Perhaps when God at last in ire
Shall purify the world with fire,
And to mankind restore again
Times happy, void of sin and pain,
The beings of this earth beneath
Such pure etherial air shall breathe.
Hail! glory of the fleeting year!
Hail! day the fairest, happiest here!
Memorial of the time gone by,
And emblem of futurity!

ON NEÆRA.

My wreck of mind, and all my woes,
And all my ills that day arose,
When on the fair Neæra's eyes,
Like stars that shine
At first, with hapless fond surprise,
I gazed with mine.
When my glance met her searching glance,
A shivering o'er my body burst,

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poetical measures is immense, and to each species he imparts its peculiar grace and harmony. The style of his prose exhibits correspondent beauties; nor is it chequered by phraseologies, unsuitable in that mode of composition. His diction, whether in prose or verse, is not a tissue of centos; he imitates the ancients as the ancients imitated each other. No Latin poet of modern times has united the same originality and elegance; no historian has so completely imbibed the genius of antiquity, without being betrayed into servile and pedantic imitation. But his works may legitimately claim a higher order of merit, they have added no inconsiderable influx to the general stream of human knowledge. The wit, the pungency, the vehemence of his ecclesiastical satires, must have tended to

As light leaves in the greenwoods dance,
When western breezes stir them first;
My heart, forth from my breast to go,
And mix with hers, already wanting,
Now beat, now trembled to and fro,
With eager fondness leaping, panting.

Just as a boy, whose nourice woos him,
Folding his young limbs in her bosom,
Heeds not caresses from another,
But turns his eyes still to his mother,
When she may once regard him watches,
And forth his little fond arms stretches:
Just as a bird within the nest
That cannot fly, yet constant trying,
Its weak wings on its tender breast
Beats with the vain desire of flying.

Thou weary mind, thyself preparing
To live at peace from all ensnaring,
That thou might'st never mischief catch,
Placed'st you, unhappy eyes, to watch,
With vigilance that knew no rest,
Beside the gate-ways of the breast;
But you, induced by dalliance deep,
Or guile, or overcome by sleep;
Or else have of your own accord
Consented to betray your lord;
Both heart and soul, then fled and left
Me spiritless, of mind bereft.

A MORNING HYMN TO CHRIST.

Son of the highest Father thou,
And equal of the Father too;
Pure heavenly light of light divine,
Thy Father's might and powers are thine.
Lo, while retire the shades of night,
Aurora, with her purple light,
Illumines earth, and sea, and sky,
Disclosing what in darkness lie:
But shades of ignorance impure
My soul and all its powers obscure,
And fearful clouds of error blind
And almost overwhelm my mind:
Arise, O Sun! most pure, most bright!
The world irradiate with thy light;
Shine on my darkness, and dispel
The mists of sin that round me dwell:
Remove this fearful cold; impart
Unto the waste field of my heart,
From thine own lamp a warming ray
To purge each noxious damp away;
That so, by reason of thy love,
Watered with moisture from above,
The seed increase in grateful mould
An hundred and an hundred fold.

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foment the general flame of reformation; and his political speculations are evidently those of a man who had soared beyond the narrow limits of his age." All these remarks the reader will observe refer to the original Latin in which all the works of Buchanan, with the exception of the two which we have particularized, are written. The Dialogue has been frequently re-printed, and several times translated. Of the History, which was printed by Alexander Arbuthnot at Edinburgh, 1582, there have been published seventeen editions. It was translated into the Scottish language by John Reid, who, according to Calderwood's MS., was servitor to Mr George Buchanan. A MS. of this unpublished version is in the library of the university of Glasgow. Another unpublished version is in the British museum. In 1690, an English translation, with a portrait of the author, was printed in folio. This version has gone through five or six editions, and is to be frequently met with. It is a clumsy performance, and gives some such idea of Buchanan as a block from the quarry gives of the highly finished statue. A much better translation has recently appeared, from the pen of James Aikman, Esq. It is an honour yet awaiting some future scholar, to give to his unlettered countrymen to feel somewhat of the grace and strength that characterize the performances of George Buchanan.

BURNET, Gilbert, bishop of Salisbury, and an historian of great eminence, was born at Edinburgh on the 18th of September, 1643. His father was a younger brother of a family possessing considerable interest in the shire of Aberdeen, and was bred to the law, which he followed with great success. He was eminent for his probity, and his generosity was such that he never took a fee from the poor, nor from any clergyman, when he sued in the right of his church. In his morals he was strict, and his piety procured him the reproach of being a puritan; yet he was episcopal in his judgment, and adhered to the bishops and the rights of the crown with great constancy, and three several times he left the kingdom to avoid taking the covenant. On one of these occasions, he was an exile for several years, and though his return was latterly connived at, he was not permitted to resume the practice of the law, but lived in retirement upon his estate in the country till the Restoration, when he was promoted to be a lord of session. The mother of our author was not less conspicuous than his father, being a sister of Lord Warriston's, and, like him, a great admirer of the presbyterian discipline.

In consequence of his seclusion from business, Mr Burnet took the education of his son, in the early part of it, wholly upon himself, and he conducted it so successfully, that at the age of ten years, Gilbert was sufficiently acquainted with the Latin tongue, as to be entered a student in the college of Aberdeen, where he perfected himself in Greek, went through the common methods of the Aristotelian logic and philosophy, and took his degree of M. A. before he was fourteen. After this, much to the regret of his father, who had all along intended him for the church, he commenced the study of the law, both civil and feudal, in which he made very considerable progress. In the course of a year, however, he altered his resolution, and, agreeably to the will of his father, devoted himself wholly to the study of divinity, in which, with indefatigable diligence, studying commonly fourteen hours a day, he made a rapid progress, having gone through the Old and New Testaments, with all the commentaries then in repute, as well as some of the most approved systems of school divinity, before he was eighteen years of age; when having passed the usual routine of previous exercises, which at that time were nearly the same in the presbyterian and episcopalian churches, he was licensed as a probationer or preacher of the gospel. His father was about this time appointed a lord of session, and his cousin-german, Sir Alexander Burnet, gave him the presentation to an

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excellent benefice, which lay in the very centre of all his relations. He refused to accept of it, however, on account of his youth, notwithstanding the importunities of all his friends, his father excepted, who left him entirely to his own discretion. His father dying shortly after this, and one of his brothers (Robert) having become famous at the bar, his mother's relations eagerly desired him to return to his former studies, the law, in which they assured him of the most flattering encouragement; but he was immoveably fixed in his purpose of devoting his life to the service of the church. In this resolution he was greatly confirmed by the Rev. Mr Nairn, who at that time filled the Abbey church of Edinburgh, and took a deep interest in him. Mr Nairn was reckoned one of the most eloquent of the Scottish preachers, and afterwards became well known on the west of Scotland, as one of "Archbishop Leighton's Evangelists." He was remarkable in his discourses for accuracy of style, strength of reasoning, and lofty flights of imagination; yet he always preached extempore, considering the task of writing his discourses as a loss of time. Young Burnet was his great admirer, and learned from him to preach extemporaneously, which he did all his life with great ease, by allotting a part of every day to meditation on all sorts of subjects, speaking all his thoughts aloud, and studying to render his expressions fluent and correct. To Mr Nairn, also, he was indebted for his acquaintance with various celebrated works, particularly Dr More's works, the writings of Plato, and Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, by the principles of which he professed to be guided through life. In 1662 he became acquainted with bishop Leighton, who, conceiving a great affection for him, took a particular delight in overlooking his studies. Through this amiable divine, he became acquainted with the primitive writers, going through all the apologies of the fathers of the three first centuries, and Binnius' Collections of Councils, down to the second council of Nice. He had the good fortune, about this same time, to contract an intimacy with Mr Laurence Charteris, a man of great worth and gravity, who was not only a solid divine, but an eminent master of history, both ancient and modern, well acquainted with geography, and a profound mathematician, and who also took a deep interest in finishing the education of his young friend, which had been so happily begun, and so successfully carried on.

In 1663 Burnet made an excursion into England, taking Cambridge and Oxford in his way. At the first of these, he had the pleasure of being introduced to Drs Cudworth, Pearson, Burnet (author of the theory of the earth), and More. At the latter he met with great attention, particularly from Drs Fell and Pocock, on account of his ready knowledge of the fathers and ancient councils. Here he improved his mathematics by the instructions of Dr Wallis, who gave him a letter of introduction to that great philosopher and Christian, Mr Robert Boyle, at London. In London he was introduced to all the eminent divines of that period, Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Patrick Lloyd, Whitchcot, and Wilkins, all of whose characters he lived to draw in his history. Here also he had the advantage of the conversation of Sir Robert Murray, who introduced him into the first circles of society, acting at the same time the part of a faithful monitor, in pointing out to him those errors and indiscretions into which he was in danger of falling from his youth and inexperience.

After spending six months in this agreeable manner, he returned to his native country, where he was again pressed to enter into orders, and to accept of a charge in the west, which he could not be prevailed on to do. Hearing of his great fame, Sir Robert Fletcher of Salton, who had been acquainted with, and had received many obligations from his father at Paris, sent for him at this time to his country seat, and after hearing him preach, offered him that parish, the minister having just been nominated to one of the bishoprics.

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Burnet would have excused himself, as he intended travelling to the continent, and solicited the place for his friend Nairn; but Sir Robert would take no denial, being resolved to keep the place vacant till his return.

In 1664, the subject of this memoir went over to Holland, and after seeing what was most remarkable in the Seven Provinces, fixed his residence at Amsterdam, where, under the care of a learned Rabbin, he perfected himself in the Hebrew language. He also became acquainted here with the leading men of many different sects, among all of whom he declared he found so much real piety and virtue, that he became fixed in a strong principle of universal charity, and conceived an invincible abhorrence of all severities on account of differences in the profession or forms of religion. From Holland, by the way of the Netherlands, he passed into France, where, at Paris, he had the pleasure of conversing frequently with Daillé and Morus, the two protestant ministers of Charenton, the former renowned for his learning and judgment, the latter for shining abilities and unrivalled eloquence. His stay in France was prolonged on account of the kindness with which he was treated by Lord Hollis, then ambassador at the French court. Towards the end of the year, however, he returned to Scotland by the way of London, where, by the president, Sir Robert Murray, he was introduced as a member of the Royal Society. On arriving at Edinburgh he was waited upon by Sir Robert Fletcher, who carried him down to Salton, and presented him to the parish, which he declined taking absolutely, till he should have the joint request of all the parishioners. This he very soon obtained without one single exception, and was ordained a priest by the bishop of Edinburgh in the year 1665. At Salton he remained for five years, a bright example of what parish ministers ought to be. He preached twice every Sabbath, and once through the week. He catechized three times a week, so as to examine every parishioner, old and young, three times in the compass of the year. He went round his parish, from house to house, instructing, reproving, or comforting the inmates, as occasion required. The sick he visited often twice a day. The sacrament he dispensed four times a year, and he personally instructed all such as gave notice that they intended to receive it. Of his stipend,[1] all that remained above his own necessary subsistence, he gave away in charity. On one occasion, a parishioner who had been in execution for debt, asked him for a little to help his present exigency; he inquired how much it would take to set him up again in his business, and on being told, ordered his servant to go and give him the money. "Sir," said his servant, probably piqued at his generosity, "it is all the money we have in the house." "It is well," was the reply; "go and pay it to the poor man. You do not know the pleasure there is in making a man glad." We need not wonder that such a man had the affections of his whole parish, even of the presbyterians, though he was then the only minister in Scotland who made use of the prayers in the liturgy of the church of England. No worth and no diligence on the part of individuals, however, can atone for or make up the defects of a wretched system; on the contrary, they often render these defects more apparent, and their consequences more pernicious. Few parishes in Scotland were filled in the manner that Salton was. Ignorant and profane persons had almost every where, through political interest, thrust themselves into the cure of souls, which, of course, they totally neglected, to the great offence of good men like Burnet, who drew up a memorial of the many abuses he observed among his brethren, which was highly

1 As minister of Salton, Burnet received in stipend from the laird of Salton, in 1665, £397 10s. Scots [equal to £33 2s. 6d. sterling,] together with 11 bolls, 2 pecks, 2 lippies, of wheat; 11 bolls, 2 pecks, 2 lippies of bear; and 22 bolls, 1 firlot, 1 peck, 3 lippies meal.—*Receipt, MSS. Adv. Lib. signed* "GILBERT BURNETT."

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resented by his superiors. In consequence of this, lest his conduct might be attributed to ambitious views, he sequestrated himself almost entirely from the public, and by hard study and too abstemious living threw himself into a fever, which had nearly proved fatal. He was soon after interrupted in his pious labours, by being called upon, by the new administration that was appointed in 1668, in which his friend Sir Robert Murray had a principal share, to give his advice for remedying the public disorders, which had been occasioned by the overthrow of the presbyterian constitution, and, along with it, the civil rights of the people. At his suggestion, the expedient of an indulgence to the presbyterians, under certain limitations, was adopted in the year 1669, by which it was hoped they would by degrees be brought to submit to the new order of things. He was at the same time employed to assist Leighton, now made archbishop of Glasgow, in bringing forward his scheme for an accommodation between the conflicting churches. In the course of his journeyings to the west, he was introduced to Anne, duchess of Hamilton, a very excellent woman, with a strong bias towards the presbyterians, which enabled her to influence in some degree the leaders of that body, and rendered her somewhat of a public character. At her house, the managers of the college of Glasgow had occasion to meet with the minister of Salton, and, the divinity chair being there vacant, he was unanimously elected to fill it. All this was unknown to Burnet till it was over, and he was again thrown into much difficulty, his friends insisting upon him to accept the invitation, and his parishioners that he should refuse it. Leighton, however, laid his commands upon him, which he considered as law, and he therefore removed to Glasgow in the year 1669.

Owing to the deplorable state of the church and nation, he encountered much trouble and many inconveniences in his new situation. His principal care, however, was to improve his pupils, to whom he seems to have devoted almost his whole time and attention. On the Mondays he made each of the students in his turn explain a head of divinity in Latin—propound a thesis from it, which he was to defend against his fellow-students, the professor concluding the exercise by deciding the point in a Latin oration. On Tuesdays, he prelected in Latin, purposing in eight years to embrace a complete system of divinity. On Wednesdays, he gave a lecture of an hour upon the gospel of Matthew. On Thursdays the exercise was alternate; one Thursday he expounded a Hebrew psalm, comparing it with the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and the English version; on the other, he explained some portion of the ritual and constitution of the primitive church. On Fridays he made each of his pupils, in course, preach a short sermon upon a text assigned, upon which he gave his own remarks in conclusion. This was the labour of the mornings. In the evenings, after prayers, he every day read them a portion of the Scriptures, on which he made a short discourse, after which he examined into the progress of their several studies, exhorting, encouraging, and directing them, as he found necessary. In order to keep up all these exercises, he was under the necessity of rising every morning at four o'clock, and it was ten before his preparations were completed for the labours of the day. During his vacations, he made frequent visits to Hamilton, where he was engaged by the duchess to examine and put in order the papers of her father and uncle, which led him to compile the memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton. The duke of Lauderdale, hearing he was employed upon this work, wrote for him to come up to London, promising him such information concerning the transactions of these times as he could furnish. He went to London, accordingly, and was received by Lauderdale with much kindness. But the impious manners of this nobleman were not agreeable to him, and he made no use of the confidence reposed in him, except to reconcile his grace to the duke

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of Hamilton, who had assignations given him on the revenues of the crown, in satisfaction of some old claims for which vouchers had been found by Burnet among the papers intrusted to his care, and in return the Duke of Hamilton engaged to concur with the measures of the court in the ensuing parliament.

Four of the Scottish bishoprics were at this time vacant, of which Burnet was offered his choice; but he foresaw that they would entangle him in difficulties, with little prospect of his being able to effect any thing good; so he utterly refused to accept any of them. In 1672, he prevented a breach between Lauderdale and the Duke of Hamilton, for which his country certainly owed him little thanks. About this time he published his Vindication of the authority, constitution, and laws of the church and state of Scotland, wherein he strenuously maintained the cause of Episcopacy, and the illegality of resistance merely on account of religion. This was by the court reckoned a most acceptable service. He was again courted to accept of a bishopric, with the promise of the first archbishopric that should become vacant; but he still persisted in refusing. In 1673, he went again to London, in order to obtain a license for publishing his Memoirs of the duke of Hamilton. He also entertained a resolution to have nothing further to do with the affairs of state, being satisfied that popery was now the prevailing interest at court, and that the sacramental test by which York, Clifford, and other papists had been excluded, was a mere artifice of Charles to obtain money to prosecute the Dutch war. On this occasion, he used much freedom both with the duke and duchess of Lauderdale; pointing out to them in strong terms, the errors they had fallen into, and the fatal effects that would accrue to themselves and to the whole nation. This, with his known intimacy with duke Hamilton, who was at the time a kind of feeble oppositionist, brought him into high credit, as possessed of great influence in Scotland, in consequence of which he was frequently consulted both by the King and the duke of York, to the latter of whom he introduced Dr Stillingfleet, and proposed a conference, in presence of his Royal Highness, with some of the Catholic priests, on the chief points of controversy between the Romanists and the Protestants, which must have been highly offensive to that bigoted prince. With the king he made no other use of the freedom allowed him than to attempt awakening him out of that lethargy of indolence and vice, in which he seemed to be wholly entranced, and to revive in him some sense of religion, an aim in which his self-love must have been very strong if he had any hopes of succeeding. The king made him a compliment, however, by naming him one of his chaplains. Having obtained a license for his Memoirs of the dukes of Hamilton, which was delayed that the king and some of his ministers might have the pleasure of reading them in MS.; he returned to Scotland, and finding the animosity between the dukes of Lauderdale and Hamilton no longer repressible, he retired to his station at Glasgow. The favour shown him at London awakened the jealousy and exposed him to the rage of a numerous class of courtiers. The schemes of the court having been in some instances thwarted by the parliament, Lauderdale threw the whole blame upon Burnet, whom he represented as the underhand instrument of all the opposition he had met with. This accusation drew him again to court in 1674. The king received him coldly, and ordered his name to be struck off the list of chaplains. Yet, at the entreaty of the duke of York, his majesty admitted him to an audience, to say what he could in his own defence, which having heard, he seemed satisfied, and ordered him home to Glasgow. From this the duke of York dissuaded him till his peace should be entirely made; otherwise, he assured him he could be thrown into prison, where he might be detained as long as the present party was in power. His Royal Highness at the same time exerted himself to have

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him reconciled with Lauderdale, but without effect. Dr Burnet had now no alternative but to resign his professorial chair, and seek a settlement in England, or by going back to Scotland, put himself in the power of his enemies. He did not long hesitate, and would have found at once a quiet settlement in London, had not the electors of the church he had in view been deterred from choosing him by a sharp message from the king. This, though at the time it had the aspect of a misfortune, he ever after spoke of as one of the happiest incidents of his life; as it at once set him free from the entanglements of a corrupt court, whose services he had been so far engaged in, that, without some such accident, he might never have escaped from them.

He had now an offer of the living of St Giles, Cripplegate, from the Dean and chapter of St Pauls. As he, however, had learned, that it was originally their intentions to bestow the living upon Dr Fuller, afterwards bishop of Gloucester, he thanked them for the offer, but declared himself not at liberty to accept it. Through the recommendation of Lord Hollis, he was next year appointed preacher to a Chapel by Sir Harbottle Grimston, master of the rolls, though the court sent first a bishop and afterward secretary Williamson to inform Harbottle that he was a preacher highly unacceptable to the king. In this chapel he remained nine years, during which time he was elected a lecturer at St Clements, and was one of the most admired preachers in town. In 1676, he printed an account of a conference which himself and Dr Stillingfleet held with Coleman and the principal of the Romish priests; and in 1679, appeared the first volume of his history of the Reformation, which procured him a vote of thanks from both houses of parliament, with a request that he would prosecute the work to its completion, without loss of time. Two years after this, he published the second volume, which met with the same general approbation as the first. Having at this time no parochial cure, Dr Burnet was not in the practice of visiting the sick, as a part of his regular calling; but he was always ready to attend those who requested his visits. Among these happened to be a lady, who had been criminally connected with John Wilmot earl of Rochester, and the manner in which the Dr conducted himself towards her, excited a strong desire in his lordship to see and converse with him. This led to a weekly meeting of Dr Burnet and Lord Rochester for a whole winter, which ended first in the conviction, and latterly it is to be hoped the conversion of that singular libertine. An account of the whole affair was published by Dr Burnet in 1681, which, Dr Johnson says, "the critic ought to read for its elegance, the philosopher for its arguments, and the saint for its piety." During the time of the inquiry into the popish plot, Charles seems to have been softened down considerably, and often sent for Dr Burnet, and consulted with him on the state of the nation. His Majesty made also another attempt to bring him over, by offering him the bishopric of Chichester, at that time vacant, provided he would come entirely into his interests; Burnet with an honesty, that we fear, is but too seldom practised, told the king, he knew the oaths that in such a case he must take: these he would observe religiously, but must be excused from giving any other engagements. He of course was not installed in the bishopric; but he embraced the opportunity of writing a letter to the king, which does him more real honour than if he had held in his single person, all the bishoprics in England. This letter, so full, so free, so faithful, and so affectionate, we regret that our limits forbid us to insert. We must also leave it to general history, to detail the endeavours he made to save the lives of Staley and the Lord Stafford, on occasion of the popish plot. By his conduct with regard to the exclusion of the Duke of York, and the scheme of a Prince Regent in lieu of that exclusion, he lost the favour of both parties, perhaps not unde-

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servedly. Yet, in 1682, when the administration was wholly in favour of the Duke of York, a promise was obtained from the king to bestow upon him the mastership of the Temple, which was likely to be immediately vacant; upon which he was again sent for by the king, and treated with extraordinary kindness. Burnet himself, however, waved the promise that had been made him, when he found that he was expected in return for the place, to break up correspondence with all those who had been his best friends. He felt himself at this time upon such dangerous ground, that he was afraid of all communication with either of the parties that at this time were agitating the public mind; and as an excuse for privacy, built a laboratory, and for a whole year amused himself with performing experiments in chemistry. He was at this time offered a living of three hundred pounds a year by the earl of Essex, upon condition that he would continue to reside in London. In case of having the cure of souls, however, Burnet thought residence an indispensable obligation, and the benefice was given to another. In 1683, he narrowly escaped being brought by his friends into trouble by the Ryehouse plot; and by his conducting the trial and attending on Lord William Russel in prison and on the scaffold, and particularly by defending his memory before the council, he incurred the odium of the court, which, from a certain knowledge of his integrity, could not fail at this time to be greatly afraid of him. In the course of this year, probably to be out of the way of his enemies, he went over to Paris, where he was treated with great deference, by the express orders of Louis XIV. Here, his friends, apprehensive of danger to him at home, wished him to remain; but as no consideration could induce him to be long absent from his charge, he of course returned in a short time. That same year, however, he was discharged from his lecture at St Clements, by a mandate from the king, and in March 1684, he was forbid preaching any more in the chapel at the rolls. Being thus happily disengaged from all his employments, at the death of Charles II. upon the accession of James VII. he requested, and obtained leave to quit the kingdom, and went to Paris, where he lived in great retirement, to avoid being involved in the conspiracies which the duke of Monmouth and the earl of Argyle were then forming against the government. When that business was at an end, he in company with an officer, a protestant in the French service, made the tour of Italy, and in 1684, came to Utrecht, where he found letters from some of the principal ministers of state at the Hague, requesting him to wait upon the prince and princess of Orange. As the Revolution in England was already in contemplation, Dr Burnet met from these personages a most gracious reception, and was soon admitted to an entire confidence. When Dyckvelt was sent over ambassador to England, with a view particularly to sound the inclinations of the people, his secret instructions were drawn up by Dr Burnet, of which the rough draught in his own hand writing is still preserved. James, in the meantime, was highly incensed against him for the reflections he had made on the richness of the catholic countries, through which he had passed, in an account of his travels recently published, which it was supposed had had a sensible effect upon the people of England. His majesty accordingly wrote two severe letters against him to the princess of Orange, and forbade his envoy at the Hague to transact any business with that court till Dr Burnet was forbidden to appear there. This to humour James was done; but Hallewyn Fogel and the rest of the Dutch ministers consulted with him privately every day. A prosecution for treason was now commenced against Dr Burnet in Scotland; but before this could be notified to the States, he had been naturalized with a view to his marriage with a Dutch lady; and in a letter in answer to the charges preferred against him, directed to the earl of Middleton, he stated that being now naturalized in Holland, his

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allegiance, during his stay there, was transferred from his majesty to the States, This expression was at once laid hold of, and dropping the former prosecution, they proceeded against him for these words, as guilty of high treason, and passed against him a sentence of outlawry. It was then demanded of the States to deliver him up, or to banish him; but as he had been naturalized, the States refused to proceed against him, unless he were legally convicted of some crime; which, if his majesty found himself capable of doing, they would punish him according to their law. To narrate the important part he performed in the revolution, would be to write the history of that great event. By the prince of Orange as well as by the friends of liberty in England, he was treated with unreserved confidence. He had a principal hand in drawing up the prince's declarations, as well as the other public papers written at the time to justify the undertaking. But for a particular account of these we must refer our readers to the history of England. At the Revolution, Dr Crew, bishop of Durham, having been on the high commission created by king James, offered to resign his bishopric to Dr Burnet, trusting to his generosity for one thousand a year for life out of the episcopal revenue; and sent the earl of Montague to the prince of Orange with the proposal; but when mentioned to Burnet he refused absolutely to have any thing to do with it on these terms, as he considered them highly criminal. He was shortly after promoted to the see of Salisbury. At the close of the Session of parliament 1689, Dr Burnet went down to his diocese, when he entered upon the duties of his episcopal office with that conscientious ardour which distinguished his character. His first pastoral letter, however, in which, to save betraying the discrepancies of his political creed, he founded king William's right to the throne upon conquest, gave so much offence to both houses of parliament, that they ordered it to be burnt by the hands of the hangman. He maintained, nevertheless, unshaken credit with king William and queen Mary to the end of their days; and employed that credit in the most praise-worthy manner. He was by the king, in preference to all his ministers, appointed to name the princess Sophia, Electress of Brunswick, next in succession to the princess of Denmark, and her issue, in the famous bill for declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, and settling the succession to the crown; and when that succession was explicitly established in 1701, he had the honour of being chairman of the committee to which the bill was referred. He had also the pleasure in 1690, of being a successful advocate for Lord Clarendon, who had engaged in a plot against the king, and been one of the Dr's bitterest enemies, at the time when popery and arbitrary power were in favour.

During the life of Mary, Dr Burnet being generally one of her advisers, the affairs of the church passed wholly through his hands. After her death, in 1694, a commission was granted for that purpose to the two archbishops and four prelates, of whom Dr Burnet was one. A commission of the same kind was granted in 1700, and the Doctor still continued a member. In 1698, he was appointed preceptor to the Duke of Gloucester, and, on that occasion, insisted on giving up his bishopric. King William, however, would not allow him to do so; but, in order to soothe him, made arrangements that he might be at hand, and still have it in his power to pay considerable attention to his diocese. In this high trust the bishop conducted himself so as to have the entire approbation of the princess of Denmark, who ever after retained a peculiar affection for him, of which he had many sensible tokens after she came to the throne; though in her last years he was in direct and open opposition to her measures. In the year 1699, he published his celebrated exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles, and a short time before his death, a third volume of his History of the Reforma-

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tion. In the month of March, 1715, he was attacked with a pleuritic fever, which carried him off, being in the seventy-second year of his age. He was married first to the Lady Margaret Kennedy, daughter to the Earl of Cassillis, celebrated for her beauty and her wit. Secondly, to Mrs Mary Scott, a Dutch lady of noble extraction and large fortune, by whom he had three sons. Thirdly, to Mrs Berkeley, a widow lady of singular talents and uncommon piety, by whom he had no issue. From the brief sketch which we have given of the principal events of his life, it is evident that Dr Burnet possessed a vigorous understanding, and was a man of great piety, and unwearied perseverance. Early prepossessions, however, which, vigorous as his understanding was, he evidently could not overcome, made him the dupe of a system antiscriptural and superstitious—a system which whatever it may seem to promise in theory, has in practice been found cumbersome and inefficient—a system which, while it provides for the pampering of a few of the privileged orders of the clergy, leaves all the rest, together with the great body of the people, to pine and perish in want, contempt, and ignorance. What man as a bishop could do, Dr Burnet, while bishop of Salisbury, appears to have done; but he was hampered on all hands by insurmountable abuses originally inherent, or growing naturally out of the legalised order of things. His consistorial court he found to have become a grievance both to clergy and laity, and he attended for years in person to correct it. But the true foundation of complaint he found to be the dilatory course of proceedings, and the exorbitant fees, which he had no authority to correct. He could not even discharge poor suitors who were oppressed with vexatious prosecutions, otherwise than by paying their fees out of his own pocket, which he frequently did, and this was all the reform he was able to accomplish. In admitting to orders, he met with so much ignorance and thoughtless levity, that for the benefit of the church he formed a nursery at Salisbury, under his own eye, for students of divinity, to the number of ten, to each of whom he allowed a sum of money out of his own income for his subsistence, and in this way he reared up several young men who became eminent in the church; but this was soon discovered to be a designed affront put upon the method of education followed at Oxford, and he was compelled to give it up. Pluralities he exclaimed against as sacrilegious robbery, and in his first visitation at Salisbury quoted St Bernard, who, being consulted by a priest, whether he might not accept of two benefices, replied, 'And how will you be able to serve them.' 'I intend,' said the priest, 'to officiate in one of them by deputy.' 'Will your deputy be damned for you too,' said the saint; 'believe me, you may serve your cure by proxy, but you must be damned in person.' This quotation so affected one of his hearers, Mr Kilsey, that he resigned the rectory of Bemerton, worth two hundred pounds a year, which he held along with one of still greater value. The bishop was, at the same time, from the poverty of the living, frequently under the necessity of joining two of them together to have them served at all, and sometimes he found it necessary to help the incumbent out of his own pocket into the bargain. These, with other evils, it must be admitted, the Doctor lost no opportunity to attempt having redressed, but alas! they were and are inherent in the system, without a reform in which, they admit of no cure. He travelled over his diocese which he found "ignorant to scandal," catechising and confirming with the zeal of an apostle; and when he attended his duty in parliament, he preached in some of the London churches every Sabbath morning, and in the evening lectured in his own house, where a number of persons of distinction attended. So much conscientious diligence, confined to a legitimate locality, could scarcely have failed to produce a rich harvest of gospel fruits. Scattered as it was over such a wide surface, there is reason to fear that it was in a great measure unpro-

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fitable. While Dr Burnet was a diligent instructor from the pulpit, he was not less so from the press, having published in his life-time fifty-eight single sermons, thirteen treatises or tracts on divinity, seventeen upon popery, twenty-six political and miscellaneous, and twenty-four historical and biographical, to which we may add the History of his Own Time, published since his death. Some of these, particularly the Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles, the History of the Reformation, and of his own times, still are, and must long continue to be, especially the latter, standard works. The History of his Own Time, it has been happily observed, has received the best testimony to its worth from its having given equal offence to the bigoted and interested of all parties. Take him all in all, perhaps no juster eulogium has been passed upon him than that of Wodrow, who, speaking of him as one of Leighton's preachers, calls him "Mr Gilbert Burnet, well known to the world since, first professor of Divinity at Glasgow, and after that persecuted, for his appearing against popery, and for the cause of liberty, and since the Revolution the learned and moderate bishop of Sarum, one of the great eye-sores of the high-fliers and tories of England, and a very great ornament to his native country."

BURNET, James, better known by his judicial designation of Lord Monboddo, was born at Monboddo, in Kincardineshire, in the year 1714. He was eldest surviving son of James Burnet, by Elizabeth Forbes, only sister to Sir Arthur Forbes of Craigievar, Baronet. For what reason is not known, but, instead of being sent to a public school, he was educated at home, under the care of Dr Francis Skene, afterwards professor of philosophy at the Marischal College, Aberdeen. This gentleman discharged his duty to his pupil with the utmost faithfulness, and succeeded in inspiring him with a taste for ancient literature. He was the first that introduced him to an acquaintance with the philosophy of the ancients, of which Mr Burnet became so enthusiastic an admirer. Dr Skene, being promoted to a professorship, was the more immediate cause of his pupil accompanying him to Aberdeen, and of his being educated at the Marischal College in that city. It is probable that he lodged with his preceptor, who of course would direct and superintend his studies. Dr Skene was a professor in that seminary for the long period of forty-one years, and was universally acknowledged to be one of the most diligent and laborious teachers that ever held the honourable office.

What contributed, in a great degree, to fix Mr Burnet's attention upon the literature and philosophy of the Greeks, was not only the instructions he had received at home from his tutor, but that, when he entered the university, Principal Blackwell had for several years been professor of Greek. This person was the great means of reviving the study of this noble language in the north of Scotland; and one of his greatest admirers, and zealous imitators in the prosecution of Grecian learning, was Mr Burnet. Esteeming the philosophical works transmitted to us by the Romans as only copies, or borrowed from the Greeks, he determined to have recourse to the fountain head. Burnet was naturally a man of very keen passions, of an independent tone of thinking, and whatever opinion he once espoused, he was neither ashamed nor afraid to avow it openly. He dreaded no consequences, neither did he regard the opinions of others. If he had the authority of Plato or Aristotle, he was quite satisfied, and, how paradoxical soever the sentiment might be, or contrary to what was popular or generally received, he did not in the least regard. Revolutions of various kinds were beginning to be introduced into the schools; but these he either neglected or despised. The Newtonian philosophy in particular had begun to attract attention, and public lecturers upon its leading doctrines had been established in almost all the British universities; but their very novelty was a sufficient reason

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for his neglecting them. The laws by which the material world is regulated, were considered by him as of vastly inferior importance to what regarded *mind*, and its diversified operations. To the contemplation of the latter, therefore, his chief study was directed.

Having been early designed for the Scottish bar, he wisely resolved to lay a good foundation, and to suffer nothing to interfere with what was now to be the main business of his life. To obtain eminence in the profession of the law, depends less upon contingencies, than in any of the other learned professions. Wealth, splendid connections, and circumstances merely casual, have brought forward many physicians and divines, who had nothing else to recommend them. But though these may be excellent subsidiaries, they are not sufficient of themselves to constitute a distinguished lawyer. Besides good natural abilities, the most severe application, and uncommon diligence in the acquisition of extensive legal knowledge, are absolutely necessary. At every step the neophyte is obliged to make trial of his strength with his opponents, and as the public are seldom in a mistake for any length of time, where their interests are materially concerned, his station is very soon fixed. The intimate connection that subsists between the civil or Roman law, and the law of Scotland, is well known. The one is founded upon the other. According to the custom of Scotland at that time, Burnet repaired to Holland, where the best masters in this study were then settled. At the university of Groningen he remained for three years, assiduously attending the lectures on the civil law. He then returned to his native country so perfectly accomplished as a civilian, that, during the course of a long life, his opinions on difficult points of this law were highly respected.

He happened to arrive in Edinburgh from Holland on the night of Porteous' mob. His lodgings were in the Lawnmarket, in the vicinity of the Tolbooth, and hearing a great noise in the street, from a motive of curiosity he sallied forth to witness the scene. Some person, however, had recognised him, and it was currently reported that he was one of the ringleaders. He was likely to have been put to some trouble on this account, had he not been able to prove that he had just arrived from abroad, and therefore could know nothing of what was in agitation. He was wont to relate with great spirit the circumstances that attended this singular transaction.

In 1737, he became a member of the Faculty of Advocates, and in process of time came into considerable practice. His chief patrons in early life, were lord justice clerk Milton, lord president Forbes, and Erskine lord Tinwald, or Alva. The last had been a professor in the university of Edinburgh, and being an excellent Greek scholar, knew how to estimate his talents.

During the rebellion of 1745, Burnet went to London, and prudently declining to take any part in the politics of that troublous period, he spent the time chiefly in the company and conversation of his literary friends. Among these were Thomson the poet, lord Littleton, and Dr Armstrong. When peace was restored, he returned to Scotland. About 1760, he married a beautiful and accomplished lady, Miss Farquharson, a relation of Marischal Keith, by whom he had a son and two daughters. What first brought him into very prominent notice, was the share he had in conducting the celebrated Douglas' cause. No question ever came before a court of law, which interested the public to a greater degree. In Scotland it became in a manner a national question, for the whole country was divided, and ranged on one side or the other. Mr Burnet was counsel for Mr Douglas, and went thrice to France to assist in leading the proof taken there. This he was well qualified to do, for, during his studies in Holland, he had acquired the practice of speaking the French language with great facility. Such interest did this cause excite, that the pleadings

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before the court of session lasted thirty-one days, and the most eminent lawyers were engaged. It is a curious historical fact, that almost all the lawyers on both sides were afterwards raised to the bench. Mr Burnet was, in 1764, made sheriff of his native county, and on the 12th February, 1767, through the interest of the Duke of Queensberry, lord justice general, he succeeded Lord Milton as a lord of session, under the title of Lord Monboddo. It is said that he refused a justiciary gown, being unwilling that his studies should be interrupted, during the vacation, by any additional engagements.

The first work which he published was on the Origin and Progress of Language. The first volume appeared in 1771, the second in 1773, and the third in 1776. This treatise attracted a great deal of attention on account of the singularity of some of the doctrines which it advanced. In the first part, he gives a very learned, elaborate, and abstruse account of the origin of ideas, according to the metaphysics of Plato and the commentators on Aristotle, philosophers to whose writings and theories he was devotedly attached. He then treats of the origin of human society and of language, which he considers as a human invention, without paying the least regard to the scriptural accounts. He represents men as having originally been, and continued for many ages to be, no better than beasts, and indeed in many respects worse; as destitute of speech, of reason, of conscience, of social affection, and of every thing that can confer dignity upon a creature, and possessed of nothing but external sense and memory, and a capacity of improvement. The system is not a new one, being borrowed from Lucretius, of whose account of it, Horace gives an exact abridgment in these lines:—"Cum prorepserunt primis animalia terris, mutum et turpe pecus," &c. which Lord Monboddo takes for his motto, and which, he said, comprehended in miniature the whole history of man. In regard to facts that make for his system he is amazingly credulous, but blind and sceptical in regard to every thing of an opposite tendency. He asserts with the utmost gravity and confidence, that the oran-outangs are of the human species—that in the bay of Bengal, there exists a nation of human creatures with tails, discovered one hundred and thirty years before by a Swedish skipper—that the beavers and sea-cats are social and political animals, though man, by nature, is neither social nor political, nor even rational—reason, reflection, a sense of right and wrong, society, policy, and even thought, being, in the human species, as much the effects of art, contrivance, and long experience, as writing, ship-building, or any other manufacture. Notwithstanding that the work contains these and many other strange and whimsical opinions, yet it discovers great acuteness of remark.

His greatest work, which he called "Ancient Metaphysics," consists of three volumes 4to., the last of which was published only a few weeks before the author's death. It may be considered as an exposition and defence of the Grecian philosophy in opposition to the philosophical system of Sir Isaac Newton, and the scepticism of modern metaphysicians, particularly Mr David Hume. His opinions upon many points coincide with those of Mr Harris, the author of Hermes, who was his intimate friend, and of whom he was a great admirer. He never seems to have understood, nor to have entered into the spirit of the Newtonian philosophy; and, as to Mr Hume, he, without any disguise, accuses him of atheism, and reprobates in the most severe terms some of his opinions.

In domestic circumstances Monboddo was particularly unfortunate. His wife, a very beautiful woman, died in child-bed. His son, a promising boy, in whose education he took great delight, was likewise snatched from his affections by a premature death; and his second daughter, in personal loveliness one of the first women of the age, was cut off by consumption, when only twenty-five years old.

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Burns, in an address to Edinburgh, thus celebrates the beauty and excellence of Miss Burnet:—

"Thy daughters bright thy walks adorn,
Gay as the gilded summer sky,
Sweet as the dewy milk-white thorn,
Dear as the raptured thrill of joy!

Fair Burnet strikes the adoring eye,
Heaven's beauties on my fancy shine;
I see the *Sire of love* on high,
And own his work indeed divine."

His eldest daughter was married to Kirkpatrick Williamson, Esq. late keeper of the outer house rolls, who had been clerk to his lordship, and was eminent as a Greek scholar.

About 1780, he first began to make an annual journey to London, which he continued for a good many years, indeed, till he was upwards of eighty years of age. As a carriage was not a vehicle in use among the ancients, he determined never to enter and be seated in what he termed a box. He esteemed it as degrading to the dignity of human nature to be dragged at the tails of horses instead of being mounted on their backs. In his journeys between Edinburgh and London he therefore rode on horseback, attended by a single servant. On his last visit, he was taken ill on the road, and it was with difficulty that Sir Hector Monroe prevailed upon him to come into his carriage. He set out, however, next day on horseback, and arrived safe in Edinburgh by slow journeys.

Lord Monboddo being in London in 1785, visited the King's bench, when some part of the fixtures of the place giving way, a great scatter took place among the lawyers, and the very judges themselves rushed towards the door. Monboddo, somewhat near-sighted, and rather dull of hearing, sat still, and was the only man who did so. Being asked why he had not bestirred himself to avoid the ruin, he coolly answered, that he "thought it was an annual ceremony, with which, being an alien, he had nothing to do."

When in the country he generally dressed in the style of a plain farmer; and lived among his tenants with the utmost familiarity, and treated them with great kindness. He used much the exercises of walking in the open air, and of riding. He had accustomed himself to the use of the cold bath in all seasons, and amid every severity of the weather. It is said that he even made use of the air bath, or occasionally walking about for some minutes naked in a room filled with fresh and cool air. In imitation of the ancients, the practice of *anointing* was not forgotten. The lotion he used was not the oil of the ancients, but a saponacious liquid compound of rose water, olive oil, saline aromatic spirit, and Venice soap, which, when well mixed, resembles cream. This he applied at bed-time, before a large fire, after coming from the warm bath.

This learned and ingenious, though somewhat eccentric, man died upon the 26th May, 1799, at the advanced age of eighty-five years.

BURNS, Robert, a celebrated poet, was born January 25, 1759; died July 22, 1796. Of this illustrious genius I originally intended to have compiled an account, from the materials that have been already published, adding such new facts as have come in my way. But, having been much struck with the felicity of a narrative written by the unfortunate Robert Heron—which nearly answers my purpose as to length, and contains many fresh and striking views of the various situations in which the poet was placed in life, together with, what appears to me, a comprehensive and most eloquent estimate of his genius—I have been induced to prefer it to anything of my own. By this course I shall revive a very rare and interesting composition, which is often quoted, but seldom seen,

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and present to the reader, not only an uncommonly clear view of the life and character of Burns, but also a specimen of the animated and nervous, though somewhat turgid, style of Heron, whose literary history is scarcely less remarkable than that of the Ayrshire bard. The reader will find the text occasionally corrected and illustrated by notes, as also a short poetical relique of Burns, which as yet has never appeared in the editions of his works.

Robert Burns was a native of Ayrshire, one of the western counties of Scotland.[1] He was the son of humble parents; and his father passed through life in the condition of a hired labourer, or of a small farmer.[2] Even in this situation, however, it was not hard for him to send his children to the parish school, to receive the ordinary instructions in reading, writing, arithmetic, and the principles of religion. By this course of education, young Robert profited to a degree that might have encouraged his friends to destine him to one of the liberal professions, had not his father's poverty made it necessary to remove him from school, as soon as he had grown up, to earn for himself the means of support, as a hired plough-boy, or shepherd.[3]

The establishment of parish schools, but for which, perhaps, the infant energies of this young genius might never have received that first impulse, by which alone they were to be excited into action, is one of the most beneficial that have ever been instituted in this country; and one which, I believe, is no where so firmly fixed, or extended so completely throughout a whole kingdom, as in Scotland. Here, every parish has a schoolmaster, almost as invariably as it has a clergyman. For a sum, rarely exceeding twenty pounds, in salary and fees, this person instructs the children of the parish in reading, writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, Latin, and Greek. The schoolmasters are generally students in philosophy or theology; and hence, the establishment of the parish schools, beside its direct utilities, possesses also the accidental advantage of furnishing an excellent school of future candidates for the office of parochial clergymen. So small are the fees for teaching, that no parents, however poor, can want the means to give their children, at least such education at school, as young Burns received. From the spring labours of a plough-boy, from the summer employment of a

[1] He was born in a clay-built cottage, about two miles to the south of the town of Ayr, within the abrogated parish of Alloway, and in the immediate vicinity of the ruined church of that parish, which he has immortalized in his *Tam o' Shanter*.

[2] His father, William Burness—for so he always spelt his name—was the son of a farmer in Kincardineshire, and had removed from that county to Ayrshire, at nineteen years of age, in consequence of domestic embarrassments. Some collateral relations of Burns fill a respectable station in society at Montrose. William Burness was one of those intelligent, thoughtful, and virtuous characters who have contributed to raise the reputation of the Scottish peasantry to its present lofty height. From him the poet derived an immense store of knowledge, an habitual feeling of piety, and, what will astonish most of all, great acquaintance with the world and the ways of mankind. After supporting himself for some years as gardener to Mr Ferguson of Doonholm, the father took a small farm (Mount Oliphant) from that gentleman, to which he removed when the poet was between six and seven years of age. He subsequently removed to the farm of Lochlea, in the parish of Tarbolton, where he died, in 1784, in very embarrassed circumstances.

The mother of Burns was Agnes Brown, the daughter of a race of Ayrshire peasants. She survived her son about thirty years, and died at an advanced age.

[3] The circumstances of Burns' education are well known: he learned English, writing, arithmetic, a little mathematics, some Latin, and a smattering of French. He had contrived in his early years to obtain a perusal of many English classical works, and some translations of the ancient poets. The first book which he read was the Man of Feeling, by Mackenzie; of which work he used to say he had worn out two copies, by carrying it in his pocket.—*See a life of Burns in Scots Magazine*, 1797. His favourite books, at a very early period, were a Life of Hannibal, and the well-known paraphrase of Blind Harry's Life of Wallace, by Hamilton of Gilbertfield—the latter had certainly helped to give a strongly national bent to his mind.

The statement in the text as to his having become a hired plough-boy, does not receive confirmation from any other source, and is probably incorrect.

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shepherd, the peasant youth often returns, for a few months, eagerly to pursue his education at the parish school.

It was so with Burns; he returned from labour to learning, and from learning went again to labour, till his mind began to open to the charms of taste and knowledge; till he began to feel a passion for books, and for the subjects of books, which was to give a colour to the whole thread of his future life. On nature he soon began to gaze with new discernment, and with new enthusiasm: his mind's eye opened to perceive affecting beauty and sublimity, where, by the mere gross peasant there was nought to be seen but water, earth, and sky, but animals, plants, and soil; even as the eyes of the servant of Elisha were suddenly enlightened to behold his master and himself guarded from the Syrian bands, by horses and chariots of fire, to all but themselves invisible.

What might, perhaps, first contribute to dispose his mind to poetical efforts, is one particular in the devotional piety of the Scottish peasantry; it is still common for them to make their children get by heart the Psalms of David, in that version of homely rhymes, which is used in their churches. In the morning, and in the evening of every day; or, at least in the evening of every Saturday and Sunday, these psalms are sung in solemn family-devotion, a chapter of the Bible is read, and extemporary prayer is fervently uttered.[4] The whole books of the sacred Scriptures are thus continually in the hands of almost every peasant. And it is impossible that some souls should not occasionally be awakened among them to the divine emotions of genius, by that rich assemblage, which those books present, of almost all that is interesting in incident, or picturesque in imagery, or affectingly sublime, or tender in sentiments or character. It is impossible that those rude rhymes, and the simple artless music with which they are accompanied, should not occasionally excite some ear to a taste for the melody of verse. That Burns had felt these impulses, will appear undeniably certain to whoever shall carefully peruse his Cottar's Saturday Night; or shall remark, with nice observation, the various fragments of scripture sentiment, of scripture imagery, of scripture language, which are scattered throughout his works.

Still more interesting to the young peasantry, are the ancient ballads of love and war, of which a great number are yet popularly known and sung in Scotland. While the prevalence of the Gaelic language in the northern parts of this country, excluded from those regions the old Anglo-Saxon songs and minstrels; these songs and minstrels were, in the meantime, driven by the Norman conquests and establishments, out of the southern counties of England; and were forced to wander, in exile, beyond its northern confine, into the southern districts of the Scottish kingdom. Hence in the old English songs, is every famous minstrel still related to have been of the north country, while, on the contrary, in the old Scottish songs, it is always the south country, to which every favourite minstrel is said to belong. It is the same district to which both allude; a district comprehending precisely the southern counties of Scotland, with the most northern counties of England. In the south of Scotland the best of those ballads are often sung by the rustic maid or matron at her spinning wheel. They are listened to with ravished ears, by old and young. Their rude melody; that mingled curiosity and awe, which are naturally excited by the very idea of their antiquity; the exquisitely tender and natural complaints sometimes poured forth in them; the gallant deeds of knightly heroism, which they sometimes celebrate; their wild tales of demons, ghosts, and fairies, in whose existence superstition alone has believed; the manners which they represent; the obsolete, yet picturesque and expressive language, in which they

[4] William Burness looked upon his son Robert as the best reader in the house, and used to employ him to read the Bible to the rest.—*Scots Magazine*, 1797.

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are often clothed, give them wonderful power to transport every imagination and every heart. To the soul of Burns, they were like a happy breeze touching the wires of an Æolian harp, and calling forth the most ravishing melody.

Beside all this, the Gentle Shepherd and the other poems of Allan Ramsay, have long been highly popular in Scotland. They fell early into the hands of Burns; and while the fond applause which they received, drew his emulation, they presented to him likewise treasures of phraseology, and models of versification. Ruddiman's Weekly Magazine was during this time published; was supported chiefly by the original communications of correspondents, and found a very extensive sale. In it, Burns read the poetry of Robert Ferguson, written chiefly in the Scottish dialect, and exhibiting many specimens of uncommon poetical excellence. The Seasons of Thomson, too, the Grave of Blair, the far-famed Elegy of Gray, the Paradise Lost of Milton, perhaps the Minstrel of Beattie, were so commonly read, even among those with whom Burns would naturally associate, that poetical curiosity, although even less ardent than his, could, in such circumstances, have little difficulty in procuring them.

With such means to give his imagination a poetical bias, and to favour the culture of his taste and genius, Burns gradually became a poet.[1] He was not, however, one of those forward children, who, from a mistaken impulse, begin prematurely to write and to rhyme, and hence never attain to excellence. Conversing familiarly for a long while with the works of those poets who were known to him: contemplating the aspect of nature, in a district which exhibits an uncommon assemblage of the beautiful and the ruggedly grand, of the cultivated and the wild; looking upon human life with an eye quick and keen to remark, as well the stronger and leading, as the nicer and subordinate features of character—to discriminate the generous, the honourable, the manly, in conduct, from the ridiculous, the base, and the mean; he was distinguished among his fellows for extraordinary intelligence, good sense, and penetration, long before others, or perhaps even himself, suspected him to be capable of writing verses. His mind was mature, and well stored with such knowledge as lay within his reach; he had made himself master of powers of language, superior to those of almost any former writer in the Scottish dialect, before he conceived the idea of surpassing Ramsay and Ferguson.

In the meantime, besides the studious bent of his genius, there were some other particulars in his opening character, which might seem to mark him for a poet. He began early in life, to regard with a sort of sullen aversion and disdain, all that was sordid in the pursuits and interests of the peasants among whom he was placed. He became discontented with the humble labours to which he saw himself confined, and with the poor subsistence he was able to earn by them. He could not help looking upon the rich and great whom he saw around him, with an emotion between envy and contempt; as if something had still whispered to his heart, that there was injustice in the external inequality between his fate and their's. While such emotions arose in his mind, he conceived an inclination, very common among the young men of the more uncultivated parts of Scotland—to emigrate to America, or the West Indies, in quest of a better fortune;[2] at the same time, his heart was expanded with pas-

[1] He himself relates that he first wrote verses in his sixteenth year, the subject being a comely lass of the name of Nelly, who was associated with him after the usual fashion on the *harvest-rig*.

[2] His father, in his sixteenth year, had removed to Lochlea in Tarbolton parish, where the old man died of a broken heart in 1784. Burns, and his younger brother Gilbert, then took the small farm of Mossgeil, near Mauchline, which they cultivated in partnership for some time, till want of success, and the consequences of an illicit amour, induced the poet to think of leaving his native country. He was, strictly speaking, a farmer, and not a plough-

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sionate ardour, to meet the impressions of love and friendship. With several of the young peasantry, who were his fellows in labour, he contracted an affectionate intimacy of acquaintance. He eagerly sought admission into the brotherhood of free masons, which is recommended to the young men of this country, by nothing so much as by its seeming to extend the sphere of agreeable acquaintance, and to knit closer the bonds of friendly endearment. In some mason lodges in his neighbourhood, Burns had soon the fortune, whether good or bad, to gain the notice of several gentlemen, better able to estimate the true value of such a mind as his, than were his fellow peasants, with whom alone he had hitherto associated. One or two of them might be men of convivial dispositions, and of religious notions rather licentious than narrow; who encouraged his talents, by occasionally inviting him to be the companion of their looser hours; and who were at times not ill pleased to direct the force of his wit and humour, against those sacred things which they affected outwardly to despise as mere bugbears, while they could not help inwardly trembling before them, as realities. For a while, the native rectitude of his understanding, and the excellent principles in which his infancy had been educated, withstood every temptation to intemperance or impiety. Alas! it was not always so.—When his heart was first struck by the charms of village beauty, the love he felt was pure, tender, simple, and sincere, as that of the youth and maiden in his Cottar's Saturday Night. If the ardour of his passion hurried him afterwards to triumph over the chastity of the maid he loved; the tenderness of his heart, the manly honesty of his soul, soon made him offer, with eager solicitude, to repair the injury by marriage.[3]

About this time, in the progress of his life and character, did he first begin to be distinguished as a poet. A masonic song, a satirical epigram, a rhyming epistle to a friend, attempted with success, taught him to know his own powers, and gave him confidence to try tasks more arduous, and which should command still higher bursts of applause. The annual celebration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in the rural parishes of Scotland, has much in it of those old

man, at the time when his book brought him into notice; though it must be acknowledged he took his full share of farm labour of all kinds. Some of his best poems were written as he was driving the plough over the leas of Mossgeil.

[3] Burns was early distinguished for his admiration of the fair sex. One of his first and purest attachments was to a girl named Mary Campbell, who—the truth must be told—was neither more nor less than the *byres-woman* or dairy-maid at Colonel Montgomery's house of Coilsfield. He intended to marry this person, but she died at Greenock on her return from a visit to her relations in Argyleshire. It is a strange instance of the power of Burns' imagination and passion, that he has celebrated this poor peasant girl in strains of affection and lamentation, such as might have embalmed the memory of the proudest dame that ever poet worshipped. In his poem, beginning—

"Ye banks, and braes, and streams around
The castle of Montgomerie,"

He describes in the most beautiful language their tender and final parting on the banks of the Ayr. At a later period of life, on the anniversary of that hallowed day, he devoted a night to a poetic vigil in the open air, and produced his deeply pathetic elegy to her memory, commencing—

"Thou lingering star, with lessening ray."

And all this beautiful poetry was written by a Scottish peasant in reference to a *byres-woman!*

The attachment alluded to in the text was to Miss Jean Armour, the daughter of a mason in Mauchline. Burns proposed at first that their guilt should be palliated by a matrimonial union; but, as his circumstances were desperate, his character not admired by the more sober and calculating villagers, and as he proposed to seek an establishment for his wife in a distant land, the father of his unfortunate partner preferred the alternative of keeping her single and degraded, to permitting her to attach herself to the fortunes of her lover, even though a certain degree of respectability was to be secured by that course. It was not till after the poet had acquired fortune and fame by his writings, and, we blush to say, after a second transgression, that he was regularly married. On both of these occasions the lady produced twins.—See *Lockhart's Life of Burns.*

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popish festivals, in which superstition, traffic, and amusement, used to be so strangely intermingled. Burns saw, and seised in it one of the happiest of all subjects, to afford scope for the display of that strong and piercing sagacity by which he could almost intuitively distinguish the reasonable from the absurd, and the becoming from the ridiculous;—of that picturesque power of fancy, which enabled him to represent scenes, and persons, and groupes, and looks, attitude, and gesture, in a manner almost as lively and impressive, even in words, as if all the artifices and energies of the pencil had been employed;—of that knowledge which he had necessarily acquired of the manners, passions, and prejudices of the rustics around him—of whatever was ridiculous, no less than of whatever was affectingly beautiful, in rural life. A thousand prejudices of popish, and perhaps too, of ruder pagan superstition, have, from time immemorial, been connected in the minds of the Scottish peasantry, with the annual recurrence of the Eve of the Festival of all the Saints, or *Halloween*. These were all intimately known to Burns, and had made a powerful impression upon his imagination and feelings. He chose them for the subject of a poem, and produced a piece, which is the delight of those who are best acquainted with its subject; and which will not fail to preserve the memory of the prejudices and usages which it describes, when they shall, perhaps, have ceased to give one merry evening in the year, to the cottage fireside. The simple joys, the honest love, the sincere friendship, the ardent devotion of the cottage; whatever in the more solemn part of the rustic's life is humble and artless, without being mean or unseemly—or tender and dignified, without aspiring to stilted grandeur, or to unnatural, buskined pathos—had deeply impressed the imagination of the rising poet; had in some sort wrought itself into the very texture of the fibres of his soul. He tried to express in verse, what he most tenderly felt, what he most enthusiastically imagined; and produced the Cottar's Saturday Night.

These pieces, the true effusions of genius, informed by reading and observation, and prompted by his own native ardour, as well as by friendly applause, were soon handed about among the most discerning of Burns' acquaintance; and were by every new reader perused, and re-perused, with an eagerness of delight and approbation, which would not suffer him long to withhold them from the press. A subscription was proposed,[1] was earnestly promoted by some gentlemen, who were glad to interest themselves in behalf of such signal poetical merit; was soon crowded with the names of a considerable number of the inhabitants of Ayrshire, who, in the proffered purchase, sought not less to gratify their own passion for Scottish poesy, than to encourage the wonderful ploughman. At Kilmarnock, were the poems of Burns, for the first time, printed. The whole edition was quickly distributed over the country.

It is hardly possible to express, with what eager admiration and delight they were every where received. They eminently possessed all those qualities which can contribute to render any literary work quickly and permanently popular. They were written in a phraseology, of which all the powers were universally felt; and which being at once antique, familiar, and now rarely written, was hence fitted to serve all the dignified and picturesque uses of poetry, without making it unintelligible. The imagery, the sentiments, were, at once, faithfully natural, and irresistibly impressive and interesting. Those topics of satire and scandal in which the rustic delights; that humorous delineation of character, and that witty association of ideas, familiar and striking, yet not naturally allied to one another, which has force to shake his sides with laughter; those fancies of superstition, at which he still wonders and trembles; those

[1] It was chiefly in order to raise the means of transporting himself to the West Indies, that Burns first published his poems.

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affecting sentiments and images of true religion, which are at once dear and awful to his heart, were represented by Burns with all a poet's magic power. Old and young, high and low, grave and gay, learned or ignorant, all were alike delighted, agitated, transported. I was at that time resident in Galloway, contiguous to Ayrshire, and I can well remember, how that even plough-boys and maid-servants would have gladly parted with the wages which they earned the most hardly, and which they wanted to purchase necessary clothing, if they might but procure the works of Burns. A copy happened to be presented from a gentleman in Ayrshire to a friend in my neighbourhood; he put it into my hands, as a work containing some effusions of the most extraordinary genius. I took it, rather that I might not disoblige the lender, than from any ardour of curiosity or expectation. "An unlettered ploughman, a poet?" said I, with contemptuous incredulity. It was on a Saturday evening. I opened the volume, by accident, while I was undressing to go to bed. I closed it not, till a late hour on the rising Sunday morn, after I had read over every syllable it contained. And,

Ex illo Corydon, Corydon est tempore nobis!—VIRG. *Ec.* 2.

In the meantime, some few copies of these fascinating poems found their way to Edinburgh: and one was communicated to the late amiable and ingenious Dr Thomas Blacklock. There was, perhaps, never one among all mankind, whom you might more truly have called an angel upon earth, than Dr Blacklock: he was guileless and innocent as a child, yet endowed with manly sagacity and penetration; his heart was a perpetual spring of overflowing benignity; his feelings were all tremblingly alive to the sense of the sublime, the beautiful, the tender, the pious, the virtuous:—poetry was to him the dear solace of perpetual blindness; cheerfulness, even to gaiety, was, notwithstanding that irremediable misfortune under which he laboured, long the predominant colour of his mind: in his latter years, when the gloom might otherwise have thickened around him, hope, faith, devotion the most fervent and sublime, exalted his mind to heaven, and made him maintain his wonted cheerfulness, in the expectation of a speedy dissolution.

This amiable man of genius read the poems of Burns with a nice perception, with a tremblingly impassioned feeling, of all their beauties. Amid that tumult of emotions, of benevolence, curiosity, admiration, which were thus excited in his bosom, he eagerly addressed some encouraging verses to the rustic bard; which conveying the praises of a poet, and a judge of poetical composition, were much more grateful to Burns than any applauses he had before received from others. It was Blacklock's invitation that finally determined him to abandon his first intentions of going abroad to the West Indies; and rather to repair to Edinburgh, with his book, in hopes there to find some powerful patron, and perhaps, to make his fortune by his poetry.

In the beginning of the winter 1786-87,[2] Burns came to Edinburgh; by Dr Blacklock he was received with the most flattering kindness; and was eagerly introduced to every person of taste and generosity among the good old man's friends. It was little that Blacklock had it in his power to do for a brother poet; but that little he did with a fond alacrity, and with a modest grace, which made it ten times more pleasing, and more effectually useful to him, in whose favour it was exercised, than even the very same services would have been from almost any other benefactor. Others soon officiously interposed to share with Blacklock, in the honour of patronising Burns. He had brought

[2] November, 1786.

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from his Ayrshire friends, some letters of recommendation: some of his rural acquaintance coming, as well as himself, to Edinburgh, for the winter, did him what offices of kindness they conveniently could.[1] Those very few, who possessed at once true taste and ardent philanthropy, were soon earnestly united in his praise: they who were disposed to favour any good thing belonging to Scotland, purely because it was Scottish, gladly joined the cry; those who had hearts and understandings to be charmed, without knowing why, when they saw their native customs, manners, and language, made subjects and materials of poesy, could not suppress that voice of feeling which struggled to declare itself for Burns: for the dissipated, the licentious, the malignant wits, and the free-thinkers he was so unfortunate as to have satire, and obscenity, and ridicule of things sacred, sufficient to captivate their fancies: even for the pious, he had passages in which the inspired language of devotion might seem to come from his tongue: and then, to charm those whom nought can delight but wonders, whose taste leads them to admire only such things as a juggler eating fire, a person who can converse as if his organs of speech were in his belly, a lame sailor writing with his toes for want of fingers, a peer or a ploughman making verses, a small coal-man directing a concert—why, to those people the Ayrshire poet might seem precisely one of the most wonderful of the wonders after which they were wont to gape. Thus did Burns, ere he had been many weeks in Edinburgh, find himself the object of universal curiosity, favour, admiration, and fondness. He was sought after, courted with attentions the most respectful and assiduous, feasted, flattered, caressed, treated by all ranks as the first boast of our country; whom it was scarcely possible to honour and reward to a degree equal to his merits. In comparison with the general favour which now promised to more than crown his most sanguine hopes, it could hardly be called praise at all, which he had obtained in Ayrshire.

In this posture of the poet's affairs, a new edition of his poems was earnestly called for; he sold the copy-right to Mr Creech, for one hundred pounds; but his friends, at the same time, suggested, and actively promoted a subscription for an edition, to be published for the benefit of the author, ere the bookseller's right should commence. Those gentlemen who had formerly entertained the public of Edinburgh with the periodical publication of the papers of the Mirror, having again combined their talents in producing the Lounger, were, at this time, about to conclude this last series of papers; yet, before the Lounger relinquished his pen, he dedicated a number to a commendatory criticism of the poems of the Ayrshire bard. That criticism is now known to have been written by the Honourable lord Craig, one of the senators of the college of justice, who had adorned the Mirror with a finely written essay, in recommendation of the poetry of Michael Bruce. The subscription-papers were rapidly filled; the ladies, especially, vied with one another who should be the first to subscribe, and who should procure the greatest number of other subscribers, for the poems of a bard who was now, for some moments, the idol of fashion. The Caledonian Hunt, a gay club, composed of the most opulent and fashionable young men in Scotland, professed themselves the patrons of the Scottish poet, and eagerly encouraged the proposed republication of his poems. Six shillings was all the subscription-money demanded for each copy; but many voluntarily paid half a guinea, a guinea, or two guineas; and it was supposed that the poet

[1] He resided during the whole winter in the lodgings of one of his Mauchline acquaintances, Mr John Richmond, who had come to Edinburgh in order to study the law. One room and one bed served both. It was from this humble scene in the Lawnmarket, that he issued to attend the brilliant parties of the duchess of Gordon and other fashionables, and to this den he retired, after hours spent amid the lustres of the most splendid apartments in the new town.

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might derive from the subscription, and the sale of his copy-right, a clear profit of, at least, seven hundred pounds; a sum that, to a man who had hitherto lived in his indigent circumstances, would be absolutely more than the vainly expected wealth of Sir Epicure Mammon.

Burns, in the mean time, led a life differing from that of his original condition in Ayrshire, almost as widely as differed the scenes and amusements of London, to which Omiah was introduced under the patronage of the Earl of Sandwich, from those with which he had been familiar in the Friendly Isles. The conversation of even the most eminent authors, is often found to be so unequal to the fame of their writings, that he who reads with admiration, can listen with none but sentiments of the most profound contempt. But the conversation of Burns was, in comparison with the formal and exterior circumstances of his education, perhaps even more wonderful than his poetry. He affected no soft airs, or graceful motions of politeness, which might have ill accorded with the rustic plainness of his native manners. Conscious superiority of mind taught him to associate with the great, the learned, and the gay, without being overawed into any such bashfulness as might have made him confused in thought, or hesitating in elocution. He possessed, withal, an extraordinary share of plain common sense, or mother wit, which prevented him from obtruding upon persons, of whatever rank, with whom he was admitted to converse, any of those effusions of vanity, envy, or self-conceit, in which authors are exceedingly apt to indulge, who have lived remote from the general practice of life, and whose minds have been almost exclusively confined to contemplate their own studies and their works. In conversation he displayed a sort of intuitive quickness and rectitude of judgment upon every subject that arose. The sensibility of his heart, and the vivacity of his fancy, gave a rich colouring to whatever reasoning he was disposed to advance; and his language in conversation was not at all less happy than in his writings. For these reasons he did not cease to please immediately after he had been once seen. Those who had met and conversed with him once, were pleased to meet and converse with him again and again. I remember that the late Dr Robertson once observed to me, that he had scarcely ever met with any man whose conversation discovered greater vigour and activity of mind than that of Burns. Every one wondered that the rustic bard was not spoiled by so much caressing, favour, and flattery, as he found; and every one went on to spoil him, by continually repeating all these, as if with an obstinate resolution, that they should, in the end, produce their effect. Nothing, however, of change in his manners appeared, at least for a while, to show that this was at all likely to happen. He, indeed, maintained himself, with considerable spirit, upon a footing of equality with all whom he had occasion to associate or converse with; yet he never arrogated any superiority, save what the fair and manly exertion of his powers, at the time, could undeniably command. Had he but been able to give a steady preference to the society of the virtuous, the learned, and the wise, rather than to that of the gay and the dissolute, it is probable that he could not have failed to rise to an exaltation of character and of talents fitted to do honour to human nature.

Unfortunately, however, that happened which was natural in those unaccustomed circumstances in which Burns found himself placed. He could not assume enough of superciliousness to reject the familiarity of all those who, without any sincere kindness for him, importunately pressed to obtain his acquaintance and intimacy. He was insensibly led to associate less with the learned, and austere, and the rigorously temperate, than with the young, with the votaries of intemperate joys, with persons to whom he was commended chiefly by licentious wit, and with whom he could not long associate without sharing in the excesses of

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their debauchery.[1] Even in the country, men of this sort had begun to fasten on him, and to seduce him to embellish the gross pleasures of their looser hours, with the charms of his wit and fancy. And yet I have been informed by Mr Arthur Bruce, a gentleman of great worth and discernment, to whom Burns was, in his earlier days, well known, that he had, in those times, seen the poet steadily resist such solicitations and allurements to excess in convivial enjoyment, as scarcely any other could have withstood. But the enticements of pleasure too often unman our virtuous resolution, even while we wear the air of rejecting them with a stern brow; we resist, and resist, and resist; but, at last, suddenly turn and passionately embrace the enchantress. The bucks of Edinburgh accomplished, in regard to Burns, that in which the boors of Ayrshire had failed. After residing some months in Edinburgh, he began to estrange himself, not altogether, but in some measure, from the society of his graver friends. Too many of his hours were now spent at the tables of persons who delighted to urge conviviality to drunkenness in the tavern, or even in less commendable society. He suffered himself to be surrounded by a race of miserable beings, who were proud to tell that they had been in company with Burns; and had seen Burns as loose and as foolish as themselves. He was not yet irrecoverably lost to temperance and moderation, but he was already almost too much captivated with these wanton revels, to be ever more won back to a faithful attachment to their more sober charms. He now also began to contract something of new arrogance in conversation. Accustomed to be, among his favourite associates, what is vulgarly but expressively called "the cock of the company," he could scarcely refrain from indulging in similar freedom, and dictatorial decision of talk, even in the presence of persons who could less patiently endure his presumption.[2]

Thus passed two winters, and an intervening summer, of the life of Burns. The subscription edition of his poems, in the meantime, appeared; and, although not enlarged beyond that which came from the Kilmarnock press, by any new pieces of eminent merit, did not fail to give entire satisfaction to the subscribers. He at one time, during this period, accompanied, for a few weeks, into Berwickshire, Robert Ainslie, Esq. [Writer to the Signet], a gentleman of the purest and most correct manners,[3] who was accustomed sometimes to soothe the toils of a laborious profession, by an occasional converse with polite litera-

[1] Burns came to Edinburgh at an unfortunate time—a time of greater licentiousness, perhaps, in all the capitals of Europe, and this northern one among the rest, than had been known for a long period. Men of the best education and rank at this time drank like the Scandinavian barbarians of olden time; and in general there was little refinement in the amusements of any class of the community. Tavern-drinking, now almost unknown among the educated and professional classes in Edinburgh, was then carried by all ranks to a dreadful excess; and Burns was indebted to it for the seeds of his ruin.

[2] The very flattering reception which he met with, from persons of rank and fashion, naturally had the effect of taking him out of his sphere, and changing his habits of thinking. His social disposition, which, he says, was without bounds or limits, kept him in a continual round of dissipation. To this cause, chiefly, may have been attributed his after misfortunes and discontentedness with his station. The following anecdote, however, shows that Burns even then retained a high sense of honour and manly virtue. "He had felt a strong attachment to a young lady in Edinburgh, and was expressing to an intimate friend (from whom we had the account) his admiration—partiality—in short, love for this lady. His friend knew his previous attachment for Jane, and his engagement to her. He reminded Burns of these, and stated to him the consequences of indulging and fostering a passion for another. Burns had been carried away by his attachment, and, from the career of pleasure, and bustle of life he was engaged in, had never seriously thought of his situation. Struck at what he now heard, as with a shock of electricity, after a short pause, he turned suddenly to his friend, gave him a hearty slap upon the shoulder, saying, 'You are right—you are an honest fellow—I'll follow your advice.' The sequel of his history shows that he did so." Scots Magazine, *October*, 1801.

[3] Mr Ainslie still survives (1832), and has distinguished himself by various works of a pleasing and ingenious character, regarding the truths of the Christian religion.

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ture, and with general science. At another time he wandered on a jaunt of four or five weeks through the Highlands, in company with the late Mr William Nicol, a man who had been the companion and friend of Dr Gilbert Stuart, and who, in vigour of intellect, and in wild, yet generous, impetuosity of passion, remarkably resembled both Stuart and Burns; who for his skill and facility in Latin composition, was perhaps without a rival in Europe; but whose virtues and genius were clouded by habits of bacchanalian excess; whose latter years were vexatiously embittered by a contest with a creature, who, although accidentally exalted into competition with him, was unworthy even to unloose his shoe-latchet; who, by the most unwearied and extraordinary professional toil, in the midst of a persevering dissipation, by which alone it was, at any time, interrupted, won and accumulated an honourable and sufficient competence for his family; and, alas! who died within these few weeks, of a jaundice, with a complication of other complaints, the effects of long continued intemperance! So much did the zeal of friendship, and the ambition of honest fame, predominate in Nicol's mind, that he was, in his last hours, exceedingly pained by the thought, that since he had survived Burns, there remained none who might rescue his mixed character from misrepresentation, and might embalm his memory in never-dying verse!

In their excursion, Burns and his friend Nicol were naturally led to visit the interesting scenery adjacent to the duke of Atholl's seat at Dunkeld, on the banks of the Tay. While they were at a contiguous inn, the duke, accidentally informed of Mr Burns' arrival so near, invited him, by a polite message, to Dunkeld House. Burns did not fail to attend his obliging inviter; was received with flattering condescension; made himself sufficiently agreeable by his conversation and manners; was detained for a day or two by his grace's kind hospitality; and, ere he departed, in a poetical petition, in name of the river Bruar, which falls into the Tay, within the duke's pleasure grounds at Blair-Athol, suggested some new improvements of taste, which have been since happily made in compliance with his advice. I relate this little incident, rather to do honour to the duke of Athol, than to Burns; for, if I be not exceedingly mistaken, nothing that history can record of George the Third, will, in future times, be accounted more honourable to his memory, than the circumstances and the conversation of his well-known interview with Dr Johnson. The two congenial companions, Burns and Nicol, after visiting many other of those romantic, picturesque, and sublime scenes which abound in the Highlands of Scotland; after fondly lingering here and there for a day or two at a favourite inn, returned at last to Edinburgh; and Burns was now to close accompts with his bookseller, and to retire with his profits in his pocket to the country.

Mr Creech has obligingly informed me, that the whole sum paid to the poet, for the copy-right, and for the subscription copies of his book, amounted to nearly eleven hundred pounds. Out of this sum, indeed, the expenses of printing the edition for the subscribers, were to be deducted. I have likewise reason to believe, that he had consumed a much larger proportion of these gains than prudence could approve, while he superintended the impression, paid his court to his patrons, and waited the full payment of the subscription money.

He was now, at last, to fix upon a plan for future life. He talked loudly of independence of spirit, and simplicity of manners: and boasted his resolution to return to the plough. Yet, still he lingered in Edinburgh, week after week, and month after month, perhaps expecting that one or other of his noble patrons might procure him some permanent and competent annual income, which should set him above all necessity of future exertions to earn for himself the means of subsistence; perhaps unconsciously reluctant to quit the pleasures of that voluptuous town life to which he had for some time too willingly accustomed himself.

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An accidental dislocation or fracture of an arm or a leg, which confined him for some weeks to his apartment, left him, during this time, leisure for serious reflection; and he determined to retire from the town, without longer delay. None of all his patrons interposed to divert him from his purpose of returning to the plough, by the offer of any small pension, or any sinecure place of moderate emolument, such as might have given him competence, without withdrawing him from his poetical studies. It seemed to be forgotten, that a ploughman thus exalted into a man of letters, was unfitted for his former toils, without being regularly qualified to enter the career of any new profession; and that it became incumbent upon those patrons who had called him from the plough, not merely to make him their companion in the hour of riot—not simply to fill his purse with gold for a few transient expenses, but to secure him, as far as was possible, from being ever overwhelmed in distress, in consequence of the favour which they had shown him, and of the habits of life into which they had seduced him. Perhaps, indeed, the same delusion of fancy betrayed both Burns and his patrons into the mistaken idea, that, after all which had passed, it was still possible for him to return, in cheerful content, to the homely joys and simple toils of undissipated rural life.

In this temper of Burns's mind, in this state of his fortune, a farm and the excise were the objects upon which his choice ultimately fixed for future employment and support.

Mr Alexander Wood, the surgeon who attended him during the illness occasioned by his hurt, no sooner understood his patient's wish to seek a resource in the service of the excise, than he, with the usual activity of his benevolent character, effectually recommended the poet to the commissioners of excise; and the name of Burns was enrolled in the list of their expectant officers. Peter Miller, Esq. of Dalswinton, deceived, like Burns himself, and Burns' other friends, into an idea, that the poet and exciseman might yet be respectable and happy as a farmer, generously proposed to establish him in a farm, upon conditions of lease which prudence and industry might easily render exceedingly advantageous. Burns eagerly accepted the offers of this benevolent patron. Two of the poet's friends, from Ayrshire, were invited to survey that farm in Dumfries-shire, which Mr Miller offered. A lease was granted to the poetical farmer at that annual rent which his own friends declared that the due cultivation of his farm might easily enable him to pay; what yet remained of the profits of his publication was laid out in the purchase of farm stock; and Mr Miller might, for some short time, please himself with the persuasion that he had approved himself the liberal patron of genius; had acquired a good tenant upon his estate; and had placed a deserving man in the very situation in which alone he himself desired to be placed, in order to be happy to his wishes.[1]

[1] Heron's account of the leasing of Ellisland is erroneous: the following we believe to be a correct and authorised statement, being given as such in Dr Robert Anderson's *Edinburgh Magazine*, for June 1799:

"Mr Miller offered Mr Burns the choice of several farms on the estate of Dalswinton, which were at that time out of lease. Mr Burns gave the preference to the farm of Ellisland, most charmingly situated on the banks of the Nith, containing upwards of a hundred acres of most excellent land, then worth a rent of from eighty to a hundred pounds. Mr Miller, after showing Mr Burns what the farm cost him to a farthing, allowed him to fix the rental himself, and the endurance of the lease. A lease was accordingly given to the poet on his own terms; viz. for fifty-seven years, at the very low rent of fifty pounds. And, in addition to this, when Mr Burns signed the tack, Mr Miller presented him with two hundred pounds, to enable him to inclose and improve his farm. It is usual to allow tenants a year's rent for this purpose, but the sum Mr Miller gave him was at least four years' rent. Mr Miller has since sold the farm to John M'Morrine, Esq. at nineteen hundred pounds, leaving to himself seven acres on the Dalswinton side of the river. It may not be improper to add, that Mr Miller's motive in wishing Mr Burns to settle at Ellisland, was *to save him*, by withdrawing him from

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Burns, with his Jane, whom he now married, took up their residence upon his farm. The neighbouring farmers and gentlemen, pleased to obtain for an inmate among them, the poet by whose works they had been delighted, kindly sought his company, and invited him to their houses. He found an inexpressible charm in sitting down beside his wife, at his own fireside; in wandering over his own grounds; in once more putting his hand to the spade and the plough; in forming his inclosures; and managing his cattle. For some moments he felt almost all that felicity which fancy had taught him to expect in his new situation. He had been, for a time, idle; but his muscles were not yet unbraced for rural toil. He had been admitted to flatter ladies of fashion; but he now seemed to find a joy in being the husband of the mistress of his affections; in seeing himself the father of her children, such as might promise to attach him for ever to that modest, humble, and domestic life, in which alone he could hope to be permanently happy. Even his engagements in the service of the excise did not, at the very first, threaten necessarily to debase him, by association with the mean, the gross, and the profligate, to contaminate the poet, or to ruin the farmer.

But, it could not be: it was not possible for Burns now to assume that soberness of fancy and passions, that sedateness of feeling, those habits of earnest attention to gross and vulgar cares, without which, success in his new situation was not to be expected. A thousand difficulties were to be encountered and overcome, much money was to be expended, much weary toil was to be exercised, before his farm could be brought into a state of cultivation, in which its produce might enrich the occupier.—The prospect before him was, in this respect, such as might well have discouraged the most stubbornly laborious peasant, the most sanguine projector in agriculture; and much more, therefore, was it likely, that this prospect should quickly dishearten Burns, who had never loved labour, and who was, at this time, certainly not at all disposed to enter into agriculture with the enthusiasm of a projector. Beside all this, I have reason to believe, that the poet had made his bargain rashly, and had not duly availed himself of his patron's generosity. His friends, from Ayrshire, were little acquainted with the soil, with the manures, with the markets, with the dairies, with the modes of improvement, in Dumfries-shire. They had set upon his farm rather such a value of rental, as it might have borne in Ayrshire, than that which it could easily afford in the local circumstances in which it was actually placed. He himself had inconsiderately submitted to their judgment, without once doubting whether they might not have erred against his interests, without the slightest wish to make a bargain artfully advantageous to himself. And the necessary consequence was, that he held his farm at too high a rent, contrary to his landlord's intention. The business of the excise too, as he began to be more and more employed in it, distracted his mind from the care of his farm, led him into gross and vulgar society, and exposed him to many unavoidable temptations to drunken excess, such as he had no longer sufficient fortitude to resist. Amidst the anxieties, distractions, and seducements, which thus arose to him, home became insensibly less and less pleasing; even the endearments of his Jane's affection began to lose their hold on his heart; he became every day less and less unwilling to forget in riot those gathering sorrows which he knew not to subdue.

Mr Miller, and some others of his friends, would gladly have exerted an

the habits of dissipation of a town life; and that, had poor Burns followed the advice given him, he might, perhaps, have still been alive and happy."

There can be no doubt, from the cheapness of the farm and the length of the lease, that, had the poet continued to cultivate it till now, he would have had the opportunity of becoming very rich.

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influence over his mind, which might have preserved him, in this situation of his affairs, equally from despondency, and from dissipation. But Burns' temper spurned all control from his superiors in fortune. He resented, as an arrogant encroachment upon his independence, that tenor of conduct by which Mr Miller wished to turn him from dissolute conviviality, to that steady attention to the business of his farm, without which it was impossible to thrive in it. In the neighbourhood were other gentlemen occasionally addicted, like Burns, to convivial excess; who, while they admired the poet's talents, and were charmed with his licentious wit, forgot the care of his real interests in the pleasure which they found in his company, and in the gratification which the plenty and festivity of their tables appeared evidently to afford him. With those gentlemen, while disappointments and disgusts continued to multiply upon him in his present situation, he continued to diverge every day more and more into dissipation; and his dissipation tended to enhance whatever was disagreeable and perplexing in the state of his affairs.

He sunk, by degrees, into the boon-companion of mere excisemen; and almost every drunken fellow, who was willing to spend his money lavishly in the alehouse, could easily command the company of Burns. The care of his farm was thus neglected; waste and losses wholly consumed his little capital; he resigned his lease into the hands of his landlord; and retired with his family to the town of Dumfries, determining to depend entirely for the means of future support upon his income as an exciseman.

Yet during this unfortunate period of his life, which passed between his departure from Edinbutgh to settle in Dumfries-shire, and his leaving the country in order to take up his residence in the town of Dumfries, the energy and activity of his intellectual powers appear to have been not at all impaired. He made a collection of Scottish songs, which were published, with the music, by a Mr Johnston, an engraver, in Edinburgh, in three small volumes, octavo.[1] In making this collection, he, in many instances, accommodated new verses to the old tunes, with admirable felicity and skill. He composed several other poems, such as the tale of Tam o' Shanter, the Whistle, Verses on a Wounded Hare, the pathetic Address to R *** G *** of F ***, and some others which he afterwards permitted Mr Creech to insert in the fourth and fifth editions of his poems.[2]

He assisted in the temporary institution of a small subscription library, for the use of a number of the well-disposed peasants, in his neighbourhood. He readily aided, and by his knowledge of genuine Scottish phraseology and manners, greatly enlightened the antiquarian researches of the late ingenious Captain Grose. He still carried on an epistolary correspondence, sometimes gay, sportive, humorous, but always enlivened by bright flashes of genius, with a number of his old friends, and on a very wide diversity of topics.[3] At times, as it should

[1] Six thin volumes, containing the most complete body of Scottish song and music in existence—entitled, the Scottish Musical Museum.

[2] Among the labours of this period of his life, and of the few remaining years, must be reckoned a hundred excellent songs, partly in Scotch and partly in English, which he contributed to the musical publication of Mr George Thomson, which resembled that of Johnston, but was more elegant and expensive, and contained accompaniments for the tunes by eminent modern musicians.

[3] Burns lent his muse on several occasions to aid the popular candidates in contested elections. In one poem, which was handed about in manuscript, relating to such an affair, he thus alluded to Dr Muirhead, minister of Ur, in Galloway, a fellow rhymer:—

"Armorial bearings from the banks of Ur,
An old crab apple rotten at the core."

This hit applied very well, for Dr M. was a little, wind-dried, unhealthy looking mannikin, very proud of his genealogy, and ambitious of being acknowledged on all occasions as the chief of

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seem from his writings of this period, he reflected with inexpressible heart-bitterness, on the high hopes from which he had fallen; on the errors of moral conduct into which he had been hurried, by the ardour, and, in some measure, by the very generosity of his nature; on the disgrace and wretchedness into which he saw himself rapidly sinking; on the sorrow with which his misconduct oppressed the heart of his Jane; on the want and destitute misery in which it seemed probable that he must leave her and her infants; nor, amidst these agonizing reflections, did he fail to look, with indignation half invidious, half contemptuous, on those, who, with moral habits not more excellent than his, with powers of intellect far inferior, yet basked in the sunshine of fortune, and were loaded with the wealth and honours of the world, while his follies could not obtain pardon, nor his wants an honourable supply. His wit became, from this time, more gloomily sarcastic; and his conversation and writings began to assume something of a tone of misanthropical malignity, by which they had not been before, in any eminent degree, distinguished. But, with all these failings, he was still that exalted mind which had raised itself above the depression of its original condition; with all the energy of the lion, pawing to set free his hinder limbs from the incumbent earth, he still appeared not less the archangel ruined.

What more remains there for me to relate? In Dumfries his dissipation became still more deeply habitual;[4] he was here more exposed than in the country to be solicited to share the riot of the dissolute and the idle; foolish young men, such as writers' apprentices, young surgeons, merchants' clerks, and his brother excisemen, flocked eagerly about him, and from time to time pressed him to drink with them, that they might enjoy his wicked wit.[5] His friend

the Muirheads! He was not disposed, however, to sit down with the affront: on the contrary, he replied to it in a virulent diatribe, which we present to the reader for the first time, as a remarkable specimen of clerical and poetical irritability; and curious, moreover, as perhaps the only contemporary satire upon Burns of which the world has ever heard—besides the immortal "trimming letter" from his tailor. Dr Muirhead's *jeu d' esprit* is in the shape of a translation from Martial's ode "*Ad Vacerram*:"

"Vacerras, shabby son of whore,
Why do thy patrons keep thee poor?
Thou art a sycophant and traitor,
A liar, a calumniator,
Who conscience, (hadst thou that,) wouldst sell,
Nay, lave the common sewers of hell
For whisky.—Eke, most precious imp,
Thou art a *gauger*, rhymester, pimp,
How comes it, then, Vacerras, that
Thou still art poor as a church rat?"

[4] Mr Lockhart, in his life of Burns, has laboured with much ingenuity and eloquence to show that the account which Heron gives of the latter years of the poet is considerably exaggerated. According to a series of documents quoted by Mr Lockhart, Burns, though latterly a dissipated man, was at no period remarkable for intemperance. The present author entertains no feeling upon this subject except a regard for truth: he has therefore weighed in one scale the common report of the age following Burns's own time, and the accounts then written, all of which were very unfavourable against the later narratives, in which his faults are extenuated or explained away; and the result is a conviction in his own mind that, as the temptations of Burns were great, so were his errors by no means little. He must acknowledge that he has always looked upon this question in a different light from that in which it is viewed by other writers. Regarding Burns altogether as a great moral wonder, he esteems his faults, whatever they were, as only the accident of his character; and he would no more put them out of view in an estimate of the whole man, than would a physiologist overlook any slight malformation in some splendidly elegant subject. He therefore adopts Heron's account—not without a perception that it is somewhat overdrawn, but also assured, since it comes nearest of anything he has ever seen to the reports of the greater number of witnesses, that it must be the *nearest* of all to the truth.

[5] "To a lady, (I have it from herself,) who remonstrated with him on the danger from drink, and the pursuits of some of his associates, he replied, 'Madam, they would not thank me for my company, if I did not drink with them; I must give them a slice of my constitution." *Letter from Bloomfield, the poet, to the Earl of Buchan, Edinburgh Monthly Magazine and Review*, 1810.

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Nicol made one or two autumnal excursions to Dumfries; and when they met in Dumfries, friendship, and genius, and wanton wit, and good liquor could never fail to keep Burns and Nicol together, till both the one and the other were as dead drunk as ever was Silenus. The Caledonian Club, too, and the Dumfriesshire and Galloway hunt, had occasional meetings in Dumfries, after Burns came to reside there; and the poet was, of course, invited to share their conviviality, and hesitated not to accept the invitation. The morals of the town were, in consequence of its becoming so much the scene of public amusement, deplorably corrupted; and, though a husband and a father, poor Burns did not escape suffering by the general contamination. In the intervals between his different fits of intemperance, he suffered still the keenest anguish of remorse, and horribly afflictive foresight. His Jane still behaved with a degree of maternal and conjugal tenderness and prudence, which made him feel more bitterly the evil of his misconduct, although they could not reclaim him. At last, crippled, emaciated, having the very power of animation wasted by disease, quite broken-hearted by the sense of his errors, and of the hopeless miseries in which he saw himself and his family depressed, with his soul still tremblingly alive to the sense of shame, and to the love of virtue; even to the last feebleness, and amid the last agonies of expiring life, yielding readily to any temptation that offered the semblance of intemperate enjoyment; he died at Dumfries, on the 21st of July, 1796, while he was yet three or four years under the age of forty.

After his death, it quickly appeared that his failings had not effaced from the minds of his more respectable acquaintance, either the regard which had once been won by his social qualities, or the reverence due to his intellectual talents. The circumstances of want in which he left his family, were noticed by the gentlemen of Dumfries, with earnest commiseration. His funeral was celebrated, by the care of his friends, with a decent solemnity, and with a numerous attendance of mourners, sufficiently honourable to his memory.[1] Several copies of verses, having, if no other merit, at least that of a good subject, were inserted in different newspapers, upon the occasion of his death. A contribution, by subscription, was proposed, for the purpose of raising a small fund for the decent support of his widow, and the education of his infant children. This subscription was very warmly promoted, and not without considerable success, by John Syme, Esq. of Dumfries, by Alexander Cunningham, Esq. W.S. Edinburgh; and by Dr James Currie, and Mr Roscoe, of Liverpool. Mr Stephen Kemble, manager of the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh, with ready liberality, gave a benefit night for this generous purpose.

I shall conclude this paper with a short estimate of what appears to me to have been Burns's real merits, as a poet and as a man: the most remarkable quality he displayed, both in his writings and his conversation, was, certainly, an enlarged, vigorous, keenly discerning, conscious comprehension of mind. Whatever be the subject of his verse, he still seems to grasp it with giant force; to wield and turn it with easy dexterity; to view it on all sides, with an eye which no turn of outline and no hue of colouring can elude; to mark all its relations to the group of surrounding objects, and then to select what he chooses to represent to our imagination, with a skilful and happy propriety, which shows him to have been, at the same time, master of all the rest. It will not be very easy for any other mind, however richly stored with various knowledge; for any other imagination, however elastic and inventive, to find any new and suitable topic that has been omitted by Burns, in celebrating the sub-

[1] He was buried with military honours by the Dumfries Volunteers, of which corps he had been a member.

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jects of all his greater and more elaborate poems. It is impossible to consider without astonishment, that amazing fertility of invention which is displayed, under the regulation of a sound judgment, and a correct taste, in the Twa Dogs; the Address to the Deil; Scotch Drink; the Holy Fair; Hallowe'en; the Cottar's Saturday Night; To a Haggis; To a Louse; To a Mountain Daisy; Tam o' Shanter; on Captain Grose's peregrinations; the humble Petition of Bruar Water; the Bard's Epitaph. Shoemakers, footmen, threshers, milk-maids, peers, staymakers, have all written verses, such as deservedly attracted the notice of the world; but in the poetry of these people, while there was commonly some genuine effusion of the sentiments of agitated nature, some exhibition of such imagery as at once impressed itself upon the heart; there was also much to be ever excused in consideration of their ignorance, their extravagance of fancy, their want or abuse of the advantages of a liberal education. Burns has no pardon to demand for defects of this sort. He might scorn every concession which we are ready to grant to his peculiar circumstances, without being on this account reduced to relinquish any part of his claims to the praise of poetical excellence. He touches his lyre, at all times, with the hand of a master. He demands to be ranked, not with the Woodhouses, the Ducks, the Ramsays, but with the Miltons, the Popes, the Grays. He cannot be denied to have been largely endowed with that strong common sense which is necessarily the very source and principle of all fine writing.

The next remarkable quality in this man's character, seems to have consisted in native strength, ardour, and delicacy of feelings, passions, and affections. *Si vis me flere, dolendum primum est ipsi tibi.* All that is valuable in poetry, and, at the same time, peculiar to it, consists in the effusion of particular, not general, sentiments, and in the picturing out of particular imagery. But education, reading, a wide converse with men in society, the most extensive observation of external nature, however useful to improve, cannot, even all combined, confer the power of apprehending either imagery or sentiment with such force and vivacity of conception as may enable one to impress whatever he may choose upon the souls of others, with full, irresistible, electric energy; this is a power which nought can bestow, save native fondness, delicacy, quickness, ardour, force of those parts of our bodily organisation, of those energies in the structure of our minds, on which depend all our sensations, emotions, appetites, passions, and affections. Who ever knew a man of high original genius, whose senses were imperfect, his feelings dull and callous, his passions all languid and stagnant, his affections without ardour, and without constancy? others may be artisans, speculatists, imitators in the fine arts; none but the man who is thus richly endowed by nature, can be a poet, an artist, an illustrious inventor in philosophy. Let any person first possess this original soundness, vigour, and delicacy of the primary energies of mind; and then let him receive some impression upon his imagination, which shall excite a passion for this or that particular pursuit: he will scarcely fail to distinguish himself by manifestations of exalted and original genius. Without having, first, those simple ideas which belong, respectively, to the different senses, no man can ever form for himself the complex notions, into the composition of which such simple ideas necessarily enter. Never could Burns, without this delicacy, this strength, this vivacity of the powers of bodily sensation, and of mental feeling, which I would here claim as the indispensable native endowments of true genius—without these, never could he have poured forth those sentiments, or pourtrayed those images which have so powerfully impressed every imagination, and penetrated every heart. Almost all the sentiments and images diffused throughout the poems of Burns, are fresh from the mint of nature. He sings what he had himself beheld with

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interested attention—what he had himself felt with keen emotions of pain or pleasure. You actually see what he describes; you more than sympathise with his joys; your bosom is inflamed with all his fire; your heart dies away within you, infected by the contagion of his despondency. He exalts, for a time, the genius of his reader to the elevation of his own; and, for the moment, confers upon him all the powers of a poet. Quotations were endless; but any person of discernment, taste, and feeling, who shall carefully read over Burns' book, will not fail to discover, in its every page, abundance of those sentiments and images to which this observation relates;—it is originality of genius, it is keenness of perception, it is delicacy of passion, it is general vigour and impetuosity of the whole mind, by which such effects are produced. Others have sung, in the same Scottish dialect, and in familiar rhymes, many of the same topics which are celebrated by Burns; but what, with Burns, pleases or fascinates, in the hands of others, only disgusts by its deformity, or excites contempt by its meanness and uninteresting simplicity.

A third quality which the life and the writings of Burns show to have belonged to his character, was a quick and correct discernment of the distinction between right and wrong—between truth and falsehood; and this, accompanied with a passionate preference of whatever was right and true, with an indignant abhorrence of whatever was false and morally wrong. It is true that he did not always steadily distinguish and eschew the evils of drunkenness and licentious love; it is true that these, at times, seem to obtain even the approbation of his muse; but there remains in his works enough to show, that his cooler reason, and all his better feelings, earnestly rejected those gay vices which he could sometimes, unhappily, allow himself to practise, and sometimes recommend to others, by the charms which his imagination lent them. What was it but the clear and ardent discrimination of justice from injustice, which inspired that indignation with which his heart often burned, when he saw those exalted by fortune, who were not exalted by their merits? His Cottar's Saturday Night, and all his grave poems, breathe a rich vein of the most amiable, yet manly, and even delicately correct morality. In his pieces of satire, and of lighter humour, it is still upon the accurate and passionate discernment of falsehood, and of moral turpitude, that his ridicule turns. Other poets are often as remarkable for the incorrectness, or even the absurdity of their general truths, as for interesting sublimity, or tenderness of sentiment, or for picturesque splendour of imagery: Burns is not less happy in teaching general truths, than in that display of sentiment and imagery, which more peculiarly belongs to the province of the poet. Burns's morality deserves this high praise, that it is not a system merely of discretion; it is not founded upon any scheme of superstition, but seems to have always its source, and the test by which it is to be tried, in the most diffusive benevolence, and in a regard for the universal good.

The only other leading feature of character that appears to be strikingly displayed in the life and writings of Burns, is a lofty-minded consciousness of his own talents and merits. Hence the fierce contemptuous asperity of his satire; the sullen and gloomy dignity of his complaints, addressed, not so much to alarm the soul of pity, as to reproach injustice, and to make fortunate baseness shrink abashed; that general gravity and elevation of his sentiments, which admits no humbly insinuating sportiveness of wit, which scorns all compromise between the right and the expedient, which decides, with the authoritative voice of a judge, from whom there is no appeal, upon characters, principles, and events, whenever they present themselves to notice. From his works, as from his conversation and manners, pride seems to have excluded the effusions of vanity. In the com-

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position, or correction of his poetry, he never suffered the judgment, even of his most respectable friends, to dictate to him. This line, in one of his poems, ("When I look back on prospects drear") was criticised; but he would not condescend either to reply to the criticism, or to alter the expression. Not a few of his smaller pieces are sufficiently trivial, vulgar, and hackneyed in the thought—are such as the pride of genius should have disdained to write, or, at least, to publish; but there is reason to believe that he despised such pieces, even while he wrote and published them; that it was rather in regard to the effects they had already upon hearers and readers, than from any overweening opinion of their intrinsic worth, he suffered them to be printed. His wit is always dignified: he is not a merry-andrew in a motley coat, sporting before you for your diversion; but a hero, or a philosopher, deigning to admit you to witness his relaxations, still exercising the great energies of his soul, and little caring, at the moment, whether you do, or do not, cordially sympathise with his feelings.

His poems may be all distributed into the two classes of pastorals, and pieces upon common life and manners. In the former class, I include all those in which rural imagery, and the manners and sentiments of rustics are chiefly described: in the latter, I would comprehend his epigrams, epistles, and, in short, all those pieces in which the imagery and sentiments are drawn from the condition and appearances of common life, without any particular reference to the country. It is in the first class that the most excellent of his poems are certainly to be found. Those few pieces which he seems to have attempted in the Della Crusca style, appear to me to be the least commendable of all his writings; he usually employs those forms of versification which have been used chiefly by the former writers of poetry in the Scottish dialect, and by some of the elder English poets. His phraseology is evidently drawn from those books of English poetry which were in his hands, from the writings of former Scottish poets, and from those unwritten stores of the Scottish dialect, which became known to him, in the conversation of his fellow peasants. Some other late writers in the Scottish dialect seem to think, that not to write English is certainly to write Scottish; Burns, avoiding this error, hardly ever transgressed the propriety of English grammar, except in compliance with the long accustomed variations of the genuine Scottish dialect.

From the preceding detail of the particulars of this poet's life, the reader will naturally and justly infer him to have been an honest, proud, warm-hearted man; of high passions, and sound understanding, and a vigorous and excursive imagination. He was never known to descend to any act of deliberate meanness. In Dumfries he retained many respectable friends, even to the last. It may be doubted whether he has not, by his writings, exercised a greater power over the minds of men, and, by consequence, on their conduct, upon their happiness and misery, and upon the general system of life, than has been exercised by any half dozen of the most eminent statesmen of the present age. The power of the statesman is but shadowy, as far as it acts upon externals alone: the power of the writer of genius subdues the heart and the understanding, and having thus made the very spring of action its own, through them moulds almost all life and nature at its pleasure. Burns has not failed to command one remarkable sort of homage, such as is never paid but to great original genius—a crowd of poetasters started up to imitate him, by writing verses as he had done, in the Scottish dialect; but, *O imitatores! servum pecus!* To persons to whom the Scottish dialect, and the customs and manners of rural life in Scotland have no charms, I shall possibly appear to have said too much about Burns: by those who

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passionately admire him, I shall, perhaps, be blamed, as having said too little.[1]

1 The following letter and poem has been hitherto unpublished.

LETTER TO MR BURNESS, AT MONTROSE.

My Dear Sir,

I this moment receive yours—receive it with the honest hospitable warmth of a friend's welcome. Whatever comes from you wakens always up the bitter blood about my heart, which your kind little recollections of my parental friends carries as far as it will go. 'Tis there, Sir, that man is blest! 'tis there, my friend, man feels a consciousness of something within him above the trodden clod! The grateful reverence to the hoary, earthly author of his being—the burning glow, when he clasps the woman of his soul to his bosom—the tender yearnings of heart for the little angels to whom he has given existence,—these nature has poured in milky streams about the human heart; and the man who never rouses them to action, by the inspiring influences of their proper objects, loses by far the most pleasurable part of his existence.

My departure is uncertain, but I do not think it will be till after harvest. I will be on very short allowance of time, indeed, if I do not comply with your friendly invitation. When it will be I don't know, but if I can make my wish good, I will endeavour to drop you a line sometime before. My best compliments to Mrs ———; I should [be] equally mortified should I drop in when she is abroad; but of that, I suppose, there is little chance.

What I have wrote, heaven knows; I have not time to review it: so accept of it in the beaten way of friendship. With the ordinary phrase, perhaps, rather more than ordinary sincerity, I am, dear Sir, ever yours, &c.

Mossiel, *Tuesday noon*,
Sept. 26, 1786.

ON THE DEATH OF A FAVOURITE CHILD

O sweet be thy sleep in the land of the grave,
My dear little angel, for ever—
For ever—oh no! let not man be a slave,
His hopes from existence to sever.

Though cold be the clay where thou pillow'st thy head,
In the dark silent mansions of sorrow,
The spring shall return to thy low narrow bed,
Like the beam of the day-star to-morrow.

The flower-stem shall bloom like thy sweet seraph form,
Ere the Spoiler had nipt thee in blossom,
When thou shrunk from the scowl of the loud winter storm,
And nestled thee close to that bosom.

O still I behold thee, all lovely in death,
Reclined on the lap of thy mother,
When the tear trickled bright, when the short stifled breath,
Told how dear ye were aye to each other.

My child, thou art gone to the home of thy rest,
Where suffering no longer can harm thee,
Where the songs of the good, where the hymns of the blest,
Through an endless existence shall charm thee.

While he, thy fond parent, must, sighing, sojourn
Through the dire desert regions of sorrow,
O'er the hope and misfortune of being to mourn,
And sigh for this life's latest morrow.

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CALDERWOOD, David, an eminent divine and ecclesiastical historian. The year of his birth, the place of his education, and the character of the family from which he was descended, are all alike unknown. The earliest ascertained fact of his life is his settlement, in 1604, as minister of Crailing, in Roxburghshire. Being a zealous supporter of the principles of presbytery, he set himself with all his might to oppose the designs of the court, which aimed at the introduction of a moderate episcopacy. In 1608, when the Bishop of Glasgow paid an official visit to the synod of Merse and Teviotdale, Mr Calderwood gave in a paper declining his jurisdiction. For this act of contumacy, he was confined for several years to his parish, so as to prevent his taking any share in the public business of the church. In the summer of 1617, king James paid a visit to Scotland, for the purpose of urging forward his episcopal innovations. On this occasion, while the parliament was considering how to intrust powers of ecclesiastical supremacy to the king, the clergy were convened to deliberate in a collusive manner, so that every thing might appear to be done with the consent and approbation of the church. This assemblage was attended by the bishops, who affected to consider it an imitation of the *convocations* of the English church. Calderwood, being now permitted to move about, though still forbidden to attend synods or presbyteries, appeared at this meeting, which he did not scruple to proclaim as in no respect a convocation, but simply a free assembly of the clergy. Finding himself opposed by some friends of the bishops, Mr Calderwood took leave of them in a short but pithy speech, allusive to the sly attempts of the king to gain the clergy, by heightening their stipends:—"It was absurd," he said, "to see men sitting in silks and satins, crying poverty in the kirk, while purity was departing." He assisted, however, at another meeting of the clergy, where it was resolved to deliver a protest to parliament, against a particular *article*, or *bill*, by which the power of framing new laws for the church was to be intrusted to an ecclesiastical council appointed by the king. This protest was signed by Mr Archibald Simpson, as representing all the rest, who, for his justification, furnished him with a roll containing their own signatures. One copy of the document was intrusted to a clergyman of the name of Hewat, who, having a seat in parliament, undertook to present it. Another remained with Mr Simpson, in case of accident. Mr Hewat's copy having been torn in a dispute with Archbishop Spottiswoode, Mr Simpson presented his, and was soon after called before the tyrannical court of High Commission, as a stirrer up of sedition. Being pressed to give up the roll containing the names of his abettors, he acknowledged it was now in the hands of Mr David Calderwood, who was then cited to exhibit the said roll, and, at the same time, to answer for his seditious and mutinous behaviour. The Commission court sat at St Andrews, and the king having come there himself, had the curiosity to examine Mr Calderwood in person. Some of the persons present came up to the peccant divine, and, in a friendly manner, counselled him to "come in the king's will," that his majesty might pardon him. But Mr Calderwood entertained too strong a sense of the propriety and importance of what he had been doing, to yield up the point in this manner. "That which was done," he said, "was done with deliberation." In the conversation which ensued betwixt the king and him, the reader will be surprised to find many of the most interesting points of modern liberty, asserted with a firmness and dignity worthy of an ancient Roman.

King. What moved you to protest?

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Calderwood. An article concluded among the laws of the articles.

King. But what fault was there in it?

Calderwood. It cutteth off our General Assemblies.

King. (After inquiring how long Mr Calderwood had been a minister,) Hear me, Mr David, I have been an older keeper of General Assemblies than you. A General Assembly serveth to preserve doctrine in purity, from error, and heresy, the kirk from schism, to make confessions of faith, to put up petitions to the king in parliament. But as for matters of order, rites, and things indifferent in kirk policy, they may be concluded by the king, with advice of bishops, and a choice number of ministers.

Calderwood. Sir, a General Assembly should serve, and our General Assemblies have served these fifty-six years, not only for preserving doctrine from error and heresy, but also to make canons and constitutions of all rites and orders belonging to the kirk. As for the second point, as by a competent number of ministers may be meant a General Assembly, so also may be meant a fewer number of ministers than may make up a General Assembly.

The king then challenged him for some words in the protestation.

Calderwood. Whatsoever was the phrase of speech, we meant nothing but to protest that we would give passive obedience to his majesty, but could not give active obedience to any unlawful thing which should flow from that article.

King. Active and passive obedience!

Calderwood. That is, we will rather suffer than practise.

King. I will tell thee, man, what is obedience. The centurion, when he said to his servants, to this man, go, and he goeth, to that man, come, and he cometh: that is obedience.

Calderwood. To suffer, Sir, is also obedience, howbeit, not of that same kind. And that obedience, also, was not absolute, but limited, with exception of a countermand from a superior power.

Secretary. Mr David, let alone [*cease*]; confess your error.

Calderwood. My lord, I cannot see that I have committed any fault.

King. Well, Mr Calderwood, I will let you see that I am gracious and favourable. That meeting shall be condemned before ye be condemned; all that are in the file shall be filed before ye be filed, provided ye will conform.

Calderwood. Sir, I have answered my libel. I ought to be urged no further.

King. It is true, man, ye have answered your libel; but consider I am here; I may demand of you when and what I will.

Calderwood. Surely, Sir, I get great wrong, if I be compelled to answer here in judgment to any more than my libel.

King. Answer, Sir! ye are a refractor: the Bishop of Glasgow, your ordinary, and the Bishop of Caithness, the moderator of your presbytery, testify ye have kept no order; ye have repaired neither to presbyteries nor synods, and in no wise conform.

Calderwood. Sir, I have been confined these eight or nine years; so my conformity or non-conformity, in that point, could not be well known.

King. Good faith, thou art a very knave. See these self-same puritans; they are ever playing with equivocations.

Finally, the King asked, "If ye were relaxed, will ye obey or not?

Calderwood. Sir, I am wronged, in that I am forced to answer questions beside the libel; yet, seeing I must answer, I say, Sir, I shall either obey you, or give a reason wherefore I disobey; and, if I disobey, your Majesty knows I am to lie under the danger as I do now.

King. That is, to obey either actively or passively.

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Calderwood. I can go no further.

He was then removed. Being afterwards called up, and threatened with deprivation, he declined the authority of the bishops to that effect; for which contumacy, he was first imprisoned in St Andrews, and then banished from the kingdom. When we read such conversations as the above, we can scarcely wonder at the civil war which commenced twenty years afterwards, or that the efforts of the Stuarts to continue the ancient arbitrary government of England were finally ineffectual.

Mr Calderwood continued to reside in Holland from the year 1619, till after the death of king James, in 1625. Before leaving his country, he published a book on the Perth assembly, for which he would certainly have been visited with some severe punishment, if he had not been quick to convey himself beyond seas. In 1623, he published, in Holland, his celebrated treatise, entitled, "Altare Damascenum," the object of which was to expose the insidious means by which the polity of the English church had been intruded upon that of Scotland. King James is said to have been severely stung in conscience by this work. He was found very pensive one day by an English prelate, and being asked why he was so, answered, that he had just read the Altar at Damascus. The bishop desired his majesty not to trouble himself about that book, for he and his brethren would answer it. "Answer that, man!" cried the king sharply; "how can ye? there is nothing in it but scripture, reason, and the fathers." An attempt was made, however, to do something of this kind. A degraded Scottish gentleman, named Scott, being anxious to ingratiate himself at court, published a recantation as from the pen of Mr Calderwood, who, he believed, and alleged, was just dead. There was only one unfortunate circumstance against Mr Scott. Mr Calderwood soon let it be known that he was still alive, and of the same way of thinking as ever. The wretched impostor is said to have then gone over to Holland and sought for Mr Calderwood, in order to render his work true by assassinating him. But this red ink postscript was never added, for the divine had just returned to his native country.

Mr Calderwood lived in a private manner at Edinburgh for many years, chiefly engaged, it is supposed, in the unobtrusive task of compiling a history of the church of Scotland, from the death of James V. to that of James VI. His materials for this work lay in Knox's History, Mr James Melville's Observations, Mr John Davidson's Diary, the Acts of Parliament and Assembly, and other state documents. The work, in its original form, has hitherto been deemed too large for publication; but manuscript copies are preserved in the archives of the church, Glasgow University, and in the Advocates' Library. On the breaking out of the troubles in 1638, Mr Calderwood appeared on the public scene, as a warm promoter of all the popular measures. At the Glasgow assembly in that year, and on many future occasions, his acquaintance with the records of the church proved of much service. He now also resumed his duty as a parish minister, being settled at Pencaitland, in East Lothian. In 1643, he was appointed one of the committee for drawing up the directory for public worship; and, in 1646, an abstract of his church history was published under the care of the General Assembly. At length, in 1651, while Cromwell's army occupied the Lothians, Mr Calderwood retired to Jedburgh, where, in the immediate neighbourhood of the scene of his earliest ministrations, he sickened and died at a good old age. Both his "Altare Damascenum," and his "True History of the Church of Scotland," have been printed oftener than once; but an edition of his larger history is still a desideratum in Scottish literature.

CALLANDER, John, of Craigforth, an eminent antiquary, was born in the early part of the eighteenth century. He was the descendant of John Callan-

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der, his majesty's master-smith in Scotland, who seems to have been an industrious money-making person, and who, tradition says, acquired part of his fortune from a mistake on the part of government in paying in pounds *sterling* an account which had been stated in *Scots* money. The estate of Craigforth, which originally belonged to lord Elphinstone, was, in 1684, purchased by Mr Alexander Higgins, an advocate, who became embarrassed by the purchase, and conveyed his right to ——— Callander, from whom he had obtained large advances of money. From that period the estate has remained in the possession of the family, notwithstanding the strenuous, but unsuccessful exertions of Higgins to regain it; and of this family the subject of the present memoir was the representative.[1] Of his private history, very little has been collected; nor would it probably have much interest to our readers.[2] The next work published by him was "Terra Australis Cognita, or Voyages to the Terra Australis, or Southern Hemisphere, during the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries," Edinburgh, 1766; 3 vols. 8vo., a work translated from the French of De Brosses. It was not till thirteen years afterwards that he gave to the world his "Essay towards a literal English Version of the New Testament in the Epistle to the Ephesians," printed in quarto at Glasgow, in 1779. This very singular production proceeds upon the principle of adhering rigidly to the order of the Greek words, and abandoning entirely the English idiom. As a specimen of the translation, the 31st verse of chapter v. is here transcribed. "Because of this shall leave a man, the father of him, and the mother, and he shall be joined to the wife of him, and they shall be even the two into one flesh." The notes to the work are *in Greek*, "a proof, certainly," as has been judiciously remarked, "of Mr Callander's learning, but not of his wisdom."—(*Orme's Bibliotheca Biblica*, p. 74.) After it followed the work by which Mr Callander is best known: "Two ancient Scottish poems; the Gaberlunzie Man, and Christ's Kirk on the Green, with notes and observations." Edin. 1782, 8vo. It would seem that he had for some time meditated a dictionary of the Scottish language, of which he intended this as a specimen, but which he never prepared for publication. His principle, as an etymologist, which consists "in deriving the words of every language from the radical sounds of the first or original tongue, as it was spoken by Noah and the builders of Babel," is generally considered fanciful, and several instances have been given by Chalmers and others of the absurdity of his derivations. It is to be regretted, that, in preparing these poems for the press, he should have adopted so incorrect a text. In editing the latter of the two, he neither consulted the Bannatyne MS., nor adhered strictly to the version of bishop Gibson or Allan Ramsay, but gave "such readings as appeared to him most consonant to the phraseology of the sixteenth century." Throughout the work he was indebted to his friend Mr George Paton, of Edinburgh; but it would appear, from one of the letters lately published, that the latter is not to be considered responsible either for the theories which the work contains, or for the accuracy with which it was executed.

In April, 1781, Mr Callander was, without any solicitation on his part, elected a fellow of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, which had been formed in the preceding November, by the late earl of Buchan; and in the first list of office-

[1] Letters from Bishop Percy, &c. to George Paton. Preface, p. viii.

[2] Though a member of the Scottish bar, the early part of his life seems to have been devoted to classical pursuits; in which it is acknowledged, he made great proficiency. A considerable portion of the results of these studies were presented by him to the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, in August, 1781. His MSS., which are entitled, "Spicilegia Antiquitatis Græcæ, sive ex Veteribus Poetis Deperdita Fragmenta," are in five volumes, folio. The same researches were afterwards directed to the illustration of Milton's "Paradise Lost," of which a specimen, containing his annotations on the first book, was printed at Glasgow, by Messrs Foulis, in 1750, (4to, pp. 167.) Of these notes an account will afterwards be given.

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bearers his name appears as Secretary for foreign correspondence. Along with several other donations, he presented them, in August of the same year, with the "Fragmenta," already mentioned, and with the MS. notes on Paradise Lost, in nine folio volumes. For more than forty years these annotations remained unnoticed in the society's possession, but at length a paper written, it is supposed, by the respectable biographer of the Admirable Crichton and Sir Thomas Craig, appeared in Blackwood's Magazine, in which Callander is charged with having, without acknowledgment, been indebted for a large proportion of his materials to the labours of Patrick Hume, a Scotsman, who published a huge folio of 321 pages, on the same subject, at London, in 1695. At the suggestion of Mr David Laing, a committee was appointed, in 1826, to examine the MSS., and present the result to the society. From the report[3] drawn up by Mr Laing, it appears that, although there are some passages in which the analogy between Callander's remarks and those of Hume are so close that no doubt can be entertained of the one having availed himself of the notes of the other, yet that the proportion to the whole mass is so small, that it cannot be affirmed with truth the general plan or the largest portion of the materials of the work are derived from that source. On the other hand, it is candidly admitted, that no acknowledgment of his obligations to his fellow-countryman are made by Mr Callander; but unfortunately a preface, in which such obligations are generally noticed, has never been written for, or, at all events, is not attached to, the work. According to the testimony of Bishop Newton, the work by Hume contains "gold;" but it is concealed among "infinite heaps of rubbish:" to separate them was the design of the learned bishop, and our author seems to have acted precisely upon the same principle. Nor does he confine himself merely to the commentaries of Hume; he avails himself as often, and to as great an extent, of the notes of Newton, and of the other contemporary critics.

Besides the works already mentioned, Mr Callander seems to have projected several others. A specimen of a "Bibliotheca Septentrionalis" was printed in folio, in 1778,—"Proposals for a History of the Ancient Music of Scotland, from the age of the venerable Ossian, to the beginning of the sixteenth century," in quarto, 1781,—and a specimen of a Scoto-gothic glossary, is mentioned in a letter to the Earl of Buchan, in 1781. He also wrote "Vindiciæ Miltonianæ, or a refutation of the charges brought against Milton by [the infamous] William Lauder." The publication of this work was, however, rendered unnecessary, from the appearance of the well-known vindication by Dr Douglas, afterwards bishop of Salisbury. This was, perhaps, fortunate for its author; not aware of Lauder's character, he had taken it for granted that all his quotations from Milton's works were correct, but he soon found that he had defended the poet where "he stood in no need of any apology to clear his fame." It is probably hardly worth mentioning, that he also projected an edition of Sir David Lindsay's "Satyre," to be accompanied by a life of Lindsay from the pen of George Paton, which he does not seem to have accomplished.

"Mr Callander, says the editor of Paton's Letters,[4] was, for many years, particularly distinguished for his companionable qualities. He had a taste for music, and was an excellent performer on the violin. Latterly he became very retired in his habits, saw little company, and his mind was deeply affected by a religious melancholy, which entirely unfitted him for society. He died, at a good old age, upon the 14th September, 1789. By his wife, who was of the family of

[3] See Trans. of the Soc. of Scot. Antiq. vol. 3, part I. pp. 84—89.

[4] "Letters from Thomas Percy, DD. afterwards Bishop of Dromore, John Callander, of Craigforth, Esq., David Herd, and others. to George Paton." Edinburgh, 1830, 12mo, p. x.

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Livingston of Westquarter, he had seventeen children. His great-grandson is at present in possession of the estate."

CAMERON, Richard, an eminent martyr of the Scottish church, and whose name is still retained in the popular designation of one of its sects, was the son of a small shopkeeper at Falkland in Fife. His first appearance in life was in the capacity of schoolmaster and precentor of that parish under the episcopal clergyman. But, being converted by the field preachers, he afterwards became an enthusiastic votary of the pure presbyterian system, and, resigning those offices, went to reside as a preceptor in the family of Sir Walter Scott of Harden. From this place he was soon compelled to remove, on account of his refusal to attend the ministrations of the parish clergyman. He then fell into the company of the celebrated Mr John Welch, and was by him persuaded to accept a licence as a preacher. This honour was conferred upon him by Mr Welch and another persecuted clergyman in the house of Haughhead in Roxburghshire; so simple was the ceremony by which these unfortunate ministers recruited their ranks. Cameron soon excited the hostility of the indulged presbyterian clergy, by the freedom with which he asserted the spiritual independence of the Scottish church, He was, in 1677, reproved for this offence at a meeting of the presbyterian clergy at Edinburgh. The indulged ministers having threatened to deprive him of his licence, he was induced to promise that he would be more sparing in his invectives against them; an engagement which afterwards burdened his conscience so much as to throw him into a deep melancholy. He sought diversion to his grief in Holland, where his fervid eloquence and decided character made a strong impression upon the banished ministers. These men appear to have become convinced that his extraordinary zeal could end only in his own destruction, as Mr Ward, in assisting at his ordination, retained his hand for some time upon the young preacher's head, and exclaimed, "Behold, all ye beholders, here is the head of a faithful minister and servant of Jesus Christ, who shall lose the same for his Master's interest, and it shall be set up before the sun and moon, in the view of the world." Cameron returned to his native country in 1680, and, although field-preaching had now been nearly suppressed by the severity of the government, he immediately re-commenced that practice. It is necessary to be observed, that Cameron did not identify himself at any time with the presbyterian clergy in general; while his proceedings, so little squared by prudence or expediency, were regarded by his brethren with only a gentler kind of disapprobation than that which they excited in the government. The persecutors had now, by dint of mere brute force, reduced almost all men to a tacit or passive conformity; and there only held out a small remnant, as it was termed, who could not be induced to remain quiet, and at whose head Mr Richard Cameron was placed, on account of his enthusiastic and energetic character. On the 20th of June, 1680, in company with about twenty other persons, well-armed, he entered the little remote burgh of Sanquhar, and in a ceremonious manner proclaimed at the cross, that he and those who adhered to him renounced their allegiance to the king, on account of his having abused his government, and also declared a war against him and all who adhered to him, at the same time avowing their resolution to resist the succession of his brother the Duke of York. The bulk of the presbyterians beheld this transaction with dismay, for they knew that the government would charge it upon the party in general. The privy council immediately put a reward of five thousand merks upon Cameron's head, and three thousand upon the heads of all the rest; and parties were sent out to waylay them. The little band kept together in arms for a month, in the mountainous country, between Nithsdale and Ayrshire. But at length, on

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the 20th of July, when they were lying in a secure place on Airsmoss, Bruce of Earlshall approached them with a party of horse and foot much superior in numbers. Cameron, who was believed by his followers to have a gift of prophecy, is said to have that morning washed his hands with particular care, in expectation that they were immediately to become a public spectacle. His party, at sight of the enemy, gathered closely around him, and he uttered a short prayer, in which he thrice repeated the expression—"Lord, spare the green and take the ripe"—no doubt, including himself in the latter description, as conceiving himself to be among the best prepared for death. He then said to his brother, 'Come, let us fight it out to the last; for this is the day which I have longed for, and the day that I have prayed for, to die fighting against our Lord's avowed enemies; this is the day that we will get the crown." To all of them, in the event of falling, he gave assurance that he already saw the gates of heaven open to receive them. A brief skirmish took place, in which the insurgents were allowed even by their enemies to have behaved with great bravery; but nothing could avail against superior numbers. Mr Cameron being among the slain, his head and hands were cut off, and carried to Edinburgh, along with the prisoners, among whom was the celebrated Mr Hackstoun of Rathillet. It happened that the father of Cameron was at this time in prison for non-conformity. The head was shown to the old man, with the question, "Did he know to whom it had belonged." He seized the bloody relics with the eagerness of parental affection, and, kissing them fervently, exclaimed, "I know, I know them; they are my son's, my own dear son's: it is the Lord; good is the will of the Lord, who cannot wrong me or mine, but has made goodness and mercy to follow us all our days." The head and hands were then fixed upon the Netherbow Port, the fingers pointing upwards, in mockery of the attitude of prayer. The headless trunk was buried with the rest of the slain in Airsmoss, where a plain monument was in better times erected over them. To this spot, while the persecution was still raging, Peden, the friend of Cameron, used to resort, not so much, apparently, to lament his fate, as to wish that he had shared it. "Oh to be wi' Ritchie!" was the frequent and touching ejaculation of Peden over the grave of his friend. The name of Cameron was applied to the small but zealous sect of presbyterians which he had led in life, and has since been erroneously extended to the persecuted presbyterians in general. The twenty-sixth regiment, which was raised at the Revolution out of the west-country people who flocked to Edinburgh, was styled, on that account, the Cameronian Regiment, which appellation, notwithstanding the obvious error, it still retains.

CAMPBELL, Alexander, musician and poet, was born in 1764, at Tombea, on the banks of Loch Lubnaig, above Callendar, and received his education at the grammar-school of that town. While yet a youth, he removed to Edinburgh, and studied music under the celebrated Tenducci and others. A decided taste for the art, and especially for the simple melodies of his native country, induced him to become a teacher of the harpsichord and of vocal music in Edinburgh; and as he was a zealous adherent of the scattered remnant who still espoused the cause of the unhappy Stuarts, he became at the same time organist to a non-juring chapel in the neighbourhood of Nicolson Street, where the Rev. Mr Harper then officiated. While in this situation, and still possessed of all the keen feelings of youth, he became acquainted with Robert Burns, who is said to have highly appreciated his ardent character, as he must have strongly sympathised in his national prepossessions. It may also be mentioned that Mr Campbell was music-master to Sir Walter Scott, with whom, however, he never made any progress, owing, as he used to say, to the total destitution of that

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great man in the requisite of an *ear*. Mr Campbell was twice married, and on the second occasion with such prospects of advancement, that he was induced to abandon his profession, in which he was rising to eminence, and turn his attention to the study of medicine, which, however, he never practised on an extended scale, though he was ready and eager to employ his skill for benevolent purposes. The connections of Mr Campbell's second wife were of so elevated a rank in life, that he entertained hopes of obtaining, through their means, some employment under government, in his medical capacity; but in this, as in many other things, he was destined to experience a bitter disappointment. In 1798, he published his first literary work, namely, "An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland," quarto; to which were added, "the Songs of the Lowlands," with illustrative engravings by David Allan. The History of Poetry, though written in a loose style, and deformed here and there by opinions of a somewhat fantastic nature, is a work of considerable research. It was dedicated to the artist Fuseli. It is worth mentioning that a Dialogue on Scottish Music, prefixed to the History, was the first means of giving foreign musicians a correct understanding of the Scottish scale, which, it is well known, differs from that prevalent on the continent; and it is consistent with our knowledge, that the author was highly complimented on this subject by the greatest Italian and German composers. About this time, Mr Campbell began to extend his views from literature to the arts; and he attained to a very respectable proficiency as a draughtsman. In 1802, appeared his best work, "A Tour from Edinburgh through various parts of North Britain, &c." 2 vols. quarto, embellished with a series of beautiful aquatint drawings by his own hand. This book is very entertaining, and, in some parts, (for instance, the account of Scottish society in the early part of the eighteenth century,) it betrays powers much above the grade of the author's literary reputation. In 1804, Mr Campbell was induced to appear as an original poet, in a work entitled "the Grampians Desolate." If in this attempt he was not very successful in the principal object, it must at least be allowed, that his various knowledge, particularly in matters of Scottish antiquity, and the warm zeal with which he advocates the cause of the exiled Highlanders, give the work an interest for the patriot and the antiquary. Mr Campbell finally published, in 1816, two parts of a collection of native Highland music, under the title Albyn's Anthology, for which Sir Walter Scott, Sir Alexander Boswell, and other eminent literary men, contributed modern verses. Unhappily, Mr Campbell's acquirements, though such as would have eminently distinguished an independent gentleman in private life, did not reach that point of perfection which the public demands of those who expect to derive bread from their practice of the fine arts. Even in music, it was the opinion of eminent judges, that Albyn's Anthology would have been more favourably received, if the beautiful original airs had been left unencumbered with the basses and symphonies which the editor himself thought essential.

Mr Campbell, in early life, had been possessed of a handsome person, and a lively and social disposition. Gifted, as he then was, with so many of those accomplishments which are calculated to give a charm to existence, it might have been expected that his life would have been one of happiness and prosperity. It was in every respect the reverse. Some unhappy misunderstanding with the relations of his second wife led to a separation between them, and two individuals, who, united, could have promoted each other's happiness, lived for ever after apart and miserable. A numerous train of disappointments, not exclusively literary, tended further to embitter the declining years of this unfortunate man of genius. Yet his own distresses, and they were numerous,

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both from disease and difficulty of circumstances, could never either break his spirits, or chill his interest in the happiness of his friends. If he had the foibles of a keen temper, he was free from the faults of a sullen and cold disposition. After experiencing as many of the vicissitudes of life as fall to the lot of most men, he died of apoplexy on the 15th of May, 1824, in the sixty-first year of his age.

CAMPBELL, Archibald, Marquis of Argyle, an eminent political character of the seventeenth century, born in 1598, was the son of Archibald, seventh earl of Argyle. He was carefully educated in a manner suitable to the important place in society, which his birth distined him to occupy. Having been well grounded in the various branches of classical knowledge, he added to these, an attentive perusal of the holy scriptures, in consequence of which his mind became at an early period deeply imbued with a sense of religion, which, amidst all the vicissitudes of an active and eventful life, became stronger and stronger till his dying day. There had long been an hereditary feud subsisting between his family and the clan of the Macdonalds, against whom he accompanied his father on an expedition in the year 1616, being then only in the eighteenth year of his age; and two years afterwards, his father having left the kingdom, the care of the Highlands, and especially of the protestant interest there, devolved almost entirely upon him. In 1626, he was sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council, and in 1628, surrendered into the hands of the king, so far as lay in his power, the office of justice general in Scotland, which had been hereditary in his family, but reserving to himself and his heirs the office of justiciary of Argyle, and the Western Isles, which was confirmed to him by act of parliament. In 1633, the earl of Argyle having declared himself a Roman Catholic, was commanded to make over his estate to his son by the king, reserving to himself only as much as might support him in a manner suitable to his quality during the remainder of his life. Lord Lorne, thus prematurely possessed of political and territorial influence, was, in 1634, appointed one of the extraordinary lords of Session; and in the month of April, 1638, after the national covenant had been framed and sworn by nearly all the ministers and people of Scotland, he was summoned up to London, along with Traquair the treasurer, and Roxburgh, lord privy seal, to give advice with regard to what line of conduct his majesty should adopt under the existing circumstances. They were all equally aware that the covenant was hateful to the king; but Argyle alone spoke freely and honestly, recommending the entire abolition of those innovations which his majesty had recklessly made on the forms of the Scottish church, and which had been solely instrumental in throwing Scotland into its present hostile attitude. Traquair advised a temporizing policy till his majesty's affairs should be in a better condition; but the bishops of Galloway, Ross, and Brechin insisted upon the necessity of strong measures, and suggested a plan for raising an army in the north, that should be amply sufficient for asserting the dignity of the crown, and repressing the insolence of the covenanters. This alone was the advice that was agreeable to his majesty, and he followed it out with a blindness alike fatal to himself and the kingdom. The earl of Argyle, being at this time at court, a bigot to the Romish faith, and friendly to the designs of the king, advised his majesty to detain the lord Lorne a prisoner at London, assuring him that, if he was permitted to return to Scotland, he would certainly do him a mischief. But the king, supposing this advice to be the fruit of the old man's irritation at the loss of his estate, and probably afraid, as seeing no feasible pretext for taking such a violent step, allowed him to depart in peace. He returned to Edinburgh on the twentieth of May, and was one of the last of the Scottish nobility that signed the national covenant, which he did not do till

he was commanded to do it by the king. His father dying this same year, he succeeded to all his honours, and the remainder of his property. During the time he was in London, Argyle was certainly informed of the plan that had been already concerted for an invasion in Scotland by the Irish, under the marquis of Antrim, who for the part he performed in that tragical drama, was to be rewarded with the whole district of Kintyre, which formed a principal part of the family patrimony of Argyle. This partitioning of his property without having been either asked or given, and for a purpose so nefarious, must have had no small influence in alienating from the court a man who had imbibed high principles of honour, had a strong feeling of family dignity, and was an ardent lover of his country. He did not, however, take any decisive step till the assembly of the church, that met at Glasgow, November the twenty first, 1638, under the auspices of the marquis of Hamilton, as lord high commissioner. When the marquis, by protesting against every movement that was made by the court, and finally by attempting to dissolve it the moment it came to enter upon the business for which it had been so earnestly solicited, discovered that he was only playing the game of the king; Argyle, as well as several other of the young nobility, could no longer refrain from taking an active part in the work of Reformation. On the withdrawal of the commissioner, all the privy council followed him, except Argyle, whose presence gave no small encouragement to the assembly to continue its deliberations, besides that it impressed the spectators with an idea that the government could not be greatly averse to the continuation of the assembly, since one of its most able and influential members encouraged it with his presence. At the close of the assembly, Mr Henderson the moderator, sensible of the advantages they had derived from his presence, complimented him in a handsome speech, in which he regretted that his lordship had not joined with them sooner, but hoped that God had reserved him for the best times, and that he would yet highly honour him in making him instrumental in promoting the best interests of his church and people. To this his lordship made a suitable reply, declaring that it was not from the want of affection to the cause of God and his country that he had not sooner come forward to their assistance, but from a fond hope that, by remaining with the court, he might have been able to bring about a redress of their grievances, to the comfort and satisfaction of both parties. Finding, however, that it was impossible to follow this course any longer, without being unfaithful to his God and his country, he had at last adopted the line of conduct they witnessed, and which he was happy to find had obtained their approbation. This assembly, so remarkable for the bold character of its acts, all of which were liable to the charge of treason, sat twenty-six days, and in that time accomplished all that had been expected from it. The six previous assemblies, all that had been held since the accession of James to the English crown, were unanimously declared unlawful, and of course all their acts illegal. In that held at Linlithgow 1606, all the acts that were passed were sent down from the court ready framed, and one appointing bishops constant moderators, was clandestinely inserted among them without ever having been brought to a vote, besides that eight of the most able ministers delegated to attend it, were forcibly prevented in an illegal manner by the constituted authorities from attending. In that held at Glasgow in 1608, nobles and barons attended and voted by the simple mandate of the king, besides several members from presbyteries, and thirteen bishops who had no commission. Still worse was that at Aberdeen 1616, where the most shameful bribery was openly practised, and no less than sixteen of his creatures were substituted by the primate of St Andrews for sixteen lawfully chosen commissioners. That which followed at St Andrews was so notoriously illegal, as never

to have found a defender; and the most noxious of all, that at Perth in 1619, was informal and disorderly in almost all possible respects. The chair was assumed by the archbishop of St Andrews without any election; members, however regularly chosen and attested, that were suspected not to be favourable to court measures, were struck out and their places filled up by such as the managers could calculate upon being perfectly pliable. The manner of putting the votes and the use that was made of the king's name to influence the voters in this most shamefully packed assembly, were of themselves good and valid reasons for annulling its decisions. These six corrupt convocations being condemned as illegal, their acts became illegal of course, and episcopacy totally subverted. Two archbishops and six bishops were excommunicated, four bishops were deposed, and two who made humble submission to the assembly, were simply suspended, and thus the whole Scottish bench was at once silenced. The assembly rose in great triumph on the twentieth of December. "We have now," said the moderator, Henderson, "cast down the walls of Jericho; let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite." While the assembly was thus doing its work, the time-serving marquis of Hamilton was according to the instructions of his master, practising all the shifts that he could devise for affording the king the better grounds of quarrel, and for protracting the moment of hostilities, so as to allow Charles time to collect his forces. Preparations for an invasion of Scotland had for some time been in progress, and in May, 1639, he approached the border with about sixteen thousand men, while a large host of Irish papists was expected to land in his behalf upon the west coast, and Hamilton entered the Frith of Forth with a fleet containing a small army.

During this first campaign, while general Lesly with the main body of the Scottish army marched for the border with the view of carrying the war into England, Montrose, at this time the most violent of all the covenanters, was sent to the north to watch over Huntly and the Aberdonians, and Argyle proceeded to his own country to watch the Macdonalds, and the earl of Antrim, who threatened to lay it waste. For this purpose he raised not less than nine hundred of his vassals, part of whom he stationed in Kintyre, to watch the movements of the Irish, and part in Lorn to guard against the Macdonalds, while with a third part he passed over into Arran, which he secured by seizing upon the castle of Brodick, one of the strengths belonging to the marquis of Hamilton; and this rendered the attempt on the part of the Irish at the time nearly impossible. On the pacification that took place at Birks, near Berwick, Argyle was sent for to court; but the earl of Loudon having been sent up as commissioner from the Scottish estates, and by his majesty's order sent to the Tower, where he was said to have narrowly escaped a violent death, the earl of Argyle durst not, at this time, trust himself in the king's hands. On the resumption of hostilities in 1640, when Charles was found to have signed the treaty of Birks only to gain time till he could return to the charge with better prospects of success, the care of the west coast, and the reduction of the northern clans, was again intrusted to Argyle. Committing, on this occasion, the care of Kintyre and the Islands to their own inhabitants, he traversed, with a force of about five thousand men attended by a small train of artillery, the districts of Badenoch, Athol, and Marr, levying the taxes imposed by the estates, and enforcing subjection to their authority. The earl of Athol having made a show of resistance at the Ford of Lyon, was sent prisoner to Stirling; and his factor, Stuart, younger of Grantully, with twelve of the leading men in his neighbourhood, he commanded to enter in ward at Edinburgh till they found security for their good behaviour, and he exacted ten thousand pounds Scots in the district, for the support of his army. Passing thence into Angus, he demolished the castles of Airly and For-

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thar, residences of the earl of Airly, and returned to Argyleshire, the greater part of his troops being sent to the main body in England.

In this campaign the king felt himself just as little able to contend with his people, as in that of the previous year; and by making concessions similar to those he had formerly made, and, as the event showed, with the same insincerity, he obtained another pacification at Rippon, in the month of October, 1640. Montrose, who had been disgusted with the covenanters, and gained over by the king, now began to form a party of loyalists in Scotland, preferring to be the head of an association of that nature, however dangerous the place, to a second or third situation in the insurgent councils. His designs were accidentally discovered, while he was along with the army, and he was put under arrest. To ruin Argyle, who was the object of his aversion, Montrose now reported, that at the Ford of Lyon he had said that the covenanters had consulted both lawyers and divines anent deposing the king, and had gotten resolution, that it might be done in three cases—desertion, invasion, and vendition, and that they had resolved, at the last sitting of parliament, to accomplish that object next session. For this malicious falsehood Montrose referred to a Mr John Stuart, commissary of Dunkeld, who upon being questioned retracted the accusation which he owned he had uttered out of pure malice, to be revenged upon Argyle. Stuart was, of course, prosecuted before the justiciary for *leasing-making*, and, though he professed the deepest repentance for his crime, was executed. The king, though he had made an agreement with his Scottish subjects, was getting every day upon worse terms with the English, and in the summer of 1641, came to Scotland with the view of engaging the affections of that kingdom to enable him to oppose the parliament with the more effect. On this occasion his majesty displayed great condescension; he appointed Henderson to be one of his chaplains, attended divine service without either service-book or ceremonies, and was liberal of his favours to all the leading covenanters. Argyle was on this occasion particularly attended to, together with the marquis of Hamilton, and his brother Lanark, both of whom had become reconciled to the covenanters, and admitted to their full share of power. Montrose, in the meantime, was under confinement, but was indefatigable in his attempts to ruin those whom he supposed to stand between him and the object of his ambition, the supreme direction of public affairs. For the accomplishment of this darling purpose, he proposed nothing less than the assassination of the earls of Argyle and Lanark, with the marquis of Hamilton. Finding that the king regarded his proposals with horror, he conceived the gentler design of arresting these nobles during the night, after being called upon pretence of speaking with him in his bed-chamber, when they might be delivered to a body of soldiers prepared under the earl of Crawford, who was to carry them on board a vessel in Leith Roads, or to assassinate them if they made any resistance; but, at all events, detain them, till his majesty had gained a sufficient ascendancy in the country to try, condemn, and execute them under colour of law. Colonel Cochrane was to have marched with his regiment from Musselburgh to overawe the city of Edinburgh: a vigorous attempt was at the same time to have been made by Montrose to obtain possession of the castle, which, it was supposed, would have been the full consummation of their purpose. In aid of this plot, an attempt was made to obtain a declaration for the king from the English army, and the catholics of Ireland were to have made a rising, which they actually attempted on the same day, all evidently undertaken in concert for the promotion of the royal cause—but all of which had the contrary effect. Some one, invited to take a part in the plot against Argyle and the Hamiltons, communicated it to colonel Hurry, who communicated it to general Leslie, and he lost not a moment in warning the persons more immediately con-

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cerned, who took precautions for their security the ensuing night, and, next morning, after writing an apology to the king for their conduct, fled to Kiniel House, in West Lothian, where the mother of the two Hamiltons at that time resided. The city of Edinburgh was thrown into a state of the utmost alarm, in consequence of all the leading covenanters judging it necessary to have guards placed upon their houses for the protection of their persons. In the afternoon, the king, going up the main street, was followed by upwards of five hundred armed men, who entered the outer hall of the Parliament house along with him, which necessarily increased the confusion. The house, alarmed by this military array, refused to proceed to business till the command of all the troops in the city and neighbourhood was intrusted to general Leslie, and every stranger, whose character and business was not particularly known, ordered to leave the city. His majesty seemed to be highly incensed against the three noblemen, and demanded that they should not be allowed to return to the house till the matter had been thoroughly investigated. A private committee was suggested, to which the investigation might more properly be submitted than to the whole house, in which suggestion his majesty acquiesced. The three noblemen returned to their post in a few days, were to all appearance received into their former state of favour, and the whole matter seemed in Scotland at once to have dropped into oblivion. Intelligence of the whole affair was, however, sent up to the English Parliament by their agents, who, under the name of commissioners, attended as spies upon the king, and it had a lasting, and a most pernicious effect upon his affairs. This, and the news of the Irish insurrection, which speedily followed, caused his majesty to hasten his departure, after he had feasted the whole body of the nobility in the great hall of the palace of Holyrood, on the seventeenth of November, 1641, having two days before created Argyle a marquis. On his departure the king declared, that he went away a contented prince from a contented people. He soon found, however, that nothing under a moral assurance of the protection of their favourite system of worship, and church government—an assurance which he had it not in power, from former circumstances, to give—could thoroughly secure the attachment of the Scots, who, to use a modern phrase, were more disposed to fraternize with the popular party in England, than with him. Finding on his return that the Parliament was getting more and more intractable, he sent down to the Scottish privy council a representation of the insults and injuries he had received from that parliament, and the many encroachments they had made upon his prerogative, with a requisition that the Scottish council would, by commissioners, send up to Westminster a declaration of the deep sense they entertained of the danger and injustice of their present course. A privy council was accordingly summoned, to which the friends of the court were more particularly invited, and to this meeting all eyes were directed. A number of the friends of the court, Kinnoul, Roxburgh, and others, now known by the name of *Banders*, having assembled in the capital with numerous retainers, strong suspicions were entertained that a design upon the life of Argyle was in contemplation. The gentlemen of Fife, and the Lothians, with their followers, hastened to the scene of action, where the high royalists, who had expected to carry matters in the council against the English Parliament, met with so much opposition, that they abandoned their purpose, and the king signified his pleasure that they should not interfere in the business. When hostilities had actually commenced between the king and the parliament, Argyle was so far prevailed upon by the marquis of Hamilton, to trust the asseverations which accompanied his majesty's expressed wishes for peace, as to be willing to second his proposed attempt at negotiation with the Parliament, and he signed, along with Loudon, Warriston, and Henderson, the

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invitation, framed by the court party, to the queen to return from Holland, to assist in mediating a peace between his majesty and the two houses of Parliament. The battle of Edgehill, however, so inspirited the king, that he rejected the offer on the pretence that he durst not hazard her person. In 1642, when, in compliance with the request of the Parliament of England, troops were raised by the Scottish estates, to aid the protestants of Ireland, Argyle was nominated to a colonelcy in one of the regiments, and in the month of January, 1644, he accompanied general Leslie, with the Scottish army, into England as chief of the committee of Parliament, but in a short time returned with tidings of the defeat of the marquis of Newcastle at Newburn. The ultra royalists, highly offended at the assistance afforded by the estates of Scotland, to the Parliament of England, had already planned and begun to execute different movements in the north, which they intended should either overthrow the Estates, or reduce them to the necessity of recalling their army from England for their own defence. The marquis of Huntly having received a commission from Charles, had already commenced hostilities, by making prisoners of the provost and magistrates of Aberdeen, and at the same time plundering the town of all the arms and ammunition it contained. He also published a declaration of hostilities against the covenanters. Earl Marischal, apprized of this, summoned the committees of Angus and Mearns, and sent a message to Huntly to dismiss his followers. Huntly, trusting to the assurances he had had from Montrose, Crawford, and Nithsdale of assistance from the south, and from Ireland, sent an insulting reply to the committee, requiring them to dismiss, and not interrupt the peace of the country. In the month of April, Argyle was despatched against him, with what troops he could raise for the occasion, and came unexpectedly upon him after his followers had plundered and set on fire the town of Montrose, whence they retreated to Aberdeen. Thither they were followed by Argyle, who, learning that the laird of Haddow, with a number of his friends, had fortified themselves in the house of Killie, marched thither, and invested it with his army. Unwilling, however, to lose time by a regular siege, he sent a trumpeter offering pardon to every man in the garrison who should surrender, the laird of Haddow excepted. Seeing no means of escape, the garrison accepted the terms. Haddow was sent to Edinburgh, brought to trial on a charge of treason, found guilty, and executed. Huntly, afraid of being sent to his old quarters in Edinburgh castle, repaired to the Bog of Gight, accompanied only by two or three individuals of his own clan, whence he brought away some trunks filled with silver, gold, and apparel, which he intrusted to one of his followers, who, finding a vessel ready to sail for Caithness, shipped the trunks, and set off with them leaving the marquis to shift for himself. The marquis, who had yet one thousand dollars, committed them to the care of another of his dependants, and taking a small boat, set out in pursuit of the trunks. On landing in Sutherland he could command no better accommodation than a wretched ale-house. Next day he proceeded to Caithness, where he found lodgings with his cousin-german, Francis Sinclair, and most unexpectedly fell in with the runaway and his boxes, with which by sea he proceeded to Strathnaver, where he remained in close retirement for upwards of twelve months. In the meantime, about twelve hundred of the promised Irish auxiliaries, under Alaster Macdonald, landed on the island of Mull, where they captured some of the small fortresses, and, sailing for the mainland, they disembarked in Knoydart, where they attempted to raise some of the clans. Argyle, to whom this Alaster Macdonald was a mortal enemy, having sent round some ships of war from Leith, which seized the vessels that had transported them over, they were unable to leave the country, and he himself, with a formidable force, hanging upon their rear, they were driven into

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the interior, and traversed the wilds of Lochaber and Badenoch, expecting to meet a royal army under Montrose, though in what place they had no knowledge. Macdonald, in order to strengthen them in numbers, had sent through the fiery cross in various directions, though with only indifferent success, till Montrose at last met them, having found his way through the country in disguise all the way from Oxford, with only one or two attendants. Influenced by Montrose, the men of Athol, who were generally anti-covenanters, joined the royal standard in great numbers, and he soon found himself at the head of a formidable army. His situation was not, however, promising. Argyle was in his rear, being in pursuit of the Irish, who were perfect banditti, and had committed terrible ravages upon his estates, and there were before him six or seven thousand men under lord Elcho, stationed at Perth. Elcho's troops, however, were only raw militia, officered by men who had never seen an engagement, and the leaders among them were not unjustly suspected of being disaffected to the cause. As the most prudent measure, he did not wait to be attacked, but went to meet Montrose, who was marching through Strathearn, having commenced his career by plundering the lands, and burning the houses of the clan Menzies. Elcho took up a position upon the plain of Tippermuir, where he was attacked by Montrose, and totally routed in the space of a few minutes. Perth fell at once into the hands of the victor, and was plundered of money, and whatever was valuable, and could be carried away. The stoutest young men he also impressed into the ranks, and seized upon all the horses fit for service. Thus strengthened, he poured down upon Angus, where he received numerous reinforcements. Dundee he attempted, but finding there were troops in it sufficient to hold it out for some days, and dreading the approach of Argyle, who was still following him, he pushed north to Aberdeen. Here his covenanting rage had been bitterly felt, and at his approach the committee sent off the public money and all their most valuable effects to Dunnottar castle. They at the same time threw up some rude fortifications, and had two thousand men prepared to give him a warm reception. Crossing the Dee by a ford, he at once eluded their fortifications and deranged their order of battle; and issuing orders for an immediate attack, they were defeated, and a scene of butchery followed which has few parallels in the annals of civilized warfare. In the fields, the streets, or the houses, armed or unarmed, no man found mercy: the ragged they killed and stripped; the well-dressed, for fear of spoiling their clothes, they stripped and killed.

After four days employed in this manner, the approach of Argyle, whom they were not sufficiently numerous to combat, drove them to the north, where they intended to take refuge beyond the Spey. The boats, however, were all removed to the other side, and the whole force of Moray was assembled to dispute the passage. In this dilemma, nothing remained for Montrose but to take refuge among the hills, and his rapid movements enabled him to gain the wilds of Badenoch with the loss only of his artillery and heavy baggage, where he bade defiance to the approach of any thing like a regular army. After resting a few days, he again descended into Athol to recruit, having sent Macdonald into the Highlands on the same errand. From Athol he entered Angus, where he wasted the estates of lord Couper, and plundered the house of Dun, in which the inhabitants of Montrose had deposited their valuables, and which also afforded a supply of arms and artillery. Argyle, all this while, followed his footsteps with a superior army, but could never come up with him. He, however, proclaimed him a traitor, and offered a reward of twenty thousand pounds for his head. Having strengthened his army by forced levies in Athol, Montrose again crossed the Grampians, and spreading devastation along his line of march, attempted once more to raise the Gordons. In this he was

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still unsuccessful, and at the castle of Fyvie, which he had taken, was at last surprised by Argyle and the earl of Lothian, who, with an army of three thousand horse and foot, were within two miles of his camp, when he believed them to be on the other side of the Grampians. Here, had there been any thing like management on the part of the army of the Estates, his career had certainly closed, but in military affairs Argyle was neither skilful nor brave. After sustaining two assaults from very superior numbers, Montrose drew off his little army with scarcely any loss, and by the way of Strathbogie plunged again into the wilds of Badenoch, where he expected Macdonald and the Irish with what recruits they had been able to raise. Argyle, whose army was now greatly weakened by desertion, returned to Edinburgh and threw up his commission in disgust. The Estates, however, received him in the most friendly manner, and passed an act approving of his conduct.

By the parliament which met this year, on the 4th of June, Argyle was named, along with the chancellor Loudoun, lords Balmerino, Warriston, and others, as commissioners, to act in concert with the English parliament in their negotiations with the king; but from the manner in which he was occupied, he must have been able to overtake a very small part of the duties included in the commission. Montrose no sooner found that Argyle had retired and left the field clear, than, to keep up the spirit of his followers, and to satiate his revenge, he marched them into Glenorchy, belonging to a near relation of Argyle, and in the depth of winter rendered the whole country one wide field of blood: nor was this destruction confined to Glenorchy; it was extended through Argyle and Lorn to the very confines of Lochaber, not a house he was able to surprise being left unburned, nor a man unslaughtered. Spalding adds, "he left not a four-footed beast in the haill country; such as would not drive he houghed and slew, that they should never make stead." Having rendered the country a wilderness, he bent his way for Inverness, when he was informed that Argyle had collected an army of three thousand men, and had advanced as far as Inverlochy, on his march to the very place upon which he himself was advancing. Montrose was no sooner informed of the circumstance, than, striking across the almost inaccessible wilds of Lochaber, he came, by a march of about six and thirty hours, upon the camp of Argyle at Inverlochy, and was within half a mile of it before they knew that there was an enemy within several days' march of them. The state of his followers did not admit of an immediate attack by Montrose; but every thing was ready for it by the dawn of day, and with the dissolving mists of the morning. On the second of February, 1645, Argyle, from his pinnace on the lake, whither he had retired on account of a hurt he had caught by a fall from his horse, which disabled him from fighting, beheld the total annihilation of his army, one half of it being literally cut to pieces, and the other dissipated among the adjoining mountains, or driven into the water. Unable to afford the smallest assistance to his discomfitted troops, he immediately hoisted sails and made for a place of safety. On the twelfth of the month, he appeared before the parliament, then sitting in Edinburgh, to which he related the tale of his own and their misfortune, in the best manner no doubt which the case could admit of. The circumstances, however, were such as no colouring could hide, and the Estates were certainly deeply affected. But the victory at Inverlochy, though as complete as victory can well be supposed, and gained with the loss too of only two or three men, was perhaps more pernicious to the victors than the vanquished. The news of it unhappily reached Charles at a time when he was on the point of accepting the terms of reconciliation offered to his parliament, which reconciliation, if effected, might have closed the war for ever, and he no sooner heard

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of this remarkable victory, than he resolved to reject them, and trust to continued hostilities for the means of obtaining a more advantageous treaty. Montrose, also, whose forces were always reduced after a victory, as the Highlanders were wont to go home to deposit their spoils, could take no other advantage of "the day of Inverlochy," than to carry on, upon a broader scale, and with less interruption, the barbarous system of warfare which political, religious, and feudal hostility had induced him to adopt. Instead of marching towards the capital, where he might have followed up his victory to the utter extinction of the administration of the Estates, he resumed his march along the course of the Spey into the province of Moray, and, issuing an order for all the men above sixteen and below sixty to join his standard, under the pain of military execution, proceeded to burn the houses and destroy the goods upon the estates of Grangehill, Brodie, Cowbin, Innes, Ballendalloch, Foyness, and Pitchash. He plundered also the village of Garmouth and the lands of Burgie, Lethen, and Duffus, and destroyed all the boats and nets upon the Spey. Argyle having thrown up his commission as general of the army, which was given to general Baillie, he was now attached to it only as member of a committee appointed by the parliament to direct its movements, and in this capacity was present at the battle of Kilsyth, August 15th, 1645, the most disastrous of all the six victories of Montrose to the Covenanters, upwards of six thousand men being slain on the field of battle and in the pursuit. This, however, was the last of the exploits of the great marquis. There being no more detachments of militia in the country to oppose to him, general David Leslie, with some regiments of horse, were recalled from the army in England, who surprised and defeated him at Philiphaugh, annihilating his little army, and, according to an ordinance of parliament, hanging up without distinction all the Irish battalions.

In the month of February, 1646, Argyle was sent over to Ireland to bring home the Scottish troops that had been sent to that country to assist in repressing the turbulence of the Catholics. He returned to Edinburgh in the month of May following. In the meantime, Alister Macdonald, the coadjutor of Montrose, had made another tour through his country of Argyle, giving to the sword and the devouring flame whatever had escaped in the former inroads, so that upwards of twelve hundred of the miserable inhabitants, to escape absolute starvation, were compelled to emigrate, under one of their chieftains, Ardinglass, into Menteith, where they attempted to settle themselves upon the lands of the malignant. But scarcely had they made the attempt, when they were attacked by Inchbrackie, with a party of Athol men, and chased beyond the Forth near Stirling, where they were joined by the marquis, who carried them into Lennox, and quartered them upon the lands of lord Napier, till he obtained an act to embody them into a regiment, to be stationed in different parts of the Highlands, and a grant from parliament for a supply of provisions for his castles. So deplorably had his estates been wasted by the inroads of Montrose and Macdonald, that a sum of money was voted him for the support of himself and family, and for paying annual rents to some of the more necessitous creditors upon his estates. A collection was at the same time ordered through all the churches of Scotland, for the relief of his poor people who had been plundered by the Irish. In the month of July, 1646, when the king had surrendered himself to the Scottish army, Argyle went up to Newcastle to wait upon and pay his respects to him. On the 3d of August following, he was sent up to London, along with Loudon, the chancellor, and the earl of Dunfermline, to treat with the parliament of England, concerning a mitigation of the articles they had presented to the king, with some of which he was not at all satisfied. He was

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also on this occasion the bearer of a secret commission from the king, to consult with the duke of Richmond and the marquis of Hertford concerning the propriety of the Scottish army and parliament declaring for him. Both of these noblemen totally disapproved of the scheme, as they were satisfied it would be the entire ruin of his interests. In this matter, Argyle certainly did not act with perfect integrity; and it was probably a feeling of conscious duplicity which prevented him from being present at any of the committees concerning the king's person, or any treaty for the withdrawal of the Scottish army, or the payment of its arrears. The opinion of these two noblemen, however, he faithfully reported to his majesty, who professed to be satisfied, but spoke of adopting some other plan, giving evident proof that his pretending to accept conditions was a mere pretence—a put off—till he might be able to lay hold of some lucky turn in the chapter of accidents. It was probably from a painful anticipation of the fatal result of the king's pertinacity, that Argyle, when he returned to Edinburgh and attended the parliament, which assembled on the 3d of November, demanded and obtained an explicit approval of all that he had transacted, as their accredited commissioner; and it must not be lost sight of, that, for all the public business he had been engaged in, except what was voted him in consequence of his great losses, he never hitherto had received one farthing of salary.

When the Engagement, as it was called, was entered into by the marquis of Hamilton, and other Scottish presbyterian loyalists, Argyle opposed it, because, from what he had been told by the duke of Richmond and the marquis of Hertford, when he had himself been half embarked in a scheme somewhat similar, he believed it would be the total ruin of his majesty's cause. The event completely justified his fears. By exasperating the sectaries and republicans, it was the direct and immediate cause of the death of the king. On the march of the Engagers into England, Argyle, Eglinton, Cassilis, and Lothian, marched into Edinburgh at the head of a great multitude of people whom they had raised, before whom the committee of Estates left the city, and the irremediable defeat of the Engagers, which instantly followed, entirely sinking the credit of the party, they never needed to return, the reins of government falling into the hands of Argyle, Warriston, Loudon, and others of the more zealous party of the presbyterians. The flight of the few Engagers who reached their native land, was followed by Cromwell, who came all the way to Berwick, with the purpose apparently of invading Scotland. Argyle, in the month of September or October, 1648, went to Mordington, where he had an interview with that distinguished individual, whom, along with general Lambert, he conducted to Edinburgh, where he was received in a way worthy of his high fame, and every thing between the two nations was settled in the most amicable manner, the Solemn League and Covenant being renewed, the Engagement proscribed, and all who had been concerned in it summoned to appear before parliament, which was appointed to meet at Edinburgh on the 4th of January, 1649. It has been, without the least particle of evidence, asserted that Argyle, in the various interviews he held with Cromwell at this time, agreed that Charles should be executed. The losses to which Argyle was afterwards subjected, and the hardships he endured for adhering to Charles' interests after he was laid in his grave, should, in the absence of all evidence to the contrary, be a sufficient attestation of his loyalty, not to speak of the parliament, of which he was unquestionably the most influential individual, in the ensuing month of February proclaiming Charles II. king of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, &c. than which nothing could be more offensive to the then existing government of England. In sending over the deputation that waited upon Charles in Holland

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in the spring of 1649, Argyle was heartily concurring, though he had been not a little disgusted with his associates in the administration, on account of the execution of his brother-in-law, the marquis of Huntly, whom he in vain exerted all his influence to save. It is also said that he refused to assist at the trial, or to concur in the sentence passed upon the marquis of Montrose, in the month of May, 1650, declaring that he was too much a party to be a judge in that matter. Of the leading part he performed in the installation of Charles II., upon whose head he placed the crown at Scone on the 1st of January, 1651, we have not room to give any particular account. Of the high consequence in which his services were held at the time, there needs no other proof than the report that the king intended marrying one of his daughters. For the defence of the king and kingdom, against both of whom Cromwell was now ready to lead all his troops, he, as head of the Committee of Estates, made the most vigorous exertions. Even after the defeat at Dunbar, and the consequent ascendancy of the king's personal interests, he adhered to his majesty with unabated zeal and diligence, of which Charles seems to have been sensible at the time, as the following letter, in his own hand writing, which he delivered to Argyle under his sign manual, abundantly testifies:—"Having taken into consideration the faithful endeavours of the marquis of Argyle for restoring me to my just rights, and the happy settling of my dominions, I am desirous to let the world see how sensible I am of his real respect to me by some particular marks of my favour to him, by which they may see the trust and confidence which I repose in him: and particularly, I do promise that I will make him duke of Argyle, knight of the garter, and one of the gentlemen of my bed-chamber, and this to be performed when he shall think it fit. And I do farther promise him to hearken to his counsels, [*passage worn out*]. Whenever it shall please God to restore me to my just rights in England, I shall see him paid the £40,000 sterling which is due to him; all which I promise to make good to him upon the word of a king. Charles Rex, St Johnston, September 24th, 1650." When Charles judged it expedient to lead the Scottish army into England, in the vain hope of raising the cavaliers and moderate presbyterians in his favour, Argyle obtained leave to remain at home, on account of the illness of his lady. After the whole hopes of the Scots were laid low at Worcester, September 3d, 1651, he retired to Inverary, where he held out against the triumphant troops of Cromwell for a whole year, till, falling sick, he was surprised by general Dean, and carried to Edinburgh. Having received orders from Monk to attend a privy council, he was entrapped to be present at the ceremony of proclaiming Cromwell lord Protector. A paper was at the same time tendered him to sign, containing his submission to the government, as settled without king or house of lords, which he absolutely refused, though afterwards, when he was in no condition to struggle farther, he signed a promise to live peaceably under that government. He was always watched, however, by the ruling powers, and never was regarded by any of the authorities as other than a concealed loyalist. When Scotland was declared by Cromwell to be incorporated with England, Argyle exerted himself, in opposition to the council of state, to have Scotsmen alone elected to serve in parliament for North Britain, of which Monk complained to Thurlow, in a letter from Dalkeith, dated September 30, 1658. Under Richard he was himself elected for the county of Aberdeen, and took his seat accordingly in the house, where he wrought most effectually for the service of the king, by making that breach through which his majesty entered. On the Restoration, Argyle's best friends advised him to keep out of the way on account of his compliances with the usurpation; but he judged it more honourable and honest to go and congratu-

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late his majesty upon so happy a turn in his affairs. To this he must have been misled from the promissory note of kindness which he held, payable on demand, as well as by some flattering expressions which Charles had made use of regarding him to his son, lord Lorn; but when he arrived at Whitehall, July 8, 1660, the king no sooner heard his name announced, than, "with an angry stamp of the foot, he ordered Sir William Fleming to execute his orders," which were to carry him to the Tower. To the Tower he was carried accordingly, where he lay till the month of December, when he was sent down to Leith aboard a man-of-war, to stand his trial before the high court of parliament. While confined in the Tower, the marquis made application to have the affidavits of several persons in England taken respecting some matters of fact, when he was concerned in the public administration before the usurpation, which, had justice been the object of the prosecution against him, could not have been denied. Revenge, however, being the object, facts might have happened to prove inconvenient, and the request was flatly refused.

On his arrival at Leith, he was conveyed to the castle of Edinburgh, and, preparatory to his being brought to trial, the president of the committee for bills, on the eighteenth of January, reported to the parliament that a supplication had been presented to them by the laird of Lamont, craving warrant to cite the marquis of Argyle, with some others, to appear before parliament, to answer for crimes committed by him and them as specified in the bill given in. Some little opposition was made to this; but it was carried by a vast plurality to grant warrant according to the prayer of the petition. This charge could not be intended to serve any other purpose than to raise a prejudice in the public mind against the intended victim; for it was a charge which not a few of the managers themselves knew well to be false. Middleton could have set the question at once to rest, as he had had a deeper hand in many of the cruelties complained of than Argyle, for he had acted under general Leslie, in suppressing the remains of Montrose's army, and, much nearer home than the islands, namely at Kincardine house, belonging to Montrose, had shot twelve cavaliers without any ceremony, sending the remainder to be hanged at Edinburgh, all which, be it observed, was in defence of a party of Argyle's people who had been driven to seek refuge in Lennox, and was no doubt one of the items in the general charge. But the charge generally referred to the clearing of his own territories of Alister Macdonald and his Irish bands by Leslie, who, in reducing the strengths belonging to the loyalists in the north, had, conformably to the orders of parliament, shot or hanged every Irishman he found in them without ceremony. Sir James Turner, who was upon this expedition, and has left an account of it in his Memoirs, acquits Argyle of all blame, in so far as concerns the seizure of the castle of Dunavertie, one of the cases that has been most loudly complained of, though he fastens a stain on the character of Mr John Nevoy, the divine who accompanied the expedition, who, he says, took a pleasure in wading through the blood of the victims. A small extract will show that Leslie confined himself strictly to the parliamentary order, which was perhaps no more severe than the dreadful character of the times had rendered necessary. "From Ila we boated over to Jura, a horrid isle, and a habitation fit for deer and wild beasts, and so from isle to isle till we come to Mull, which is one of the best of the Hebrides. Here Maclean saved his lands with the loss of his reputation, if he ever had any: he gave up his strong castles to Leslie; gave his eldest son for hostage of his fidelity, and, which was unchristian baseness in the lowest degree, he delivered up fourteen very pretty Irishmen, who had been all along faithful to him, to the lieutenant general, who immediately caused hang them all. It was not well done to demand them from

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Maclean; but inexcusably ill done in him to betray them. Here I cannot forget one Donald Campbell, fleshed in blood from his very infancy, who, with all imaginable violence, pressed that the whole clan Maclean should be put to the sword, nor could he be commanded to forbear his bloody suit by the lieutenant general and two major generals, and with some difficulty was he commanded silence by his chief, the marquis of Argyle. For my part, I said nothing, for indeed I did not care though he had prevailed in his suit, the delivering of the Irish had so much irritated me against that whole clan and name." Argyle was brought before parliament on the 13th of February 1661. His indictment, consisting of fourteen articles, comprehended the history of all the transactions that had taken place in Scotland since 1638. The whole procedure, on one side of the question, during all that time, had already been declared rebellion, and each individual concerned was of course liable to the charge of treason. Middleton, lord high commissioner to parliament, eager to possess his estate, of which he doubted not he would obtain the gift, conducted the trial in a manner not only inconsistent with justice, but with the dignity and the decency that ought ever to characterise a public character. From the secret conversations he had held with Cromwell, Middleton drew the conclusion, that the interruption of the treaty of Newport and the execution of Charles had been the fruit of their joint deliberations. He was defended on this point by Sir John Gilmour, president of the court of Session, with such force of argument as to compel the reluctant parliament to exculpate him from all blame in the matter of the king's death; and, after having exhibited the utmost contempt for truth, and a total disregard of character or credit, provided they could obtain their point, the destruction of the pannel, the crown lawyers were at length obliged to fix on his compliance with the English during the usurpation, as the only species of treason that could at all be made to affect him. Upon this point there was not one of his judges who had not been equally, and some of them much more guilty than himself. "How could I suppose," said the marquis, with irresistible effect in his defence on this point, "that I was acting criminally, when the learned gentleman who now acts as his majesty's advocate, took the same oaths to the commonwealth with myself?" He was not less successful in replying to every iota of his indictment in addition to which he gave in a signed supplication and submission to his majesty, which was regarded just as little as his defences. The moderation, the good sense, and the magnanimity, however, which he displayed, joined to his innocence of the crimes charged against him, wrought so strongly upon the house, that great fears were entertained that, after all, he would be acquitted; and to counteract the influence of his two sons, lord Lorne and lord Neil Campbell, who were both in London, exerting themselves as far as they could in his behalf, Glencairn, Rothes, and Sharpe were sent up to court, where, when it was found that the proof was thought to be defective, application was made to general Monk, who furnished them with some of the marquis of Argyle's private letters, which were sent down post to Middleton, who laid them before parliament, and by this means obtained a sentence of condemnation against the noble marquis, on Saturday the 25th, and he was executed accordingly on Monday the 27th of May, 1661. Than the behaviour of this nobleman during his trial, and after his receiving sentence of death, nothing could be more dignified or becoming the character of a christian. Conscious of his integrity, he defended his character and conduct with firmness and magnanimity, but with great gentleness and the highest respect for authority. After receiving his sentence, when brought back to the common jail, his excellent lady was waiting for him, and, embracing him, wept bitterly, exclaiming, "the Lord will requite it;" but, calm and composed, he said, "Forbear;

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truly, I pity them; they know not what they are doing; they may shut me in where they please, but they cannot shut out God from me. For my part, I am as content to be here as in the castle, and as content in the castle as in the Tower of London, and as content there as when at liberty, and I hope to be as content on the scaffold as any of them all." His short time till Monday he spent in serenity and cheerfulness, and in the proper exercises of a dying christian. To some of the ministers he said that they would shortly envy him for having got before them, for he added, "my skill fails me, if you who are ministers will not either suffer much, or sin much; for, though you go along with those men in part, if you do it not in all things, you are but where you were, and so must suffer; and if you go not at all with them, you shall but suffer." On the morning of his execution, he spent two hours in subscribing papers, making conveyances, and forwarding other matters of business relating to his estate; and while so employed, he suddenly became so overpowered with a feeling of divine goodness, according to contemporary authority, that he was unable to contain himself, and exclaimed, "I thought to have concealed the Lord's goodness, but it will not do: I am now ordering my affairs, and God is sealing my charter to a better inheritance, and saying to me, 'Son, be of good cheer; thy sins are forgiven thee.'" He wrote the same day a most affecting letter to the king, recommending to his protection his wife and children. "He came to the scaffold," says Burnet, "in a very solemn, but undaunted manner, accompanied with many of the nobility and some ministers. He spoke for half an hour with a great appearance of serenity. Cunningham, his physician, told me that he touched his pulse, and it did then beat at the usual rate, calm and strong." It is related, as another proof of the resolution of Argyle, in the last trying scene, that, though he had eaten a whole partridge at dinner, no vestige of it was found in his stomach after death; if he had been much affected by the anticipation of death, his digestion, it may be easily calculated, could not have been so good. His head was struck off by the instrument called the Maiden, and affixed on the west end of the Tolbooth, where that of Montrose had been till very lately perched; a circumstance that very sensibly marks the vicissitudes of a time of civil dissension. His body was conveyed by his friends to Dunoon, and buried in the family sepulchre at Kilmun.

Argyle, with few qualities to captivate the fancy, has always been esteemed by the people of Scotland as one of the most consistent and meritorious of their array of patriots. For the sake of his exemplary moral and religious character, and his distinguished exertions in the resistance to the measures of Charles I., as well as his martyrdom in that cause, they have overlooked a quality generally obnoxious to their contempt—his want of courage in the field—which caused him, throughout the whole of the transactions of the civil war, to avoid personal contact with danger, though often at the head of large bodies of troops. The habits of Argyle in private life were those of an eminently and sincerely pious man. In Mr Wodrow's diary of traditionary collections, which remains in manuscript in the Advocates' Library, it is related, under May 9, 1702, upon the credit of a clergyman, the last survivor of the General Assembly of 1651, that his lordship used to rise at five, and continue in private till eight: besides family worship, and private prayer, morning and evening, he prayed with his lady morning and evening, in the presence of his own *gentleman* and her *gentlewoman*; he never went abroad, though but for one night, without taking along with him his writing-standish, a bible, and Newman's Concordance. Upon the same authority, we relate the following anecdote: "After the coronation of king Charles II. at Scone, he waited a long time for an opportunity of dealing freely with his majesty on religious matters, and particular-

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ly about his suspected disregard of the covenant, and his encouragement of malignants, and other sins. One sabbath night, after supper, he went into the king's closet, and began to converse with him on these topics. Charles was seemingly sensible, and they came at length to pray and mourn together till two or three in the morning. When he came home to his lady, she was surprised; and told him she never knew him so untimeous. He said he never had had such a sweet night in the world, and told her all—what liberty he had in prayer, and how much convinced the king was. She said plainly that that night would cost him his head—which came to pass." Mr Wodrow also mentions that, during the Glasgow Assembly, Henderson and other ministers spent many nights in prayer, and conference with the marquis of Argyle, and he dated his conversion, or his knowledge of it, from those times. His lordship was married to Margaret, second daughter of William, second earl of Morton, and by her left two sons and three daughters.

CAMPBELL, Archibald, ninth Earl of Argyle, son of the preceding, was an equally unfortunate, though less distinguished political figurant, in the unhappiest era of Scottish history. He was educated under the eye of his father, and, at an early period of life, was highly distinguished for his personal accomplishments. After going through the schools, he was sent to travel on the continent, and, during the years 1647, 1648, and 1649, spent the greater part of his time in France and Italy. He appears to have returned to Scotland about the close of 1649, and we find him, in 1650, after Charles II. had arrived in Scotland, appointed colonel of one of the regiments of foot-guards, that were embodied on that occasion, which he held by commission from the king, refusing, from a principle of loyalty, to act under a commission from the parliament. He was present at the battle of Dunbar, fought in the month of September, 1650, when he displayed great bravery; and where his lieutenant-colonel, Wallace, who afterwards commanded the covenanters at Pentland, was taken prisoner. After the battle of Worcester, he still continued in arms, and kept up a party in the Highlands ready to serve his majesty on any favourable opportunity that might occur. Nor did he hesitate, for this purpose, to act along with the most deadly enemies of his house. In 1654, he joined the earl of Glencairn, with a thousand foot, and fifty horse, contrary to advice of his father, who saw no possibility of any good being done by that ill-advised armament. After having remained, along with this assemblage of cavaliers, for a fortnight, finding his situation neither safe nor comfortable among so many Murrays, Gordons, and Macdonalds, he withdrew from them, taking the road for the barracks of Ruthven, and was pursued by Macdonald of Glengary, who would certainly have slain him, had he not escaped with his horse, leaving his foot to shift for themselves. Glengary, having missed lord Lorne, would have revenged himself by killing his people, but was prevented by Glencairn, who took from them an oath of fidelity, and carried them back to the camp; whence they, in a short time, found means to escape in small bodies, till there was not one of them remaining. On this occasion, he carried a commission of lieutenant-general from Charles II., which rendered him so obnoxious to Cromwell, that he excepted him from his Act of Grace, published in the month of April this year. Lord Lorne was soon after this necessitated to take refuge in one of his remote islands, with only four or five attendants; and, seeing no prospect of any deliverance, submitted to the English in despair. In November of the following year, 1655, Monk compelled him to find security for his peaceable behaviour, to the amount of five thousand pounds sterling. He was, notwithstanding of all this, constantly watched, particularly by the lord Broghill, who had the meanness to corrupt even his body servants, and constitute them spies upon their master's conduct. In the spring

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of 1657, Monk committed him to prison, and Broghill was earnest to have him carried to England, for the more effectually preventing his intrigues among the royalists. Shortly after the Restoration, he waited on his majesty, Charles II., with a letter from his father, and was received so graciously, that the marquis was induced to go up to London upon the same errand as his son, but was sent to the Tower without an audience. During the time that Middleton was practising against his father the marquis, lord Lorne exerted himself with great zeal, and though he failed in rescuing his beloved parent from the toils into which he had been hunted, he left a favourable impression on the mind of Charles with regard to himself, and, in place of bestowing the estates of Argyle upon Middleton, as that profligate fondly expected, he was induced to restore them, as well as the original title of earl, to the rightful heir. Nor was this all; when, to the astonishment of all the world, he was, by the Scottish parliament, condemned to death, under the odious statute respecting leasing-making, he was again saved by the royal favour, to the confusion of his enemies. For some considerable time after this, there is little to be told of the earl of Argyle, and that little no way creditable to his fame. He had his share of the preferments and of the dirty work of the period, in which he fouled his hands more than was meet, as a Highlander would say, for the son of his father. It was on the 29th of June, 1681, that Argyle gave his vote in the council against Donald Cargill; and the very next day the parliament sat down, which framed under the direction of the bigoted James VII., then duke of York, and commissioner to the Scottish parliament, that bundle of absurdities known by the name of the Test, which was imposed without mercy upon all, especially such as lay under any suspicion of presbyterianism. This absurd oath was refused by many of the episcopal ministers, who relinquished their places rather than debauch their consciences by swearing contradictions. Some took it with explanations, among whom was Argyle, who added the following; that, as the parliament never meant to impose contradictory oaths, he took it as far as consistent with itself and the protestant faith, but that he meant not to bind or preclude himself in his station, in a lawful manner, from wishing or endeavouring any alteration which he thought of advantage to the church or state, and not repugnant to the protestant religion and his loyalty; and this he understood to be a part of his oath. Of the propriety of taking the test, even with this explanation, in a moral point of view, some doubt may reasonably be entertained. With such an explanation, why might not any oath be taken that ever was framed, and what can save such swearing from the charge of being a taking of God's name in vain; for an oath so explained is after all not an oath in the proper sense and meaning of the word. This explanation he submitted to the duke of York, who seemed to be perfectly satisfied; but he had no sooner put it in practice than he was indicted for his explanation, as containing treason, leasing, and perjury, and, by a jury of his peers, brought in guilty of the two first charges. This was on the 13th of December, 1681, and on the night of the 20th, fearing, as he had good reason, that his life would be taken, he made his escape out of the castle, disguised as a page, and bearing up the train of his step-daughter, lady Sophia Lindsay, sister to the earl of Balcarras. On the third day after sentence of death was pronounced upon him, Fountainhall says, "There was a great outcry against the criminal judges and their timorous dishonesty. The marquis of Montrose was chancellor of this assize. Sir George Lockhart called it lucrative treason to the advantage of church and state; and admired how a man could be condemned as a traitor for saying he would endeavour all the amendment he can to the advantage of church and state." Even those who thought the words deserved some lesser punishment, called it diabolical alchemy,

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to screw them into treason. Lord Halifax told Charles himself, that he knew not the Scottish law, but the English law would not have hanged a dog for such a crime. On his escape from the castle, Argyle, by the direction of Mr John Scott, minister of Hawick, rode straight to the house of Pringle of Torwoodlee, who sent his servant along with him to the house of Mr William Veitch, who conducted him to Clapwell, in Derbyshire; where, becoming afraid from the alarm that had been everywhere given, Mr Veitch thought it prudent to advise with Lockyer, an old Cromwellian captain, who generously offered his services to conduct Argyle safely to London; which he did, bringing him first to Battersea, four miles above London, to Mr Smith's, a sugar baker's house, whose wife was a very pious and generous gentlewoman. They were rich, and had no children; of course they were able to do a great deal in the way of charity, without hurting themselves. They acquainted the lady with the earl's secret, but concealed it from her husband, and his lordship passed for an ordinary Scottish gentleman of the name of Hope. The lady, however, in a day or two, sent to one of her agents in the city to provide two chambers at a good distance from one another, where two friends of her's might be quiet and retired for a while; and Argyle and Veitch were sent to town by night to the house of Mr Holmes, the lady's agent, to be directed to their lodgings. None of them knew Holmes; but the moment Holmes came into the room which they had been shown, he took Argyle in his arms, saying, my dear lord Argyle, you are most welcome to me. Argyle, in astonishment, and not without some visible concern, inquired how he knew him. I knew you, said Holmes, since that day I took you prisoner in the Highlands, and brought you to the castle of Edinburgh. But now we are on one side, and I will venture all that is dear to me to save you. So he carried them to their several lodgings; those of Argyle being known to no one but Mr Veitch and Holmes. As soon as the noise about his escape was over, Mrs Smith brought them both out to a new house they had moved to at Brentford; Argyle passing for a Mr Hope, and Veitch for a captain Fabes. Here there were frequent meetings of noblemen, gentlemen, and rich merchants, with a view of devising means for preventing the nation from falling into slavery; but the whole ended in the discovery of the Rye-house plot, which occasioned the apprehending of Mr William Carstairs, Mr Spence, and Baillie of Jerviswood; the two former of whom were put to the torture, and the latter executed in the most cruel manner. Upon the appearance of the plot being discovered, Argyle went over to Holland; and Mrs Smith, who was deep in the plot also, persuaded her husband to emigrate to that country from general motives, for he was ignorant of the plot; and they continued to live together, taking up their abode at Utrecht. Veitch, happily, when the search was made for them in London, had departed for Scotland; and, after hiding for some time in the best manner he could, he also stole over to Holland. There he met with Monmouth, Argyle, the earl of Melville, lord Polwart, Torwoodlee, James Stuart, and many others similarly situated, who all took a deep interest in the plan now formed for invading both kingdoms at the same time, Monmouth to lead the attack upon England, and Argyle that upon Scotland. "Both of them," says Veitch, who seems to have been quite familiar with the whole plan, "had great promises sent them of assistance, but it turned to nothing, and no wonder; for the one part kept not their promises, and the other followed not the measures contrived and concerted at Amsterdam, April the 17th, 1685." The persons present at this meeting were Argyle, and his son Charles Campbell, Cochrane of Ochiltree, Hume of Polwart, Pringle of Torwoodlee, Denholm of Westshields, Hume of Bassendean, Cochrane of Waterside, Mr George Wisheart, William Cleland, James Stuart, and Gilbert Elliot. Mr Veitch says, he brought

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old president Stairs to the meeting with much persuasion; and he gave bond for one thousand pounds to Madam Smith, whose husband was now dead; and she lent out six or seven thousand more to Argyle and others for carrying on the enterprise. Having made all necessary arrangements, so far as was in their power, and dispatched Messrs Barclay and Veitch, Cleland and Torwoodlee, to different parts of Scotland to prepare for their reception, Argyle and his company went on board their fleet of three ships, the Anna, Sophia, and David, lying off the Vlie, on the 28th of April; and, with a fair wind, set sail for Scotland, and in three days approached the Orkneys. At Kirkwall, most unfortunately, Spence, Argyle's secretary, and Blackadder, his physician, went on shore, were instantly apprehended by the bishop and sent up to Edinburgh, which alarmed the government, and gave them time to prepare for the attack which they had heard of, but of which they were now certain. Sailing round to Argyle's country, his son was landed, who sent through the fiery cross, but with no great effect. Finding that they were pursued by a frigate, they put into a creek and landed their arms and stores at the old castle of Allangreg. In the meantime, the marquis of Athol came against them with a considerable force, by whom they were drawn away from the castle, leaving only one hundred and fifty men to defend it in case of an attack. Being attacked, the small garrison fled, and the whole of their provisions and stores fell into the hands of the enemy. All this was discouraging enough; but, what was worse, they were not agreed among themselves, nor was the country agreed to take part with them. The suffering presbyterians would have nothing to do with Argyle, with whom they were highly offended, for the part he had hitherto acted, and the declaration he emitted did not give them great hopes of that which was yet to come. In short, it was soon evident that they would be obliged to separate, and every man shift for himself in the best manner he could. Disappointed in the Highlands, it was proposed to try the Lowlands; but they had wandered in the Highlands till the government forces, under Athol, Gordon, and Dumbarton, had cut off their communication with the disaffected parts of the country, and even cut them off from the possibility of escape. It was at last, however, resolved, that they should march upon Glasgow; and they crossed the water of Leven three miles above Dumbarton, on the night of the 16th of June. Marching next morning towards Kilmaronock, in the hope of finding some provisions, of which they were in absolute want, they discovered a party of horse, and stood to their arms, but the party they had observed being only a small body of horsemen not sufficiently strong to attack them, they passed on. On setting their watch the same night, they were alarmed again by a party of the king's forces. Attempting a night-march to Glasgow, they wandered into a moss, where they were so broken and scattered that, in the morning, there were not above five hundred of them together.

All hope of success was now over. Sir John Cochrane and Sir Patrick Hume crossed the Clyde, with about one hundred and fifty men; and Argyle refusing to follow them, they marched to Muirdyke, where they were attacked by lord Ross, whom they repulsed in a very gallant manner, but were under the necessity of separating shortly after. Argyle, thus left to himself, despatched Sir Duncan Campbell and two Duncansons, father and son, to his own country, to attempt raising new levies; and repaired himself to the house of an old servant, where he calculated upon a temporary asylum, but was peremptorily denied entrance. In consequence of this he crossed the Clyde, attended only by one companion. At the ford of Inchinnan they were stopped by a party of militia men. Fullarton, the name of Argyle's companion, used every means he could think of to save his general, who was habited as a plain country man, and whom he passed for his guide. Seeing them determined to go after his guide, as he

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called him, he offered to surrender without a blow, provided they did not hurt the poor man who was conducting him. These terms they accepted, but did not adhere to; two of their number going after Argyle, who being on horseback, grappled with them, till one of them and himself came to the ground. He then presented his pocket pistol, when the two retired, but other five coming up, knocked him down with their swords, and seized him. When they found who it was they had made prisoner, they were exceedingly sorry, but they durst not let him go. Fullarton, perceiving the stipulation on which he had surrendered broken, snatched at the sword of one of them in order to take vengeance upon his perfidious opponents, but, failing in his attempt, he too was overpowered and made prisoner. Renfrew was the first place that was honoured with the presence of this noble captive; whence, on the 20th of June, he was led in triumph into Edinburgh. The order of the council was particular and peremptory, that he should be led bareheaded in the midst of Graham's guards with their matches cocked, with his hands tied behind his back, and preceded by the common hangman; and that he might be more exposed to those insults which the unfeeling vulgar are ever ready to heap upon the unfortunate, it was specially directed that he should be led to the castle, which was to be the place of his confinement, by a circuitous route. All this, however, while it manifested the native baseness of the Scottish rulers and the engrained malevolence of their hearts, only served to display more strongly the heroic dignity, the meekness, the patience, and the unconquerable fortitude which animated the bosom of their unfortunate victim; and it tended in no small degree to hasten that catastrophe which all this studied severity was intended to avert. The Scottish parliament, on the 11th of June, sent an address to the king; wherein, after commending his majesty in their usual manner for his immeasurable gifts of prudence, courage, and conduct; and loading Argyle, whom they style an hereditary traitor, with every species of abuse, and with every crime, particularly that of ingratitude for the favours which he had received, as well from his majesty as from his predecessor; they implore his majesty to show him no favour; and that his family, the heritors, the preachers, &c. who have joined him, may for ever be declared incapable of mercy, or of bearing any honour or estate in the kingdom; and all subjects discharged, under the pains of treason, to intercede for them in any manner of way. Accordingly, the following letter, with the royal signature, and countersigned by lord Milford, secretary of state for Scotland, was despatched to the council at Edinburgh, and by them entered and registered on the 29th of June. "Whereas, the late earl of Argyle is, by the providence of God, fallen into our power, it is our will and pleasure, that you take *all ways* to know from him those things which concern our government most; as, his assisters with men, arms, and money,—his associates and correspondents,—his designs, &c. but this must be done so as no time may be lost in bringing him to condign punishment, by causing him to be denounced as a traitor within the space of three days, after this shall come to your hands, an account of which, with what he shall confess, you shall send immediately to our secretaries, for which this shall be your warrant." James, who, while he was viceroy in Scotland, attended the infliction of torture upon the unhappy victims of his tyranny, and frequently called for an other touch, watching, at the same time, the unhappy victim with the eager curiosity of a philosophical experimenter, evidently, by this letter, intended that it should have been applied to Argyle. "It is our will and pleasure, that you take all ways to know from him, &c." seems positively to enjoin it; and when we reflect that torture was at the time in common use, and that the men to whom this order was addressed were in the habit of practising it, we might almost say, every day, it is somewhat of a mystery how he escaped it. Certain

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it is, however, that he did escape it, but how will, in all probability, never be known. That he did not escape it by any undue disclosures, is equally certain. That they had received such orders he was told, and of their readiness to obey them, he had too many proofs; yet, when examined in private by Queensberry, he gave no information with respect to his associates in England; he also denied that he had concerted his design with any persons in Scotland; but he avowed boldly, and with the utmost frankness, that his hopes of success were founded on the cruelty of the administration, and such a disposition in the people to revolt as he conceived to be the natural consequence of oppression. He owned, at the same time, that he had laid too much weight upon this principle. Writing, too, to a friend, just before his examination, he has these words: "What may have been discovered from any paper that may have been taken, he knows not. Otherwise, he has named none to their disadvantage." Perhaps it was to atone for their neglect with regard to the torture, that the council ordered his execution on the very next day, although they had three to choose upon; and, to make the triumph of injustice complete, it was ordered upon the iniquitous sentence of 1682. The warning was short, but it must have been, in some degree, anticipated; and he received it with the most perfect composure. He possessed a faith full of assurance that triumphed over all his afflictions, and a hope that breathed immortality.

The morning of his execution was spent in religious exercises, and in writing short notices to friends. He had his dinner before he left the castle, at the usual hour, at which he discoursed with those that were along with Mr Charteris and others, with cheerful and becoming gravity. After dinner he retired, as was his custom, to his bedchamber, where it is recorded he slept quietly for about a quarter of an hour. While he was in bed, one of the members of the council came, and wished to speak with him. Being told that the earl was asleep, and had left orders not to be disturbed, he seemed to think that it was only a shift to avoid further questionings, and the door being thrown open, he beheld, in a sweet and tranquil slumber, the man who, by the doom of himself and his fellows, was to die within the space of two short hours. Struck with the sight, he left the castle with the utmost precipitation; and entering the house of a friend that lived near by, threw himself on the first bed that presented itself. His friend naturally concluding that he was ill, offered him some wine, which he refused, saying, 'No, no, that will not help me—I have been at Argyle, and saw him sleeping as pleasantly as ever man did, but as for me—." The name of the person to whom this anecdote relates is not mentioned, but Wodrow says he had it from the most unquestionable authority. After his short repose, he was brought to the high council-house, from which is dated the letter to his wife, and thence to the place of execution. On the scaffold he discoursed with Mr Annand, a minister appointed by the government to attend him, and with Mr Charteris, both of whom he desired to pray for him. He then prayed himself with great fervency. The speech which he made was every way worthy of his character—full of fortitude, mildness, and charity. He offered his prayers to God for the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and that an end might be speedily put to their present trials. Having then asked pardon for his own failings, both of God and man, he would have concluded, but being reminded that he had said nothing of the royal family, he prayed that there never might be wanting one in it to support the protestant religion; and if any of them had swerved from the true faith, he prayed that God might turn their hearts, but at any rate to save his people from their machinations. Turning round he said, Gentlemen, I pray you do not misconstruct my behaviour this day. I freely forgive all men their wrongs and injuries done against me, as I desire to be forgiven of God. Mr Annand

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said, this gentleman dies a protestant; when he stepped forward and said, I die not only a protestant, but with a heart-hatred of popery, prelacy, and all superstition whatsomever. He then embraced his friends, gave some tokens of remembrance to his son-in-law, lord Maitland, for his daughter and grand-children, stripped himself of part of his apparel, of which he likewise made presents, and laying his head upon the block, repeated thrice, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit, when he gave the signal, and his head was severed from his body. Thus died Archibald Campbell, earl of Argyle, on the 30th of June, 1685, of whom it has been said, "Let him be weighed never so scrupulously, and in the nicest scales, he will not be found in a single instance wanting in the charity of a Christian, the firmness and benevolence of a patriot, nor the integrity and fidelity of a man of honour."

CAMPBELL, Dr George, an eminent theological writer, was born on Christmas day, 1719. His father was the Rev. Colin Campbell, one of the ministers of Aberdeen; a man whose simplicity and integrity of character were well known throughout the country, and the cause of his being held in general esteem. While the theological sentiments of this respectable person were perfectly orthodox, his style of preaching was very peculiar: it no doubt partook of the fashion of the times, but he seems to have also had a singular taste of his own. Dr Campbell frequently spoke of his father; and though his connection with so excellent a man afforded him great pleasure, he sometimes amused himself and his friends by repeating anecdotes respecting the oddity of his conceits in preaching. He delighted much in making the heads and particulars of his discourses begin with the same letter of the alphabet. Some very curious examples were in the possession of his son, which he related with great good humour, and which no one enjoyed more than himself. He had followed the fortunes, and adhered to the principles of the Argyle family. He was therefore a decided whig, and was very active in promoting, in 1715, among his parishioners, the cause of the Hanoverian succession, and in opposing the powerful interest of the numerous tory families in Aberdeen. This worthy man died suddenly, on the 27th of August, 1728, leaving a widow, with three sons and three daughters. The subject of this memoir was the youngest of the sons.

The grammar school of Aberdeen has long maintained a high rank among the Scottish seminaries; and it now enjoyed more than its usual reputation from the connection of Mr Alexander Malcolm, the author of by far the most extensive and philosophical system of arithmetic in the English language, besides an excellent treatise on Music. Such a man produces a strong sensation, wherever the sphere of his exertions happens to be, but in a provincial town like Aberdeen, where almost all the youth are his pupils, the impression he makes is naturally much greater. George Campbell, though said to have been a lively and idle, rather than a studious boy, made a respectable appearance in this school. He was afterwards enrolled a member of Marischal college, and went through the common course. A senior brother, whose name was Colin, had been devoted to the church, and George therefore proposed to study law. He was bound apprentice to Mr Stronach, W. S., Edinburgh, and regularly served the stipulated time. But he does not seem to have entered upon this line of life with any ardour. Before he had finished his apprenticeship, his resolutions were fixed for another profession, and, in 1741, he attended the prelections of professor Goldie, who then held the theological chair in the Edinburgh university. The celebrated Dr Blair began, about this time, as minister of the Canongate, to attract public attention by his discourses; and Campbell became a devoted admirer of the style of that great divine, with whom he, at the same time, formed an intimate personal friendship.

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At the conclusion of his apprenticeship, Mr Campbell returned to Aberdeen, and concluded his education as a clergyman in the divinity halls of that university. His superior intellect was now marked among his fellows, and he became the leader of a disputing society which was instituted by them in 1742, under the name of the *Theological Club*. Being licensed in 1746, he soon attracted attention by his discourses; yet in 1747, he was an unsuccessful candidate for the church of Fordoun, in the Mearns. When his reputation had acquired more consistency, he was presented with the church of Banchory Ternan, a few miles from Aberdeen, under circumstances of a somewhat extraordinary nature. Neither the patron nor those who recommended Campbell, were aware of his Christian name. It therefore happened that Colin, his elder brother, a man of great worth, but comparatively slender abilities, was applied to, and invited to preach at Banchory, as a prelude to his obtaining the living. Colin's public exhibitions did not equal the expectations which had been formed; and, in the course of conversation, the sagacity of the patron, Sir Alexander Burnett, discovered that it was his brother whose recommendations had been so ample. George Campbell was afterwards invited, and the satisfaction which he gave insured success, for he was ordained minister of that parish, June 2, 1746. He was not long in this situation when he married a young lady of the name of Farquharson.

Though Mr Campbell did not, at this early period of his life, give token of that power of intense application which he manifested in his later years, it is supposed that he formed, in the solitude of Banchory, the original ideas of all his great works. He here composed the most important parts of his Philosophy of Rhetoric. This admirable and truly classical work, in which the laws of elegant composition and just criticism are laid down with singular taste and perspicuity, originally formed a series of detached essays, and contains, with a few exceptions, the outlines of all the works he ever published. At this time also he began his great work, the Translation of the Gospels; though it is probable that he did not make much progress until his professional duties directed his attention more forcibly to the same subject. His character as a country clergyman was established in a very short time. The amiable simplicity of his manners, the integrity and propriety of his behaviour, conjoined with his extensive knowledge, and the general esteem in which he was held by literary men, very soon brought him into notice. He was consequently induced to relinquish his charge in the country, and comply with the invitation of the magistrates of Aberdeen, and take charge of one of the *quarters* of that city. It is a somewhat curious circumstance, that Dr Reid and Dr Campbell, two of the most distinguished founders of the Scottish school of moral philosophy, should have been the successors—the first at Old Machar, and the latter at Aberdeen—of Mr John Bisset, a clergyman who was the *wildest* among the *wild*, and whose ravings were looked upon by the people as something little short of inspiration. It was no agreeable situation for Mr Campbell to stand in the pulpit of such a man, and preach mild and moral doctrine, where the taste of the people required abstract declamation upon all the most abstruse points, and a perpetual flagellation of all who were of a different way of thinking. The pain was compensated, however, by the society of literary men, and the opportunity of consulting public libraries. Mr Campbell here formed one of a very select club, styled the Literary Society of Aberdeen, which had been formed in the year 1758, and which comprehended many men afterwards eminent in literature and philosophy. The subjects discussed in this association were not such as regard the belles lettres alone: all the different branches of philosophy were included in the plan. Campbell took a very active part in the business of the society, and delivered in it the greater part of his "Philosophy of Rhetoric."

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Principal Pollock of Marischal College died in 1759, and it was supposed at the time that the chance of succeeding him was confined to two gentlemen possessed of all the local influence which in such cases generally insures success. Mr Campbell, who was ambitious of obtaining the situation, resolved to lay his pretensions before the duke of Argyle, who, for many years, had dispensed the government patronage of Scotland. It happened that one of Mr Campbell's ancestors, his grandfather or great-grandfather, had held the basket into which the marquis of Argyle's head fell when he was beheaded. Mr Campbell hinted at this in the letter he addressed to his grace; and the result was his appointment to the vacant place. This anecdote, we need scarcely remind the reader, has been lately used in fictitious history.

Shortly after this Mr Campbell received the degree of doctor of divinity from King's College, Aberdeen; and, in 1763, he published his celebrated "Treatise on Miracles," in answer to what was advanced on that subject by David Hume; a work which has been justly characterised as one of the most acute and convincing treatises that has ever appeared upon the subject.

A condensed view of the respective arguments of these two philosophers, on one of the most interesting points connected with revealed religion, is thus given by the ingenious William Smellie, in the first edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, under the article ABRIDGMENT:—

Mr Hume argues, "That experience, which, in some things is variable, in others uniform, is our *only* guide in reasoning concerning matters of fact. A variable experience gives rise to probability only; a uniform experience amounts to a proof. Our belief of any fact from the testimony of eye-witnesses is derived from no other principle than our experience in the veracity of human testimony. If the fact attested be miraculous, here arises a contest of two opposite experiences, or proof against proof. Now, a miracle is a violation of the laws of nature; and as a firm and unalterable experience has established these laws, the proof against a miracle, from the very nature of the fact, is as complete as any argument from experience can possibly be imagined; and, if so, it is an undeniable consequence, that it cannot be surmounted by any proof whatever derived from human testimony.

Dr Campbell, in his answer, aims at showing the fallacy of Mr Hume's argument by another single position. He argues, "That the evidence arising from human testimony is not solely derived from experience; on the contrary, testimony hath a natural influence on belief, antecedent to experience. The early and unlimited assent given to testimony by children gradually contracts as they advance in life: it is, therefore, more consonant to truth, to say, that our *diffidence* in testimony is the result of experience, than that our faith in it has this foundation. Besides, the uniformity of experience, in favour of any fact, is not a proof against its being reversed in a particular instance. The evidence arising from the single testimony of a man of known veracity will go far to establish a belief in its being actually reversed: If his testimony be confirmed by a few others of the same character, we cannot withhold our assent to the truth of it. Now, though the operations of nature are governed by uniform laws, and though we have not the testimony of our senses in favour of any violation of them, still, if, in particular instances, we have the testimony of thousands of our fellow-creatures, and those, too, men of strict integrity, swayed by no motives of ambition or interest, and governed by the principles of common sense, That they were actual eye-witnesses of these violations, the constitution of our nature obliges us to believe them."

Dr Campbell's essay was speedily translated into the French, Dutch, and German languages.

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The activity and application of Dr Campbell received an impulse in 1771, from his being appointed professor of divinity in Marischal college, in place of Dr Alexander Gerard, who had removed to the corresponding chair in King's. These two eminent men had been colleagues, and preached alternately in the same church. They were now pitched against each other in a higher walk, and there can be no doubt, that, as the same students attended both, a considerable degree of emulation was excited betwixt them. Gerard was perfectly sensible of the talents of his new rival. His friends had taken the freedom of hinting to him that he had now some reason to look to his laurels; in answer to which he remarked carelessly, that Dr Campbell was indolent. An unfortunate misunderstanding had existed between these two excellent men for many years: it was now widened by the report of Gerard's trivial remark, which some busy person carried to Dr Campbell's ears, probably in an exaggerated shape. This circumstance is said, however, to have had the beneficial effect of stimulating Dr Campbell's exertions. The manner in which he discharged his duties was most exemplary; and the specimens which he has given in his Preliminary Dissertations to the Translation of the Gospels, in his Lectures on Ecclesiastical History, and on Theology, afford abundant proofs of his high qualifications as a public lecturer. It will be at the same time observed, from the list of his works, immediately to be submitted, that the vacations of his professional labours were most sedulously employed for the advantage of the public and posterity.

Dr Campbell appears to us to have been one of the most splendidly gifted men that appeared during the course of the last century. His body was remarkably feeble; his stature greatly below that of ordinary men in this country. His health was extremely delicate, and required for the long period of threescore years and ten the utmost care and attention. Yet his powers of application were above those of most men, and, what is strange, were exemplified chiefly in his later and feebler years. He was a man of the utmost simplicity of manners and *naïvete* of character, and remarkably pleasant in conversation. The works which he has published prove, in the most indisputable manner, that he was possessed of true philosophical genius. His powers of abstraction appear to have been greater than those of most men of ancient or modern times. The study of languages was employed by him to the best advantage; and the accuracy of his disquisitions throws a light upon the nature of the human mind, while it discovers a habit of attention to the actings of his own mind, which has certainly not been surpassed by any of those who have cultivated the science of morals.

As a minister of religion, he was no less eminent than in any other situation which he ever filled. He was esteemed by his hearers as an excellent lecturer; but his lectures were perhaps a little superior to his ordinary sermons. As the head of his college, he appeared to the greatest advantage,—unassuming, mild, and disposed to show the greatest kindness and tenderness to those who were his inferiors, both in regard to rank or to literary reputation. As professor of divinity, his fame was unrivalled. Many of his pupils have expressed in the warmest language the pleasure they derived from his prelections. There was a peculiar unction in his manner which charmed every one. He encouraged those whom he conceived to be diffident, and equally discountenanced those who appeared to him to be forward or conceited. In church courts he never aimed at shining; but he was sometimes roused to great extemporaneous exertion in that field, and it was remarked that his replies were generally better than his introductory speeches. He was a zealous advocate for liberty of conscience, and lent all his influence to his friend principal Robertson respecting

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the popish bill. His preponderance in the town of Aberdeen was never great in public questions; and indeed he never aimed at such an object: but in private society, he was always esteemed the life of the company, and never failed to make a strong impression.[1]

Dr Campbell died, April 6, 1796, in the 77th year of his age.

CAMPBELL, John, duke of Argyle and Greenwich, a distinguished soldier and statesman, was the son of Archibald, first duke of Argyle, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Lionel Talmas of Helmingham, by Elizabeth, afterwards duchess of Lauderdale, daughter of William Murray, earl of Dysart. His grace was born, October 10, 1678; and on the day in which his grandfather, Archibald, earl of Argyle, fell a sacrifice to the tyranny of James VII., (some say at the very moment of his execution), the subject of this narrative, being then in his seventh year, fell from a window in the third story of the house of Dunybrissel, then possessed by his aunt, the countess of Murray, and, to the astonishment of the whole household, was taken up without having suffered any material injury; a circumstance which his relatives and friends considered as indicating not only future greatness, but that he was destined to restore the lustre of the house of Argyle, which at that moment was under a melancholy eclipse. The care of his education was confided to a licentiate of the Scottish church, named Walter Campbell, who, for his diligence, was afterwards rewarded by the family with a presentation to the parish of Dunoon. Under this gentleman he studied the classics, and some branches of philosophy. But he was distinguished by a restless activity, rather than a fondness for study, and his father, anxious to place him in a situation where he might have it in his power to retrieve the fortunes of the family, took an early opportunity of presenting him to king William, who, in 1694, bestowed upon the young nobleman the command of a regiment, he being yet in his sixteenth year. In this situation he continued till the death of his father in the month of December, 1703, when, succeeding to the dukedom, he was sworn of his majesty's privy council, and appointed captain of the Scots horse guards, and one of the extraordinary lords of session. In 1704, the order of the thistle being revived in Scotland, his grace was installed one of the knights, which dignity he subsequently exchanged for the order of the garter.

In 1705, being exceedingly popular among his countrymen, the duke of Argyle was appointed her majesty's high commissioner to the Scottish parliament, in order to prepare the way for the treaty of union, which her majesty, queen Anne, in concert with her English counsellors, had now determined to carry into effect. For his services in this parliament, he was created an English peer, by the titles of baron of Chatham and earl of Greenwich. His grace, after this, served four campaigns in Flanders, under the duke of Marlborough, where he rose to the rank of lieutenant-general, and was honourably distinguished in the battles of Ramilies, Oudinarde, and Malplaquet, in the last of which he narrowly escaped, having a number of balls shot through his coat, hat, and periwig. He was also employed at the sieges of Ostend, Menin, Lisle, Ghent, and Tournay.

On the change of ministry in 1710, Argyle veered with the wind of the

[1] The following is a list of his writings:—1. The Character of a Minister as a Teacher and Pattern.—2. Dissertation on Miracles.—3. The Spirit of the Gospel.—4. The Philosophy of Rhetoric.—5. The Nature, Extent, and Importance of the Duty of Allegiance.—6. The Success of the First Publishers of the Gospel, a Proof of its Truth.—7. Address to the People of Scotland, on the Alarms raised by the Bill in Favour of the Roman Catholics.—8. The Happy Influence of Religion on Civil Society.—9. Translation of the Gospels, with Preliminary Dissertations and Explanatory Notes.—10. Lectures on Ecclesiastical History.—11. Lectures on Theology.

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court, and having become a declaimer against the duke of Marlborough, was by the tories appointed generalissimo in Spain, where there were great complaints of mismanagement on the part of the former ministry, and where it was now proposed to carry on the war with more than ordinary vigour. Here, however, his grace was completely overreached, the ministry having no intention of carrying on the war any where. On his arrival in Spain, he found the army in a state of perfect disorganization, without pay and without necessaries, and though the parliament had voted a large sum for its subsistence, not one farthing was sent to him. He was under the necessity of raising money upon his plate and personal credit for its immediate wants, and in a short time returned to England, having accomplished nothing. This treatment, with a report that a design had been laid to take him off by poison while he was on his ill-fated journey, and, above all, the superior influence of the earl of Mar, who, as well as himself, aspired to the sole administration of Scottish affairs, totally alienated him from his new friends, the tories. He became again a leading whig, and a violent declaimer for the protestant succession, in consequence of which he was deprived of all his employments. His grace had been a principal agent in accomplishing the union, by which his popularity was considerably injured among the lower orders of his countrymen; this he now dexterously retrieved, by joining with Mar and his Jacobite associates at court, for the dissolving of that treaty which he now pretended had completely disappointed his expectations. A motion for this end was accordingly made in the house of lords on the first of June, 1713, by the earl of Seafield, who also had been one of the most forward of the original supporters of the measure. The motion was seconded by the earl of Mar, and urged by Argyle with all the force of his eloquence. One of his principal arguments, however, being the security of the protestant succession, he was led to speak of the pretender, which he did with so much acrimony, that several of the high Jacobites fled the house without waiting for the vote. This was the means of disappointing the project, which otherwise had most certainly been carried, it having been lost after all by no more than four voices.

On the illness of the queen in the following year, the zeal of his grace for the protestant succession was most conspicuous, as well as most happy. Nobody at the time entertained any doubt that Bolingbroke and his party had an intention at least to attempt the pretender's restoration on the death of the queen; and to prevent any undue advantages being taken of circumstances, Argyle no sooner was apprized of her dangerous situation, than, along with the duke of Somerset, he repaired to the council-board, and prevailed to have all the privy counsellors in and about London, without any exceptions, summoned to attend, which, with the sudden death of the queen, so completely disconcerted the tories, that, for the time, there was not the smallest manifestation of one discordant feeling. The queen was no sooner dead, than the seven lords who had by a previous act of parliament been appointed to the regency, together with sixteen additional personages nominated by the heir apparent, in virtue of the same act of parliament, proclaimed the elector of Hanover king of Great Britain. They at the same time took every precaution for preserving tranquillity, and preparing for his majesty's being peacefully and honourably received on his arrival. The services of Argyle on this occasion were not overlooked: he was made groom of the stole to the prince, while his majesty had advanced no further than Greenwich, and two days after was appointed commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces for Scotland.

Though by this strange combination of circumstances, viz. the sudden demise of the queen, the disunion of the Jacobites, with the prompt decision of the

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whigs, among whom the subject of this memoir was a most efficient leader, the accession of the new dynasty was to all appearance easy and peaceable, the baffled faction very soon rallied their forces and returned to the charge with an energy and a perseverance worthy of a better cause. The cry of "Church in danger" was again raised, and for some weeks England was one scene of universal riot. Many places of worship belonging to dissenters were thrown down, and in several places most atrocious murders were committed. Through the energy of the government, however, open insurrection was for a while prevented, and tranquillity in some measure restored. Still the activity of the Pretender at foreign courts, and the restlessness of his adherents at home, created strong suspicions that an invasion on his behalf was intended, and every preparation that could be thought of was taken to defeat it. A number of new regiments were raised, officers of doubtful character were displaced, suspected persons taken into custody, and lords-lieutenant, with the necessary powers, every where appointed. In the meantime Scotland, where the friends of the exiled family were proportionally much more numerous than in England, was by a strange fatality neglected. In the southern and western shires, through the influence of the Hanoverian club, at the head of which was the earl of Buchan, the attention of the people had been awakened, and right feeling to a considerable extent excited; yet even there Jacobitism was not a rare thing, and in the north, through the influence of the earl of Mar, it was altogether triumphant. That nobleman, indeed, had cajoled into his views almost all the clans, at the head of whom, to the amount of twelve thousand men, he had taken possession of Perth, and was ready to seize upon the fords of the Forth before the government had observed his manœuvres, or taken any proper precautions to counteract them. Sensible at last of the danger, they proclaimed the law for encouraging loyalty in Scotland, summoned a long list of suspected persons to deliver themselves up to the public functionaries, and, to call forth those supplies of men and money which they had hitherto shown a disposition to forbid rather than to encourage, sent down the duke of Argyle, who had already been constituted commander-in-chief of the forces, with all the necessary powers for that purpose. His grace arrived in Edinburgh on the 14th of September, 1715, where his first care was to inspect the garrison, the fortifications, and the magazines, from the last of which he ordered thirty cart loads of arms and ammunition to be sent to Glasgow and Stirling for the use of the inhabitants. He then proceeded to review the army which had been assembled at Stirling, general Wightman having there formed a camp of all the disposable forces in Scotland, which fell short of two thousand men, a number altogether inadequate to the arduous duties they had to perform. The first care of his grace was, of course, to augment the forces by every possible means; for which end he wrote to the magistrates of Glasgow, and through them to all the well affected in the west of Scotland, to forward such troops as they might have in readiness without loss of time, and to have as many more provided against a sudden emergency as possible. Glasgow, which had been in expectation of such a catastrophe for a considerable time, immediately forwarded to Stirling upwards of seven hundred men well equipped, under the command of provost Aird, with whom they joined colonel John Blackadder, governor of Stirling castle. These seven hundred were instantly replaced at Glasgow by detachments from Kilmarnock, Irvine, Greenock, and Paisley, where, with the exception of detachments sent out to garrison the houses of Drummakill, Gartartan, and Cardross, they were allowed to remain for the convenience of provisions, which were rather scarce at Stirling. He also ordered levies to fill up every company in the regular regiments to fifty men, and to add two fresh companies to each regiment. But though he offered

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a strictly limited term of service, and a liberal bounty for that period (two pounds sterling for each man), he does not appear to have been successful in adding to his numbers. Nor, with all his earnestness of application, could he prevail on the government to spare him from England, where troops were plentiful, a single man. One regiment of dragoons and two of foot from Ireland was the utmost he could obtain, which, till he should be able to ascertain the intentions of the earl of Mar, were also stationed at Glasgow. While Argyle was thus struggling with difficulties, and completely hampered in all his operations, Mar had greater means than he had genius to employ, and could, without any exertion, keep his opponent in perpetual alarm. He had already, by a stratagem, nearly possessed himself of the castle of Edinburgh, ere the magistrates of that city were aware of his being in arms. A detachment from his army, by a night march, descended upon Burntisland, where a vessel loaded with arms for the earl of Sutherland, had been driven in by stress of weather. This vessel they boarded, carrying off the arms, with as many more as could be found in the town. A still bolder project was about the same time attempted in the north-west, where a numerous party of the Macdonalds, Macleans, and Camerons, under the orders of general Gordon, attempted to surprise the garrison of Inverlochy. They were, however, repulsed, after having made themselves masters of two redoubts and taken twenty men. They then turned south upon Argyleshire for the purpose of raising men, and general Gordon, who had the reputation of an excellent officer, threatened to fall down upon Dumbarton and Glasgow. This was another source of distraction to Argyle, whose small army could not well admit of being divided. Gordon, however, met with little encouragement in the way of recruiting, and after alarming Inverary, where the duke had stationed his brother, lord Ilay, dropped quietly into Mar's camp at Perth, where nearly the whole strength of the rebels was now concentrated.

Though Argyle was thus circumscribed in his means, he displayed ceaseless activity and considerable address in the application of them, and the great reputation he had acquired under Marlborough, rendered him, even with his scanty means, formidable to his opponent, who was altogether a novice in the art military. One talent of a great general too his grace possessed in considerable perfection, that of finding out the plans and secret purposes of his adversary, of all whose movements he had generally early and complete intelligence; Mar, on the contrary, could procure no intelligence whatever. He knew that a simultaneous rising was to take place under Thomas Foster of Etherstane, member of parliament for the county in Northumberland, and another in Nithsdale under viscount Kenmure; but how they were succeeding, or to what their attention had been more immediately directed, he was utterly ignorant. To ascertain these points, to stimulate his friends in their progress, and to open up for himself an easier passage to the south, he detached two thousand five hundred of his best troops under the laird of Borlum, the bravest and the most experienced officer perhaps in his whole army. This detachment was to force its way across the Firth below Edinburgh, and through the Lothians by the way of Kelso till it should find Kenmure or Foster upon the English border. This romantic project the old brigadier, as he was called in the army, accomplished with great facility, one boat with forty men being all that in crossing the Firth fell into the hands of the enemy. A few with the earl of Strathmore were cut off from the rest, but made their escape into the isle of May, whence in a day or two they found their way back to Perth. The principal part of the expedition, consisting nearly of two thousand men, landed between Tantalon, North Berwick and Aberlady, and for the first night quartered in Haddington. Early next morning, the 13th of October, the whole body marched directly for

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Edinburgh. This threw the city into the utmost consternation, and an express was sent off directly to Stirling for troops to protect the city. Two hundred infantry mounted upon country horses and three hundred cavalry arrived the same evening; but had Borlum persisted in his original design, they had certainly come too late. On his arriving, however, within a mile of the city, and meeting with none of the citizens, a deputation of whom he had expected to invoke his aid, and perhaps secretly dreading the movements of Argyle, Borlum turned aside to Leith, which he entered, as he would in all probability have entered Edinburgh, without the smallest opposition. Here the insurgents found and liberated their forty companions who had been taken the previous day in crossing the Firth. They also seized upon the Custom-house, where they found considerable quantities of meal, beef, and brandy, which they at once appropriated to their own use, and possessing themselves of the citadel, with such materials as they found in the harbour, they fortified it in the best manner they could for their security through the night. Next morning Argyle, with his three hundred cavalry, two hundred infantry, and a few militia, marched against Borlum, accompanied by generals Evans and Wightman, giving him a summons under pain of treason to surrender, adding that if he waited for an attack, he should have no quarter. The laird of Kynnachin, who was spokesman for the rebels, haughtily replied, that the word surrender they did not understand, quarter they would neither take nor give, and his grace was welcome to force their position if he could. Sensible that without artillery no attack could be made upon the place, barricaded as it was, with any prospect of success, the duke withdrew to prepare the means of more efficient warfare, and Borlum, disappointed in his views upon Edinburgh, and perhaps not at all anxious for a second interview with the king's troops, took the advantage of an ebb tide and a very dark night, to abandon his position, marching round the pier by the sands for Seaton house, the seat of the earl of Winton, who was in the south with Kenmure and his associated rebels. This place, after sundry accidents, they reached in safety about two o'clock in the morning. Here they were joined by a number of their companions, who having crossed the Firth farther down were unable to come up with them on the preceding day. Forty of their men, who had made too free with the custom-house brandy, some stragglers who had fallen behind on the march, with a small quantity of baggage and ammunition, fell into the hands of a detachment of the king's troops. Argyle, in the meantime, aware of the strength of Seaton house, sent off an express to Stirling for cannon to dislodge its new possessors, when he was informed that Mar was on his march to force the passage of the Forth. This compelled him to hasten to Stirling, where he found that Mar had actually commenced his march, and had himself come as far south as Dunblane, whence hearing of the arrival of the duke, he returned to Perth, having attained his object, which was only a safe retreat for his friends from Seaton house.

On his sudden departure for Stirling, Argyle left the city of Edinburgh and Seaton house to the care of general Wightman and colonel Ker, with a few regular troops and the neighbouring militia. Finding Seaton impregnable to any force they could bring against it, they retired from it, to save themselves the disgrace of making an unsuccessful attack. Borlum finding himself unmolested, and in a country where he could command with ease all kinds of provision, proposed nothing less than to establish there a general magazine for the pretender, and to enlist an army from among the Jacobites of Edinburgh and the adjacent country; but before he left the citadel of Leith, he despatched a boat with intelligence to Mar; and, firing after her, the king's ships took her for one of their own boats, and allowed her to pass without molestation. In

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consequence of this notice, Mar had made a feint to cross the Forth, merely to allow him to escape, and now he had an answer at Seaton house, with express orders to proceed south, and to put himself under the orders of Kenmure or Foster, without a moment's delay. He accordingly proceeded next day towards Kelso, where he met with Foster and Kenmure on the 22d of October, when, after all the desertion they had experienced by the way, which was very considerable, the whole formed an army of fourteen hundred foot, and six hundred horse. Here they were threatened with an attack from general Carpenter, who was within a day's march of them, and became violently divided in opinion respecting the course they ought to pursue. Foster and his Northumbrian friends were anxious to transfer the scene of their operations to England, where they promised themselves a prodigious increase of numbers. The Highlanders, on the contrary, were anxious to return and join the clans, taking the towns of Dumfries and Glasgow in their way. The contention was so hot that it had almost come to blows, and it ended in five hundred Highlanders adopting the latter plan, who, separating from their companions, and taking their route for the heads of the Forth, were either famished, killed, or taken prisoners by the way. The remainder followed the former, and proceeded as far as Preston, where on the 13th of November, the very day on which the main armies met on the Sheriff-muir, they were all made prisoners and delivered over, some to the executioner, and the remainder to be slaves in the plantations.

Argyle all this while continued at Stirling, and Mar at Perth, carrying on an insignificant war of manifestoes, equally unprofitable to both parties; and perhaps equally harassing to the country. On the 23d of October, however, the duke, having learned that a detachment of rebels was passing by castle Campbell, towards Dunfermline, sent out a body of cavalry, which came up with the party, and defeated it, taking a number of gentlemen prisoners, with the trifling damage of one dragoon wounded in the cheek, and one horse slightly hurt. Nothing further occurred between the armies till Mar, finding that without action it would be impossible to keep his army together, called a council of all the chiefs on the 9th of November, in which it was resolved to cross the Forth without loss of time. Nor could this be, one would have supposed, to them any thing like a difficult undertaking. After having disposed of three thousand men in the different garrisons along the coast of Fife, they had still twelve thousand effective troops for the attack, which they proposed should be made in the following manner.—First, with one division of one thousand men to attempt the bridge of Stirling—with a second of an equal number the Abbey Ford, a mile below the bridge—with a third of an equal number, the ford called the Drip Coble, a mile and a half above the bridge. These three attacks, they supposed, would amply occupy the duke's whole army, which did not exceed three thousand men, and, in the meantime, with their main body, consisting of nine thousand men, they intended to cross the river still higher up, and push directly for England, leaving the other three divisions after having disposed of the duke, to follow at their leisure. Argyle, however, having acquainted himself, by means of his spies, with the plan, took his measures accordingly. Aware that if he waited for the attack on the Forth, he would, from the nature of the ground, be deprived of the use of his cavalry, upon which he placed his principal dependence, he determined to take up a position in advance of that river, and for this purpose, having appointed the earl of Buchan with the Stirlingshire militia, and the Glasgow regiment to guard the town of Stirling, commenced his march to the north on the morning of Saturday the 12th of November, and

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in the afternoon encamped on a rising ground, having on his right the Sheriff-muir, and on his left the town of Dunblane.

Mar, having committed the town of Perth to the care of colonel Balfour, on the 10th had come as far south as Auchterarder, with an effective force of ten thousand five hundred men, the cavalry in his army being nearly equal to Argyle's whole force. The 11th he devoted to resting the troops, fixing the order of battle, &c., and on the 12th, general Gordon, with eight squadrons of horse, and all the clans, was ordered to occupy Dunblane. The remainder of the rebel army had orders to parade early in the morning on the muir of Tullibardine, and thence to follow general Gordon. This part of the army, which was under the command of general Hamilton, had scarcely begun to move, when an express came to the general that the royal troops had already occupied Dunblane in great force. On this the general halted, and drew up his men in the order of battle on the site of the Roman camp, near Ardoch. Mar himself, who had gone to Drummond castle, being informed of the circumstance, came up with all speed, and nothing further having been heard from general Gordon, the whole was supposed to be a false alarm. The troops, however, were ordered to be in readiness, and the discharge of three cannons was to be the signal for the approach of the enemy. Scarcely had these orders been issued, when an express from general Gordon informed the earl of Mar that Argyle had occupied Dunblane with his whole force. The signal guns were of course fired, and the rebel army, formed in order of battle on the muir of Kinbuck, lay under arms during the night.

The duke of Argyle, having certain intelligence before he left Stirling of Mar's movements, was perfectly aware, that before his army had finished its encampment the watch guns of the rebels would be heard, disposed every thing exactly in the order in which he intended to make his attack next morning; of course no tent was pitched, and officers and men, without distinction, lay under arms during the night, which was uncommonly severe. The duke alone sat under cover of a sheep cote at the foot of the hill. Every thing being ready for the attack, his grace, early in the morning of Monday, the 13th, rode to the top of the hill, where his advanced guard was posted, to reconnoitre the rebels' army, which, though it had suffered much from desertion the two preceding days, was still upwards of nine thousand men, disposed in the following order—Ten battalions of foot, comprising the clans commanded by Clanronald, Glengary, Sir John Maclean, and Campbell of Glenlyon. On their right were three squadrons of horse; the Stirling, which carried the standard of the pretender, and two of the marquis of Huntley's; on their left were the Fifeshire and Perthshire squadrons. Their second line consisted of three battalions of Seaforth's, two of Huntley's, those of Panmure, Tullibardine, lord Drummond, and Strowan, commanded by their respective chieftains, Drummond's excepted, which was commanded by Strathallan and Logie Almond. On the right of this line were Marischal's dragoons, and on their left those of Angus. Of the left of their army his grace had a tolerable view, but a hollow concealed their right, and, being masters of the brow of the hill, he was unable to discover the length of their lines.

While the rebels, notwithstanding their great superiority of force, were losing their time in idle consultation whether they should presently fight or return to Perth, the duke had abundance of time to examine their dispositions, but for a considerable time could not comprehend what was their plan, and was at a loss how to form his own. No sooner had they taken the resolution to fight, however, than he perceived that they intended to attack him in front with their right, and in flank with their left, at the same time; the severity of the frost

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through the night having rendered a morass, which covered that part of his position, perfectly passable: he hastened to make his dispositions accordingly. Before these dispositions, however, could be completed, general Witham, who commanded his left, was attacked by the clans, with all their characteristic fury and totally routed, Witham himself riding full speed to Stirling with tidings of a total defeat. In the meantime, Argyle, at the head of Stair's and Evans' dragoons, charged the rebel army on the left, consisting mostly of cavalry, which he totally routed in his turn, driving them, to the number of five thousand men, beyond the water of Allan, in which many of them were drowned attempting to escape. General Wightman, who commanded the duke's centre, followed with three battalions of foot as closely as possible. The right of the rebels were all this time inactive, and seeing, by the retreat of Argyle's left, the field empty, joined the clans who had driven it off, and crossing the field of battle, took post, to the number of four thousand men, on the hill of Kippendavie. Apprised by general Wightman of his situation, which was now critical in the extreme, Argyle instantly wheeled round—formed the few troops he had, scarcely one thousand men, the Grays on the right, Evans' on the left, with the foot in the centre, and advancing towards the enemy, took post behind some fold dykes at the foot of the hill. Instead of attacking him, however, the rebels drew off towards Ardoch, allowing him quietly to proceed to Dunblane, where, having recalled general Witham, the army lay on their arms all night, expecting to renew the combat next day. Next day, finding the enemy gone, he returned to Stirling, carrying along with him sixteen standards, six pieces of cannon, four waggons, and a great quantity of provision, captured from the enemy. The number of the slain on the side of the rebels has been stated to have been eight hundred, among whom were the earl of Strathmore, Clanranald, and several other persons of distinction. Panmure and Drummond of Logie were among the wounded. Of the royal army there were killed, wounded, and taken prisoners upwards of six hundred. The lord Forfar was the only person of eminence killed on that side.

The obvious incapacity of both generals, though, from his great superiority of forces, Marr's is by far the most conspicuous, is the only striking feature of this battle; both claimed the victory at the time, and both had suffered a defeat, yet the consequences were decisive. The rebels never again faced the royal troops, and for any thing they effected might have separated that very day. The period indeed was fatal in the extreme to the Pretender. The whole body of his adherents in the south had fallen into the hands of generals Willis and Carpenter at Preston, and Inverness, with all the adjacent country, had been recovered to the government, through the exertions of the earl of Sutherland, lord Lovat, the Rosses, the Monros, and the Forbeses, nearly on this same day; and though Marr, on his return to Perth, celebrated his victory with *Te Deums*, thanksgivings, sermons, ringing of bells, and bonfires, his followers were dispirited, and many of them withdrew to their homes in disgust. Owing to the paucity of his numbers and the extreme rigour of the season, Argyle was in no great haste to follow up his part of the victory, and the government, evidently displeased with his tardy procedure, sent down general Cadogan to quicken, and perhaps to be a spy upon his motions. He, however, brought along with him six thousand Dutch and Swiss troops, with Newton's and Stanhope's dragoons, by which the royal army was made more than a match for the rebels, though they had been equally strong as before the battle of Dunblane. On the arrival of these reinforcements, orders were issued to the commander in Leith roads, to cannonade the town of Bruntisland, which was in possession of a large body of the rebels, which he did with so much effect, that

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they abandoned the place, leaving behind them six pieces of cannon, a number of small arms, and a large quantity of provisions. Several other small garrisons on the coast were abandoned about the same time, and a detachment of the Dutch and Swiss troops, crossing over at the Queensferry, took possession of Inverkeithing, Dunfermline, and the neighbouring towns, in consequence of which Fife was entirely abandoned by the rebels. Some trifling skirmishes took place, but no one of such magnitude as to deserve a formal detail.

Cadogan, writing to the duke of Marlborough at this period, says, that he found the duke anxious to invent excuses for sitting still and endeavouring to discourage the troops, by exaggerating the numbers of the enemy, and the dangers and difficulties of the service. Now, however, having received from London, Berwick, and Edinburgh, a sufficient train of artillery, pontoons, engineers, &c. no excuse for inaction was left, but the inclemency of the weather; and this, in a council of war, it was determined to brave. Colonel Guest was accordingly sent out, on the 21st of January, 1716, with two hundred horse, to view the roads and reconnoitre the positions of the enemy. The colonel reported the roads impassable for carriages and heavy artillery, in consequence of which several thousands of the country people were called in and employed to clear them. A sudden thaw, on the 24th, followed by a heavy fall of snow, rendered the roads again impassable; but the march was determined upon, and the country men had to clear the roads a second time. But, besides the impassability of the roads, there were neither provisions, forage, nor shelter, (frozen rocks, and mountains of snow excepted,) to be found between Perth and Dunblane; the Chevalier, having ordered every village with all that could be of use either to man or beast, to be destroyed. Provisions and forage for the army were therefore to be provided, subsistence for twelve days being ordered to be carried along with them, and more to be in readiness to send after them when wanted. In the meantime, two regiments of dragoons and five hundred foot were sent forward to the broken bridge of Doune, in case the rebels might have attempted to secure the passage; and, on the 29th, the main army began its march, quartering that night in Dunblane. On the night of the 30th, the army quartered among the ruins of Auchterarder, without any covering save the canopy of heaven, the night being piercingly cold and the snow upwards of three feet deep. On this day's march the army was preceded by two thousand labourers clearing the roads. Next morning they surprised and made prisoners fifty men in the garrison of Tullibardine, where the duke received, with visible concern, if we may credit Cadogan, the news of the Pretender having abandoned Perth on the preceding day, having thrown his artillery into the Tay, which he crossed on the ice. Taking four squadrons of dragoons, and two battalions of foot, whatever might be his feelings, Argyle hastened to take possession of that city, at which he arrived, with general Cadogan and the dragoons, about one o'clock on the morning of the 1st of February. The two colonels, Campbell of Finab, and Campbell of Lawers, who had been stationed at Finlarig, hearing of the retreat of the rebels, had entered the town the preceding day, and had made prisoners of a party of rebels who had got drunk upon a quantity of brandy which they had not had the means otherwise to carry away. Eight hundred bolls of oat meal were found in Marr's magazine, which Argyle ordered to be, by the miller of the mill of Earn, divided among the sufferers of the different villages that had been burned by order of the Pretender. Finab was despatched instantly to Dundee in pursuit of the rebels; and entered it only a few hours after they had departed. On the 2d, his grace continued the pursuit, and lay that night at Errol. On the 3d, he came to Dundee, where he was joined by the main body of the army on the 4th. Here the intelligence from the rebel army led his grace to conclude that they meant to defend Montrose,

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where they could more easily receive supplies from abroad than at Perth; and, to allow them as little time as possible to fortify themselves, two detachments were sent forward without a moment's loss of time; the one by Aberbrothick, and the other by Brechin. Owing to the depths of the roads the progress of these detachments was slow, being under the necessity of employing the country people to clear away the snow before them. They were followed next day by the whole army, the duke, with the cavalry and artillery, taking the way by Brechin, and Cadogan, with the infantry, by Aberbrothick. On this day's march they learned that the Chevalier, Marr, and the principal leaders of the rebel army had embarked the day before at Montrose, on board the Maria Teresa, and had sailed for France, while their followers had marched to Aberdeen under the charge of general Gordon and earl Marischal. On the 6th, the duke entered Montrose, and the same day the rebels entered Aberdeen. Thither his grace followed them on the 8th; but they had by this separated among the hills of Badenoch, and were completely beyond the reach of their pursuers. A number of their chieftains, however, with some Irish officers, being well mounted, rode off in a body for Peterhead, expecting there to find the means of escaping to France. After these a party of horse were sent out, but they had escaped. Flnab was also sent to Frazerburgh in search of stragglers, but found only the Chevalier's physician, whom he made prisoner.

Finding the rebels completely dispersed, Argyle divided his troops and dispersed them so as he thought best for preserving the public tranquillity; and, leaving Cadogan in the command, set out for Edinburgh, where he arrived on the 27th of February, and was present at the election of a peer to serve in the room of the marquis of Tweeddale, deceased. On the 1st of March, after having been most magnificently entertained by the magistrates of the Scottish capital, his grace departed for London, where he arrived on the 6th, and was, by his majesty, to all appearance, most graciously received. There was, however, at court a secret dissatisfaction with his conduct; and, in a short time, he was dismissed from all his employments, though he seems in the meantime to have acted cordially enough with the ministry, whose conduct was, in a number of instances, ridiculous enough. They had obtained an act of parliament for bringing all the Lancaster rebels to be tried at London, and all the Scottish ones to be tried at Carlisle, under the preposterous idea that juries could not be found in those places to return a verdict of guilty. Under some similar hallucination, they supposed it impossible to elect a new parliament without every member thereof being Jacobite in his principles; and, as the parliament was nearly run, they brought in a bill to enable themselves, as well as all other parliaments which should succeed them, to sit seven years in place of three. The bill was introduced into the house of lords, on the 10th of April, by the Duke of Devonshire, who represented triennial parliaments as serving no other purposes than the keeping alive party divisions and family feuds, with a perpetual train of enormous expenses, and particularly to encourage the intrigues of foreign powers, which, in the present temper of the nation, might be attended with the most fatal consequences. All these dangers he proposed to guard against, by prolonging the duration of parliaments from three to seven years. He was supported by the earls of Dorset and Buckingham, the duke of Argyle, the lord Townshend, with all the leaders of the party; and though violently opposed by the tories, who, very justly, though they have been its zealous advocates ever since, denounced it as an inroad upon the fundamental parliamentary law of the kingdom, the measure was carried by a sweeping majority, and has been parliamentary law ever since.

Previously to this, Argyle had honourably distinguished himself by a steady

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opposition to the schism bill, against which, along with a number of the greatest names England has ever produced, he entered his protest upon the journals of the house. Subsequently, in a debate on the bill for vesting the forfeited estates in Britain and Ireland in trustees for the public behoof, we find him speaking and voting against it with the Jacobite lords North and Grey, Trevor, and Harcourt, but he was now out of all his employments and pensions, and the Jacobite Lockhart was every day expecting to hear that he had declared for James VIII. which there is every probability he would have done, had that imbecile prince been able to profit by the wisdom of his advisers. In the beginning of the year 1718, when the Pretender became again a tool in the hands of Cardinal Alberoni for disturbing the tranquillity of the British government, Argyle was restored to favour, appointed steward of the household, and created duke of Greenwich, when he again lent his support to the ministry in bringing forward the famous peerage bill; another insane attempt to subvert the balance of the constitution. By this bill the peerage was to be fixed so as that the number of English peers should never be increased above six, more than their number at that time, which, on the failure of heirs male, were to be filled up by new creations. Instead of the sixteen elective Scottish peers, twenty-five were to be made hereditary on the part of that kingdom, to be also kept up by naming other Scottish peers on the failure of heirs male. This bill was introduced by the duke of Somerset, seconded by Argyle, and being also recommended by his majesty, could not fail of passing the lords, but met with such violent opposition in the commons that it was found expedient to lay it aside for the time. When again brought forward it was rejected by a great majority. After this his grace seems for a long period to have enjoyed his pensions, and to have lived for the most part on peaceable terms with his colleagues. Only, in the year 1721, we find him, in order to supplant the *Squadrone* and secure to himself and his brother the sole and entire patronage of Scotland, again in treaty with Lockhart of Carnwath, and the tories, in consequence of which, Lockhart assures the king [James] that if there is to be a new parliament, the tories will have the half of the sixteen peers, and Argyle's influence for all the tory commons they shall be able to bring forward as candidates. "I also inserted," he adds, "that matters should be made easy to those who are prosecuted for the king's [James] sake, and that Argyle should oppose the peerage bill, both of which are agreed to." The ministry, however, contrived to balance the *Squadrone* and his grace pretty equally against one another, and so secured the fidelity of both, till 1725, when the *Squadrone* were finally thrown out, and the whole power of Scotland fell into the hands of Argyle and his brother Ilay; they engaging to carry through the malt tax, as the other had carried through the forfeiture of the rebels' estates. From this, till the affair of captain Porteous, in 1737, we hear little of his grace in public. On that occasion we find him again in opposition to the ministry; defending the city of Edinburgh, and charging the mob upon a set of upstart fanatical preachers, by which he doubtless meant the seceders. The effect, however, was only the display of his own ignorance, and the infliction of a deeper wound upon the Scottish church, by the imposition of reading what was called Porteous' Paper upon all her ministers. Edinburgh, however, contrary to the intentions of the court, was left in the possession of her charter, her gates and her guards; but the lord provost was declared incapable of ever again holding a civil office, and a mulct of two thousand pounds sterling was imposed upon the city funds for the captain's widow. In the succeeding years, when the nation was heated into frenzy against Spain, his grace made several appearances on the popular side; and, in 1740, after an anti-ministerial speech on the state of the nation, he was again deprived of all his employments. On the resignation

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of Sir Robert Walpole, his grace was, by the new ministry, once more restored to all his places. The ministry, however, were unable to maintain their popularity, and Argyle finally quitted the stage of public life. From this time forward he affected privacy, and admitted none to his conversation but particular friends.

The Jacobites were now preparing to make a last effort to destroy that spirit of freedom which was so rapidly annihilating their hopes. They had all along believed that Argyle, could he have reconciled them with his own, was not unfriendly to their interests, and now that he was old, idle, and disgusted, hoping to work upon his avarice and his ambition at the same time, they prevailed upon the Chevalier, now also approaching to dotage, to write him a friendly letter. The time, however, had been allowed to go by. Argyle had acquired a high reputation for patriotism—he was now old and paralytic, utterly unfit for going through those scenes of peril that had been the pride of his youth; and he was too expert a politician not to know, that from the progress of public opinion, as well as from the state of property and private rights, the cause of the Stuarts was utterly hopeless. The letter was certainly beneath his notice; but to gratify his vanity, and to show, that he was still of some little consequence in the world, he sent it to his majesty's ministers. The Jacobites, enraged at his conduct, and probably ashamed of their own, gave out, that the whole was a trick intended to expose the weakness of the ministry, and to put an affront upon the duke of Argyle. The loss to either party was not considerable, as his grace's disorder now began rapidly to increase. He fell by degrees into a state of deep melancholy, and departed this life on the 3d day of September, 1743, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

His grace was twice married—first to Mary, daughter of John Brown Esq., and niece to Sir Charles Duncombe, lord mayor of London, by whom he had no issue. Secondly, to Jane, daughter of Thomas Warburton of Winnington, in Cheshire, by whom he had four daughters. He was succeeded in his Scottish titles and estates by his brother lord Ilay, but wanting male issue his English titles became extinct.

From the brief sketch we have given of his life, the reader, we apprehend, will be at no loss to appreciate the character of John duke of Argyle. Few men have enjoyed such a large share of popularity—fewer still have, through a long life, threaded the mazes of political intrigue with the same uniform good fortune. The latter, however, illustrates the former. He who has had for life the sole patronage of a kingdom, must have had many a succession of *humble servants* ready to give him credit for any or for all perfections, and he must have exercised that patronage with singular infelicity, if he has not benefited many individuals who will think it a duty they owe to themselves, if not to extenuate his faults, to magnify his virtues. Such a man can never want popularity, especially if he has an assistant upon whom he can impose the drudgery, and the less dignified duties of his place, reserving to himself more especially the performance of those that flatter public opinion, and conciliate public affection. Such a man was Argyle, and such an assistant he had in his brother, lord Ilay, who, supported by his influence, had the reputation, for upwards of thirty years, of being the *king* of Scotland. In early life he acquired considerable military reputation under the duke of Marlborough, and when he was paying court to the tories had the temerity, on a military question, to set up his opinion in the house of lords, in opposition to that most accomplished of all generals. How justly, let Sheriffmuir and the hill of Kippendavie say! Happily for his grace there was no lord George Murray with the rebels on that occasion. If there had, Sir John Cope might at this day have been reputed a brave man, and a

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great general. His eloquence and his patriotism have been highly celebrated by Thomson, but the value of poetical panegyric is now perfectly understood; besides, he shared the privileges of that poet in common with Bubb Doddington, the countess of Hertford, and twenty other names of equal insignificance. General Cadogan, who accompanied him through the latter part of his northern campaign, seems to have made a very low estimate of his patriotism. He charges him openly with being lukewarm in the cause he defended, and of allowing his Argyleshire men to go before the army, and plunder the country, "which," says he, "enrages our soldiers, who are not allowed to take the worth of a farthing out of even the rebels' houses." What was taken out of houses by either of them we know not; but we know that our army in its progress north, particularly the Dutch part of it, burnt for fuel ploughs, harrows, carts, cart-wheels, and barn doors indiscriminately, so that many an honest farmer could not labour his fields in the spring for the want of these necessary implements, which to us proves pretty distinctly, that there was a very small degree of patriotism felt by either of them. Of learning his grace had certainly a very small portion, but he had a tolerable share of the natural shrewdness of his countrymen, and though his speculative views were narrow, his knowledge of mankind seems to have been practically pretty extensive. His disgraceful truckling to, and trafficking with the tories and the Jacobites, at all times when he was out of place, demonstrates his principles to have been sordid, and his character selfish. His views of liberty seem to have been purely Scottish, the liberty of lords and lairds to use peasants as may best suit their purposes and inclinations. In perfect accordance with this feeling, he was kind and affectionate in domestic life, particularly to his servants, with whom he seldom parted, and for whom, in old age, he was careful to provide. He was also an example to all noblemen in being attentive to the state of his affairs, and careful to discharge all his debts, particularly tradesmen's accounts, in due season. We cannot sum up his character more appropriately than in the words of Lockhart, who seems to have appreciated very correctly the most prominent features of the man with whom he was acquainted. "He was not," says he, "strictly speaking, a man of sound understanding and judgment, for all his natural endowments were sullied with too much impetuosity, passion, and positiveness, and his sense lay rather in a flash of wit, than a solid conception and reflection—yet, nevertheless, he might well enough pass as a very well-accomplished gentleman."

CAMPBELL, JOHN, LL.D., an eminent miscellaneous writer, was born at Edinburgh, March 8, 1708. He was the fourth son of Robert Campbell, of Glenlyon, by Elizabeth Smith, daughter of ——— Smith, Esq., of Windsor. By his father, Dr Campbell, was connected with the noble family of Breadalbane, and other distinguished Highland chiefs; by his mother, he was descended from the poet Waller. If we are not much mistaken, this distinguished writer was also allied to the famous Rob Roy Macgregor, whose children, at the time when Dr Campbell enjoyed a high literary reputation in the metropolis, must have been pursuing the lives of outlaws in another part of the country, hardly yet emerged from barbarism. When only five years of age, he was conveyed from Scotland, which country he never afterwards saw, to Windsor, where he received his education under the care of a maternal uncle. It was attempted to make him enter the profession of an attorney; but his thirst for knowledge rendered that disagreeable to him, and caused him to prefer the precarious life of an author by profession. It would be vain to enumerate the many works of Dr Campbell. His first undertaking of any magnitude, was "The Military History of the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene," which appeared in 1736, in two volumes, folio, and was well received. He was next concerned in the preparation of the

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Ancient Universal History, which appeared in seven folios, the last being published in 1744. The part relating to the cosmogony, which is by far the most learned, was written by Dr Campbell. In 1742, appeared the two first volumes of his Lives of the Admirals, and, in 1744, the remaining two: this is the only work of Dr Campbell which has continued popular to the present time, an accident probably arising, in a great measure, from the nature of the subject. The activity of Dr Campbell at this period is very surprising. In the same year on which he completed his last mentioned work, he published a Collection of Voyages and Travels, in 2 volumes, folio. In 1745, he commenced the publication of the Biographia Britannica, in weekly numbers. In this, as in all the other works of Dr Campbell, it is found that he did not content himself with the ordinary duties of his profession, as exercised at that time. While he wrote to supply the current necessities of the public, and of his own home, he also endeavoured to give his works an original and peculiar value. Hence it is found that the lives composing his Biographia Britannica are compiled with great care from a vast number of documents, and contain many striking speculations on literary and political subjects, calculated to obtain for the work a high and enduring character. The candour and benevolent feelings of Dr Campbell have also produced the excellent effect of striking impartiality in the grand questions of religious and political controversy. Though himself a member of the church of England, he treated the lives of the great non-conformists, such as Baxter and Calamy, with such justice as to excite the admiration of their own party. Dr Campbell's style is such as would not now, perhaps, be much admired; but it was considered, by his own contemporaries, to be superior both in accuracy and in warmth of tone to what was generally used. He treated the article Boyle in such terms as to draw the thanks of John, fifth earl of Orrery, "in the name of all the Boyles, for the honour he had done to them, and to his own judgment, by placing the family in such a light as to give a spirit of emulation to those who were hereafter to inherit the title." A second edition of the Biographia, with additions, was undertaken, after Dr Campbell's death, by Dr Kippis, but only carried to a fifth volume, where it stopped at the letter F. It is still, in both editions, one of the greatest works of reference in the language. While engaged in these heavy undertakings, Dr Campbell occasionally relaxed himself in lighter works, one of which, entitled, "Hermippus Redivivus," is a curious essay, apparently designed to explain in a serious manner an ancient medical whim, which assumed that life could be prolonged to a great extent by inhaling the breath of young women. It is said that some grave physicians were so far influenced by this mock essay, as to go and live for a time in female boarding-schools, for the purpose of putting its doctrine to the proof. In reality, the whole affair was a jest of Dr Campbell, or rather, perhaps, a sportive exercise of his mind, being merely an imitation of the manner of Bayle, with whose style of treating controversial subjects he appears to have been deeply impressed, as he professedly adopts it in the Biographia Britannica. In 1750, Dr Campbell published his celebrated work, "The Present State of Europe," which afterwards went through many editions, and was so much admired abroad, that a son of the duke de Belleisle learned English in order to be able to read it. The vast extent of information which Dr Campbell had acquired during his active life, by conversation, as well as by books, and the comprehensive powers of arrangement which his profession had already given him, are conspicuous in this work. He was afterwards employed in writing some of the most important articles in the "Modern Universal History," which extended to sixteen volumes, folio, and was reprinted in a smaller form. His last great work was the "Political Survey of Britain; being a Series of Reflections on the situation, lands,

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inhabitants, revenues, colonies, and commerce, of this island;" which appeared in 1774, in 2 volumes 4to, having cost him the labour of many years. Though its value is so far temporary, this is perhaps the work which does its author the highest credit. It excited the admiration of the world to such a degree as caused him to be absolutely overwhelmed with new correspondents. He tells a friend, in a letter, that he had already consumed a ream of paper, (nearly a thousand sheets,) in answering these friends, and was just breaking upon another, which perhaps would share the same fate.

Dr Campbell had been married early in life to Elizabeth, daughter of Benjamin Robe, of Leominster, in the county of Hereford, gentleman, by whom he had seven children. Though it does not appear that he had any other resources than his pen, his style of life was very respectable. His time was so exclusively devoted to reading and writing, that he seldom stirred abroad. His chief exercise was an occasional walk in his garden, or in a room of his house. He was naturally of a delicate frame of body; but strict temperance, with the regularity of all his habits, preserved his health against the effects of both his sedentary life and original weakness, till his sixty-eighth year, when he died, December 28, 1775, in full possession of his faculties, and without pain.

It would only encumber our pages to recount all the minor productions of Dr Campbell. A minute specification of them is preserved in the second edition of his Biographia Britannica, where his life was written by Dr Kippis. So multitudinous, however, were his fugitive compositions, that he once bought an old pamphlet, with which he was pleased on dipping into it, and which turned out to be one of his own early writings. So completely had he forgot every thing connected with it, that he had read it half through before he had discovered that it was written by himself. On another occasion, a friend brought him a book, in French, which professed to have been translated from the German, and which the owner recommended Dr Campbell to try in an English dress. The Doctor, on dipping into it, discovered it to be a neglected work of his own, which had found its way into Germany, and there been published as an original work. Dr Campbell, in his private life, was a gentleman and a Christian: he possessed an acquaintance with the most of modern languages, besides Hebrew, Greek, and various oriental tongues. His best faculty was his memory, which was surprisingly tenacious and accurate. Dr Johnson spoke of him in the following terms, as recorded by Boswell: "I think highly of Campbell. In the first place, he has very good parts. In the second place, he has very extensive reading; not, perhaps, what is properly called learning, but history, politics, and, in short, that popular knowledge which makes a man very useful. In the third place, he has learnt much by what is called the *voce viva*. He talks with a great many people." The opportunities which Dr Campbell enjoyed of acquiring information, by the mode described by Dr Johnson, were very great. He enjoyed a universal acquaintance among the clever men of his time, literary and otherwise, whom he regularly saw in *conversationes* on the Sunday evenings. The advantage which a literary man must enjoy by this means is very great, for conversation, when it becomes in the least excited, strikes out ideas from the minds of all present, which would never arise in solitary study, and often brings to a just equilibrium disputable points which, in the cogitations of a single individual, would be settled all on one side. Smollett, in enumerating the writers who had reflected lustre on the reign of George II., speaks of "the merit conspicuous in the works of Campbell, remarkable for candour, intelligence, and precision." It only remains to be mentioned, that this excellent man was honoured, in 1754, with the degree of LL.D. by the university of Glasgow, and that, for some years

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before his death, having befriended the Bute ministry in his writings, he enjoyed the situation of his majesty's agent for the province of Georgia.

CANT, Andrew, a clergyman of some eminence in his own lifetime, but more remarkable since on account of the strange use which has been made of his name, was minister of Pitsligo in the northern part of Aberdeenshire, in the year 1638. Unlike the generality of the clergy in that district of Scotland, he entered heartily into the affair of the national covenant for resisting the episcopal innovations of Charles I. and which formed the commencement of the civil war. He was one of the commissioners appointed by the Tables or insurgent committees at Edinburgh, to go, in July 1638, to Aberdeen, and endeavour to press the bond upon the inhabitants of that city. Notwithstanding all the eloquence which he and his coadjutors, among whom was the celebrated Mr Alexander Henderson, could exert, the mission was signally unsuccessful. In the November of this year, Mr Cant sat in the General Assembly at Glasgow, by which episcopacy was abolished, and the power of the king defied. Throughout the subsequent campaigns, he appears to have accompanied the army. When the Scots gained possession of Newcastle, Tuesday August 30, 1640, the two preachers appointed to hold forth in the town churches were Messrs Henderson and Cant. Soon after this period, he was appointed one of the ministers of Aberdeen, probably against the will of the inhabitants, who were still disposed to adhere to the royal interest and the episcopal system. The Covenanters perhaps conceived it necessary to spend one of their best preachers on this recusant city, in order to convert it to their own side. "For some time," says Mr Kennedy in his Annals of Aberdeen, "Mr Cant had the whole ministerial charge. No sooner had he entered upon his office than he began to exercise his ecclesiastical authority with much rigour, and even fulminated his anathemas against the civil magistrate for not complying with his dictates. His ecclesiastical tyranny at length became intolerable to the people, and his congregation was compelled to complain to the magistrates of his having introduced, under pretence of religious zeal, innovations and practices into the church, by which no person could be admitted to the communion, except those who presented themselves for trial of their religious faith, and were found duly qualified as fit Christians, to partake of that sacred ordinance. This complaint he appears to have disregarded, and, in place of yielding to the remonstrances of the magistrates, against the impropriety of his conduct, declaimed against them from the pulpit for their interference in what he considered to be cognizable only by the church session. The matter was represented to the provincial synod; but redress was not to be expected from that court; and both the magistrates and the congregation were compelled to submit, with reluctance, to his decrees."

Although thus engaged at Aberdeen, Mr Cant seems to have been able to attend at intervals to public affairs in the capital. He was at Edinburgh in August 1641, when Charles I. paid his second visit to Scotland, for the purpose of conciliating the nation. On the 21st of August, Mr Cant had the honour to preach before his Majesty in the afternoon. On many public occasions of importance during the war, the name of this clergyman appears conspicuous. He very frequently preached before the insurgent parliament at the opening or close of its sessions. At the division of the church in 1648, Mr Cant took the protesting or, as it would now be called, the *high-flying* side. He decidedly objected to the proceedings of the Scottish church in favour of king Charles II. so far as they exceeded the design of restoring him as the covenanted monarch of Scotland. When general David Leslie was at Aberdeen in November 1650, on an expedition against some northern insurgents, he was visited by Messrs Andrew Cant, elder and younger, ministers of Aberdeen, who, amongst many other

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discourses, told the lord general, that wee could not in conscience asist the king to recover his crowne of England; but *he thoughte one kingdome might serve him werey weill, and one crowne was eneuche for any one man;* one kingdome being sufficient for one to reuell and governe." *Balfour's Annals*, iv. 161.

In the year 1660, a complaint was presented to the magistrates, charging Mr Cant with having published the celebrated seditious book, entitled *Lex Rex*, without authority, and for denouncing *anathemas* and *imprecations* against many of his congregation, in the course of performing his religious duties. A variety of proceedings took place on this question before the magistrates, but no judgment was given; Mr Cant, however, finding his situation rather unpleasant, withdrew himself from his pastoral charge, removed from the town with his wife and family, and died about the year 1664.[1]

A clergyman, named Mr Andrew Cant, supposed to have been son to the above, was a minister of Edinburgh during the reign of Charles II., and consequently must have been an adherent of the episcopal form of church government, which his father had so zealously opposed. He was also principal of the University between the years 1675 and 1685. The same person, or perhaps his son, was deprived of his charge, as one of the ministers of Edinburgh at the Revolution, and, on the 17th of October, 1728, was consecrated as one of the bishops of the disestablished episcopal church of Scotland by bishops Falconer, Miller, and Irvine. This individual died in 1728. It is certainly somewhat curious that one at least, if not two generations, in descent from the famed apostle of the covenant, should have thus become distinguished members of the antagonist faith.

How far it may be true, as mentioned in the Spectator, that the modern word *Cant*, which in the beginning of the last century was applied to signify religious unction, but is now extended to a much wider interpretation, was derived from the worthy minister of Aberdeen, we cannot pretend to determine.

We have some further anecdotes of Mr Cant in Wodrow's Analecta, or private memorandum book; a valuable manuscript in the Advocates' Library.

"Mr David Lyall, who was formerly a presbyterian minister, was ordained by the presbytery of Aberdeen, Mr Andrew Cant being at that time moderator. He afterwards complied with episcopacy, and was the man who intimated the sentence of Mr Andrew Cant's deposition, who was present in the church hearing him, and immediately after he had done it, it's said Mr Cant should have spoken publicly to him in the church in these words, 'Davie, Davie, I kent aye ye wad doe this since the day I laid my hands on your head.' He [Mr Lyall] was afterwards minister of Montrose, and had ane thundering way of preaching, and died at Montrose about 10 or 12 years agoe. It's said that some days before his death, as he was walking in the Links, about the twilight, at a pretty distance from the town, he espyed, as it were, a woman all in white standing not far from him, who immediately disappeared, and he coming up presently to the place saw no person there, though the Links be very plain. Only, casting his eyes on the place where she stood, he saw two words drawn and written, as it had been with a staff upon the sand—'SENTENCED AND CONDEMNED;'—upon which he came home very pensive and melancholy, and in a little sickens and dyes. What to make of this, or what truth is in it, I cannot tell; only I had it from a minister who lives near Montrose, Mr J. G.—i, 149.

"Mr Andrew Cant, in Aberdeen, was a violent royalist, and even when the English were there, he used to pray for our banished king, and that the Lord would deliver him from the bondage of oppressors. One day in the time of the

[1] Kennedy's Annals quoting the Council Register of Aberdeen.

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English, [*i. e.* while Scotland was subject to the English commonwealth,] when there were a great many officers in the church, he was preaching very boldly upon that head, and the officers and soldiers got all up, and many of them drew their swords: all went into confusion. Mr Menzies, his colleague, was very timorouse and crap in beneath the pulpit, as is said. The soldiers advanced towards the pulpit. After he had stopped a little, he said, with much boldness, here is the man spoke soe and soe, and opened his breast ready to receive the thrusts, if any will venture to give them for the truth. He had once been a captain, and was one of the most bold and resolute men in his day.—iii, 153.

"Mr Andrew Cant was minister of the new town of Aberdeen. He was a most zealous straight man for the covenant and cause of God. I hear he had that expression at his death, that his conscience bare him witness that he never gave a wrong touch to the ark of God all his dayes. The malignants used to call him one of the apostles of the covenant." iv, 265.

CARGILL, Donald, an eminent preacher of the more uncompromising order of presbyterians in the reign of Charles II., was the son of respectable parents in the parish of Rattray, in Perthshire, where he was born, about the year 1610.[1] We find the following account of the state of his mind in early life, amongst the memoranda of Mr Wodrow, who appears to have written down every tradition of the fathers of the church, which came to his ears.[2] "Mr Donald Cargill," says the pious historian, "for some twenty or thirty years before his death, was never under doubts as to his interest, and the reason was made known to him in ane extraordinary way, and the way was this, as Mr C. told my father. When he was in his youth, he was naturally hasty and fiery, and he fell under deep soul exercise, and that in a very high degree, and for a long time after all means used, public and private, and the trouble still increasing, he at length came to a positive resolution to make away with himself, and accordingly went out more than once to drown himself in a water, but he was still scarred by people coming by, or somewhat or other. At length, after several essays, he takes on a resolution to take a time or place where nothing should stop, and goes out early one morning by break of day to a coal pit, and when he comes to it, and none at all about, he comes to the brink of it to throw himself in, and just as he was going to jump in he heard ane audible voice from heaven, 'Son, be of cheer, thy sins be forgiven thee,' and that stopped him, and he said to ———, that he never got leave to doubt of his interest. But, blessed be God, we have a more sure word of prophecy to lean to, though I believe where such extraordinary revelations are, there is ane inward testimony of the spirit cleaving marks of grace to the soul too."

We learn from other sources that Mr Cargill, having studied at Aberdeen, and, being persuaded by his father to enter the church, became minister of the Barony Parish in Glasgow, some time after the division among the clergy, in 1650. He continued to exercise the duties of this situation in a very pious and exemplary manner, until the restoration of the episcopal church, when his refusing to accept collation from the archbishop, or celebrate the king's birth-day, drew upon him the attention of the authorities, and he was banished, by act of council to the country, beyond the Tay. To this edict, he appears to have paid little attention; yet he did not awake the jealousy of the government till 1668, when he was called before the council, and commanded peremptorily to observe their former act. In September, 1669, upon his petition to the council, he was permitted to come to Edinburgh upon some legal business, but not to reside in

[1] Howie's Scots' Worthies.

[2] Wodrow's Analecta, or Memorandum-book, (MS. Advocates' Library,) i, 3.

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the city, or to approach Glasgow. For some years after this period, he led the life of a field preacher, subject to the constant vigilance of the emissaries of the government, from whom he made many remarkable escapes. So far from accepting the *indulgence* offered to the presbyterian clergy, he was one of that small body who thought it their duty to denounce openly all who did so. In 1679, he appeared amongst the unfortunate band which stood forward at Bothwell bridge in vain resistance to an overpowering tyranny. On this occasion, he was wounded, but had the good fortune to make his escape. Subsequent to this period, he took refuge for a short while in Holland. In the months of May and June, 1680, he was again under hiding in Scotland, and seems to have been concerned in drawing up some very strong papers against the government. He, and a distinguished lay member of the same sect, named Henry Hall, of Haughhead, lurked for some time about the shores of the Firth of Forth above Queensferry, till at length the episcopal minister of Carriden gave notice of them to the governor of Blackness, who, June 3d, set out in search of them. This officer having traced them to a public house in Queensferry, went in, and pretending a great deal of respect for Mr Cargill, begged to drink a glass of wine with him. He had, in the meantime, sent off his servant for a party of soldiers. The two fugitives had no suspicion of this man's purpose, till, not choosing to wait any longer for the arrival of his assistants, he attempted to take them prisoners. Hall made a stout resistance, but was mortally wounded with the dog-head of a carabine by one George, a waiter. Cargill, escaping in the struggle, though not without wounds, was received and concealed by a neighbouring farmer. He even fled to the south, and next Sunday, notwithstanding his wounds, he preached at Cairn-hill, near Loudoun. A paper of a very violent nature was found on the person of the deceased Mr Hall, and is generally understood to have proceeded from the pen of Mr Cargill. It is known in history by the title of the QUEENSFERRY COVENANT, from the place where it was found. Mr Cargill also appears to have been concerned with his friend Richard Cameron, in publishing the equally violent declaration at Sanquhar, on the 22nd of June. In the following September, this zealous divine proceeded to a still more violent measure against the existing powers. Having collected a large congregation in the Torwood, between Falkirk and Stirling, he preached from 1 Corinthians, verse 13, and then, without having previously consulted a single brother in the ministry, or any other individual of his party, he gave out the usual form of excommunication against the king, the duke of York, the dukes of Monmouth, Lauderdale, and Rothes, Sir George Mackenzie, and Sir Thomas Dalzell, of Binns. His general reasons were their exertions against the supremacy of the pure church of Scotland. The privy council felt that this assumption of ecclesiastical authority was not only calculated to bring contempt upon the eminent persons named, but tended to mark them out as proper objects for the vengeance of the ignorant multitude; and they accordingly took very severe measures against the offender. He was intercommuned, and a reward of 5000 merks offered for his apprehension. For several months he continued to exercise his functions as a minister when he could find a convenient opportunity; and many stories are told of hair-breadth escapes which he made on those occasions from the soldiers, and others sent in search of him. At length, in May, 1681, he was seized at Covington in Lanarkshire, by a person named Irving of Bonshaw, who carried him to Lanark on horseback, with his feet tied under the animal's belly. Soon after he was conducted to Glasgow, and thence to Edinburgh, where, on the 26th of July, he was tried and condemned to suffer death for high treason. He was next day hanged and beheaded, his last expressions being suitable in their piety to the tenor of his whole life. Cargill is thus described by Wodrow, who

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by no means concurred with him in all his sentiments: "He was a person of a very deep and sharp exercise in his youth, and had a very extraordinary outgate from it. Afterwards he lived a most pious and religious life, and was a zealous and useful minister, and of an easy sweet natural temper. And I am of opinion, the singular steps he took towards the end of his course were as much to be attributed unto his regard to the sentiments of others, for whom he had a value, as to his own inclinations."

CARLYLE, ALEXANDER, an eminent divine, was born about the year 1721. His father was the minister of Prestonpans, and he received his education at the universities of Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Leyden. While he attended these schools of learning, the extreme elegance of his person, his manners, and his taste, introduced him to an order of society far above any in which such students as he generally mingle, and rendered him the favourite of men of science and literature. At the breaking out of the insurrection of 1745, he was an ardent youth of four-and-twenty, and thought proper to accept a commission in a troop of volunteers, which was raised at Edinburgh for the purpose of defending the city. This corps having been dissolved at the approach of the Highland army, he retired to his father's house at Prestonpans, where the tide of war, however, soon followed him. Sir John Cope having pitched his camp in the immediate neighbourhood of Prestonpans, the Highlanders attacked him early on the morning of the 21st of September, and soon gained a decided victory. Carlyle was awaked by an account that the armies were engaged, and hurried to the top of the village steeple in order to have a view of the action. He was just in time to see the regular soldiers flying in all directions to escape the broadswords of the enemy. This incident gave him some uneasiness on his own account, for there was reason to apprehend that the victors would not be over kind to one who had lately appeared in arms against them. He therefore retired in the best way he could to the manse of Bolton, some miles off, where he lived unmolested for a few days, after which he returned to the bosom of his own family. Having gone through the usual exercises prescribed by the church of Scotland, Mr Carlyle was presented, in 1747, to the living of Inveresk, which was, perhaps, the best situation he could have obtained in the church, as the distance from Edinburgh was such as to make intercourse with metropolitan society very easy, while, at the same time, he enjoyed all the benefits of retirement and country leisure. From this period till the end of the century, the name of Dr Carlyle enters largely into the literary history of Scotland; he was the intimate associate of Hume, Home, Smith, Blair, and all the other illustrious men who flourished at this period. Unfortunately, though believed to possess talents fitting him to shine in the very highest walks of literature and intellectual science, he never could be prevailed upon to hazard himself in competition with his distinguished friends, but was content to lend to them the benefit of his assistance and critical advice in fitting their productions for the eye of the world. In his clerical character, Mr Carlyle was a zealous *moderate;* and when he had acquired some weight in the ecclesiastical courts, was the bold advocate of some of the strongest measures taken by the General Assembly for maintaining the standards of the church. In 1757, he himself fell under censure as an accomplice—if we may use such an expression—of Mr Home, in bringing forward the tragedy of Douglas. At the first private rehearsal of this play, Dr Carlyle enacted the part of Old Norval; and he was one of those clergymen who resolutely involved themselves in the evil fame of the author, by attending the first representation. During the run of the play, while the general public, on the one hand, was lost in admiration of its merits, and the church, on the other, was preparing its sharpest thunders of condemnation, Dr Carlyle published a burlesque pamphlet, enti-

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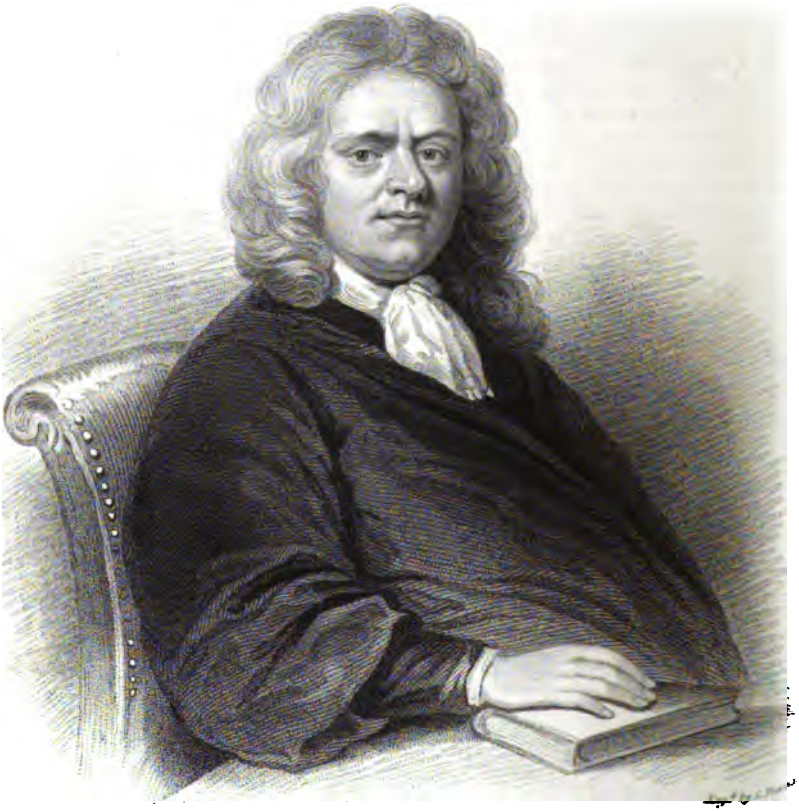

WILLIAM CARSTAIRS,

PRINCIPAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

FROM THE ORIGINAL PAINTING IN POSSESSION OF ALEXR DUNLOP OF KEPPOCH, ESQUIRE

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tled, "Reasons why the Tragedy of Douglas should be burnt by the hands of the Common Hangman;" and, afterwards, he wrote another, calculated for the lower ranks, and which was hawked about the streets, under the title, "History of the Bloody Tragedy of Douglas, as it is now performed at the Theatre in the Canongate." Mr Mackenzie informs us, in his life of Home, that the latter pasquinade had the effect of adding two more nights to the already unprecedented run of the play. For this conduct Dr Carlyle was visited by his presbytery, with a censure and admonition. A person of right feeling in the present day is only apt to be astonished that the punishment was not more severe; for assuredly, it would be difficult to conceive any conduct so apt to be injurious to the usefulness of a clergyman as his thus mixing himself up with the impurities and buffooneries of the stage. The era of 1757 was perhaps somewhat different from the present. The serious party in the church were inconsiderately zealous in their peculiar mode of procedure, while the moderate party, on the principle of antagonism, erred as much on the side of what they called liberality. Hence, although the church would not now, perhaps, go to such a length in condemning the tragedy of Douglas, its author, and his abettors, neither would the provocation be now given. No clergyman could now be found to act like Home, and Carlyle; and therefore the church could not be called upon to act in so ungracious a manner as it did towards those gentlemen. Dr Carlyle was a fond lover of his country, of his profession, and, it might be said, of all mankind. He was instrumental in procuring an exemption for his brethren from the severe pressure of the house and window tax, for which purpose he visited London and was introduced at court, where the elegance and dignity of his appearance are said to have excited both admiration and surprise. It was generally remarked that his noble countenance bore a striking resemblance to the Jupiter Tonans in the capitol. Smollett mentions in his Humphrey Clinker, a work in which fact and fancy are curiously blended, that he owed to Dr Carlyle his introduction to the literary circles of Edinburgh. After mentioning a list of celebrated names, he says, "These acquaintances I owe to the friendship of Dr Carlyle, who wants nothing but inclination to figure with the rest upon paper." It may be further mentioned, that the world owes the preservation of Collins' fine ode on the superstitions of the Highlands, to Dr Carlyle. The author, on his death-bed, had mentioned it to Dr Johnson as the best of his poems; but it was not in his possession, and no search had been able to discover a copy. At last, Dr Carlyle found it accidentally among his papers, and presented it to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, in the first volume of whose transactions it was published.

Dr Carlyle died, August 25, 1805, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and the fifty-eighth of his ministry. By his wife, who was a woman of superior understanding and accomplishments, he had had several children, all of whom died many years before himself. Dr Carlyle published nothing but a few sermons and *jeux d'esprit*, and the statistical account of the parish of Inveresk in Sir John Sinclair's large compilation; but he left behind him a very valuable memoir of his own time, which, to the surprise of the literary world, is still condemned by his relations to manuscript obscurity.

CARSTAIRS, William, an eminent, political, and ecclesiastical character, was born at the village of Cathcart in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, on the 11th of February, 1649. His father was Mr John Carstairs, descended of a very ancient family in Fife, and minister in the high church of Glasgow, where he had for his colleague the Rev. James Durham, well known for his commentary on the Revelation and other learned and pious works. His mother's name was Jane Muir, of the family of Glanderston in the county of Renfrew. Giving early indications of an uncommon genius, young Carstairs was by his father

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placed under the care of a Mr Sinclair, an indulged presbyterian minister, who at that time kept a school of great celebrity at Ormiston, a village in east Lothian. Under Mr Sinclair, in whose school, as in all schools of that kind at the time, and even in the family, no language but Latin was used, Carstairs acquired a perfect knowledge of that language, with great fluency of expressing himself in it, and a strong taste for classical learning in general. He had also the good fortune to form, among the sons of the nobility who attended this celebrated seminary, several friendships, which were of the utmost consequence to him in after life.

Having completed his course at the school, Mr Carstairs entered the college of Edinburgh in his nineteenth year, where he studied for four years under Mr, afterwards Sir William Paterson, who in later life became clerk to the privy council of Scotland. Under this gentleman he made great proficiency in the several branches of the school philosophy then in vogue; but the distracted state of the country determined his father to send him to study divinity in Holland, where many of his brethren, the persecuted ministers of the church of Scotland, had already found an asylum. He was accordingly entered in the university of Utrecht, where he studied Hebrew under Leusden and Divinity under Herman Witsius, at that time two of the most celebrated professors in Europe. He had also an opportunity, which he carefully improved, of attending the lectures of the celebrated Grævius, who was at this time in the vigour of his faculties and the zenith of his reputation. The study of theology, however, was what he made his main business, which having completed, he was licensed as a preacher of the gospel, but where or by whom seems not to have been known by any of his biographers. In all probability, it was by some of the *classes* of Holland. Being strongly attached to the presbyterian system, in which he had been educated, and for adherence to which his father was a sufferer at home, and himself in a limited sense a wanderer in a strange land, for it was to avoid the taking of unnecessary or unlawful oaths imposed by the bishops that he had been sent by his father to study at Utrecht, he naturally took a deep interest in the affairs of his native country, and was early engaged in deliberating upon the means of her deliverance. On sending him to Holland by the way of London, his father introduced him by letter to an eminent physician of that city, who kindly furnished him with a letter to the physician of the prince of Orange. This latter gentleman, upon the strength of his friend's recommendation, introduced Carstairs to the Pensionary Fogel, who finding him so much a master of every thing relative to the state of parties and interests in Great Britain, introduced him to a private interview with his master, the prince, who was at once struck with his easy and polite address, and with the extent of his political knowledge. This favourable opinion was heightened by subsequent interviews, and in a short time nothing of consequence was transacted at his court relative to Great Britain, till Carstairs had been previously consulted. Holland had, from the first attempts of the court after the Restoration to suppress the presbyterians, been the general resort of such of the Scottish clergy as found it impossible to retain their stations, and they were soon followed by numbers of their unhappy countrymen who had vainly perilled their lives on the fatal fields of Pentland and Bothwell, with the principal of whom Carstairs could not, in the circumstances in which he was placed, fail to become acquainted. Being well connected, and in no way obnoxious to the government, he seems to have been selected both by his expatriated countrymen and by the agents of the prince of Orange to visit Scotland on a mission of observation in the year 1682.

Nothing could be more hopeless than the condition of Scotland at this time.

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Her ministers where every where silenced: Cargill and Cameron, the only two that remained of the intrepid band that had so long kept up the preached gospel in the fields, had both fallen, the one on the scaffold by an iniquitous sentence, the other on the open heath by the hand of violence. Her nobles were either the slaves of arbitrary royalty, or they had already expatriated themselves, or were just about to do so, while the body of her people, Issachar-like, were crouching beneath their burdens in the most hopeless dejection. Finding no encouragement in Scotland, where the few individuals that felt any of the true aspirations of liberty, were seriously engaged in a project for purchasing lands and transporting themselves, their families, and their friends to Carolina in North America, Mr Carstairs determined to return to Holland, where, under a rational and indulgent government, he had enjoyed a liberty which he found to his grief was not to be obtained at home. He, however, probably not without instructions, took London in his way, where he arrived in the month of November, 1682, at the very time when Shaftesbury, Monmouth, Sydney, Essex, Russell, Hampden, and Howard were engaged in what has been called Shaftesbury's plot, or more generally, from a forged story of a design to murder the king and the duke of York at a farm called the Rye, possessed by colonel Rumbold, the Ryehouse plot. These gentlemen were actuated by very different views. Monmouth had probably no object but the crown; Russell and Hampden were for restraining the prerogative and securing the nation's liberties, civil and religous; Sydney and Essex were for restoring the republic, while Howard, a man without principle, seems to have had nothing in view, but to raise a tumult, whereby he might by accident promote his private interest. All of them, however, agreed in soliciting the co-operation of those Scotsmen, who, no longer able to subsist under the impositions of a government whose sole object seemed to be not the protection, but the entire ruin of its subjects, were about to transport themselves to a distant and desert country. Most of the conspirators having some previous knowledge of Carstairs, he was employed to negotiate between the parties; and he was empowered by a letter from Sir James Stewart, afterwards lord advocate for Scotland, to assure the English conspirators that, upon furnishing a certain sum of money for the purchase of arms and ammunition, the Scottish refugees in Holland were ready to co-operate with them by an immediate descent upon the west coast of Scotland. This letter he communicated to Russell and Sydney, seconding its contents by a fervent eulogium upon the influence, the talents, and the particular merits of Argyle, whose numerous vassals, extensive jurisdictions, as well as his past sufferings, pointed him out as the most proper person to head an insurrection in that country. All this must have been self-evident to the whole party; yet they do not seem to have been so cordial as might have been expected. Though Carstairs ceased not to press the object of his mission, he was put off from time to time till he was at length told by Shepherd, an eminent wine-merchant in London, who was one of the subaltern conspirators, that he had heard Sydney declare that he would have nothing to do with Argyle, being well aware that, whatever his present circumstances might prompt him to undertake, he was too strongly attached to the reigning family and to the present government, both in church and state, to unite cordially with them in the measures they had determined to pursue. At the same time, he was told both by Shepherd and Ferguson that the party were jealous of Sydney as driving a secret design of his own, and Ferguson took the opportunity to hint to Mr Carstairs, that there might be an easier method of attaining their point than by an open rebellion, as by taking the lives of at most two men, they might spare the lives of thousands, evidently, hinting at what must have been spoken of among the inferior members of this

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conspiracy, though certainly never among the higher, the assassination of the king and the duke of York. Feeling himself insulted, and the cause disgraced by such a proposal, Mr Carstairs told Ferguson, that he and the men with whom he was engaged, thought themselves warranted even with arms in their hands, to demand, for redress of their grievances, those constitutional remedies which had been so often denied to their complaints and remonstrances; but they held it beneath them, both as men and as Christians, to adopt any such mean and cowardly contrivances either against the king or his brother. From that time forward, Ferguson never mentioned any such thing in his presence, nor did he ever hear any such thing alluded to in his intercourse with any other of the party. Disgusted, however, with their procrastination he took his departure for Holland, without carrying any message, having refused to do so, except it were a full compliance with his demands.

Scarcely had he landed in Holland, than Shaftesbury found it convenient to follow him, not daring to trust himself any longer in England; and by his desertion, the remaining conspirators, finding their connection with the city of London, upon which they had placed great dependence, broken, saw it the more necessary to unite with Argyle and the refugees abroad, as well as with the Scots at home. Sydney now dropped all his objections, and letters were immediately forwarded to Carstairs, requesting him to come over, and an express was sent down to Scotland, for his friends to come up, in order to a speedy adjustment of every particular relative to the insurrection and consentaneous invasion. In consequence of this, consultations were held among the refugees, Argyle, Stair, Loudoun, Stewart, and others, where it was proposed that the conspirators in England should contribute thirty thousand pounds sterling in money, and one thousand horse, to be ready to join Argyle the moment he should land upon the west coast of Scotland. Mr Stewart was for accepting a smaller sum of money, if so much could not be obtained; but all agreed in the necessity of raising the horse before any thing should be attempted. Stair seemed more cold in the matter than the others; but Argyle having assured Carstairs that, so soon as the preliminaries were settled, he would be found abundantly zealous, he consented to carry their proposals and lay them before the committee or council, that had been by the conspirators appointed to conduct the business at London. When he arrived there, he was mortified to find that the difficulty of raising the money now was as formidable an obstacle as the opposition of Sydney had formerly been. Russell frankly acknowledged that the whole party could not raise so much money; and begged that ten thousand pounds might be accepted as a beginning, and even this was never paid to Shepherd, who was appointed cashier to the concern, nor was one single step taken for levying the proposed number of troops upon the borders. After having spent several weeks in London, fruitlessly prosecuting the business that had been entrusted to him, he became perfectly convinced from the temper of the men and their mode of procedure that the scheme would come to nothing. This opinion he communicated to a meeting of his countrymen, where were present Baillie of Jerviswood, lord Melvill, Sir John Cochrane, the Campbells of Cessnock, and others, recommending it to them to attend to their own safety, by putting an immediate stop to further preparations, till their brethren of England should be more forward, and better prepared to join them. Baillie of Jerviswood, the most ardent and decisive of all his countrymen who had engaged in this enterprise, reflected bitterly upon the timidity of the English, who had suffered their zeal to evaporate in talk, when they might, by promptitude of action, have been already in possession of the benefits they expected to derive

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from the undertaking; and insisted that the Scots should prosecute the undertaking by themselves. There was, no doubt, in this something very heroic; but alas, it was vain, and he himself was speedily brought to confess that it was so. It was agreed to, however, by all, that a communication should be made to their English friends, that, unless they were determined to act with more vigour, they were not to expect co-operation on the part of the Scots any longer. In the meantime they wrote to their friends in Scotland, to suspend their preparations till further notice. This was a very proper and wise determination; only it came too late. The English conspirators had no unity of purpose, and they had no decision. They had talked away the time of action, and the whole scheme was already falling to pieces by its own weight. In short, before they could return an answer to their Scottish brethren, the whole was betrayed, and they were alone to a man in the hands of the government.

The prudence of the Scots saved them in part; yet the government got immediate information, that there had been a correspondence carried on with Argyle by the conspirators, and Major Holmes, the person to whom all Argyle's letters were directed, was taken into custody, having a number of the letters, and the cypher and key in his possession. The cypher and key belonged to Mr Carstairs, who had sent it to Monmouth only two days before, to enable him to read a letter from Argyle, which having done, he returned it to Major Holmes, in whose hands it was now taken. The earl of Melfort no sooner saw the cypher than he knew part of it to be the handwriting of Carstairs, and an order was instantly issued for his apprehension, as art and part in the assassination plot. Though Mr Carstairs was conscious of being innocent as to this part of the plot, he had gone too far with the conspirators for an examination on the subject to be safe either for himself or his friends. He therefore assumed a fictitious name, and concealed himself among his friends in Kent the best way he could. Being discovered in this situation, he was suspected to be the notorious Ferguson, of all the conspirators the most obnoxious to government, and as such was seized in the house of a friend at Tenterden, and thrown into the jail of that place on the Monday after the execution of lord Russell. Here he continued for a fortnight, when orders came for his being brought up to London, where he was for some days committed to the charge of a messenger at arms. During this interval Sir Andrew Forrester brought him a message from the king informing him, that though his majesty was not disposed to believe that he had any direct hand in plotting either his death, or that of the duke of York; yet as he had corresponded with Argyle and Russell, he was convinced that he knew many particulars relative to the Rye House plot, which if he would discover, with what he knew of any other machinations against the government, he would not only receive an ample pardon for the past, but the king would also show him all manner of favour for the time to come. If, however, he rejected this, he was to abide by the consequences, which, in all likelihood, would be fatal to him. His answer not proving satisfactory, he was committed to close custody in the Gatehouse, where he continued upwards of eleven weeks. During this time he was often before the privy council, but revealed nothing. At length, finding that he could obtain no favour through the king, but upon dishonourable conditions, he petitioned the court of king's bench for his *habeas corpus*, instead of which he received an intimation, that he was to be sent down to Scotland within twenty-four hours, to take his trial in that kingdom. It was in vain that he represented it as a breach of law to send him to be tried in Scotland for a crime said to be committed in England. He was sent off next day with several other of his friends, who were consigned into the hands of the Scottish privy council, to be tried for compassing the death of the king in London, or at the Rye

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House, between London and Newmarket. Among that unhappy number was a servant of Argyle, of the name of Spence, who was instantly brought before that most abominable tribunal, the privy council of Scotland, where, because he refused to take an oath to criminate himself, he was first put to the torture of the boot, which he endured with unshrinking firmness; then kept from sleep upwards of nine nights together—which not answering the expectations that had been formed, steel screws were invented for his thumbs, which proved so exquisite a torment, that he sunk under it, the earl of Perth assuring him at the same time, that they would screw every joint of his body in the same manner till he took the oath. Even in this state, Spence had the firmness to stipulate, that no new questions should be put to him, that he should not be brought forward as a witness against any person, and that he himself should be pardoned. He then acquainted them with the names of Argyle's correspondents, and assisted them in decyphering the letters, by which it was seen what Argyle had demanded, and what he had promised to do upon his demands being granted; but there was nothing in them of any agreement being then made.

Carstairs, in the mean time, was laid in irons, and continued in them several weeks, Perth visiting him almost daily, to urge him to reveal what he knew, with promises of a full pardon, so far as he himself was concerned. On this point, however, Mr Carstairs was inflexible; and when brought before the council, the instruments of torture being laid before him, and he asked by the earl of Perth if he would answer upon oath such questions as should be put to him, he replied, with a firmness that astonished the whole council, that in a criminal matter he never would, but, if they produced his accusers, he was ready to vindicate himself from any crime they could lay to his charge. He was then assured, that if he would answer a few questions that were to be put to him concerning others, nothing he said should ever militate against himself, nor should they ever inquire, whether his disclosures were true or false; but he peremptorily told them, that with him, in a criminal cause, they should never found such a detestable precedent. To the very foolish question put to him, if he had any objections against being put to the torture, he replied, he had great objections to a practice that was a reproach to human nature, and as such banished from the criminal courts of every free country. Here he repeated the remonstrances he had given in to the council at London, and told them that he did consider his trial a breach of the *habeas corpus* act. To this Perth replied, that he was now in Scotland, and must be tried for crimes committed against the state by the laws of that country, had they been committed at Constantinople. The executioner was now brought forward, and a screw of a particular construction applied to his thumb with such effect, that large drops of sweat streamed over his brow. Yet he was self-possessed, and betrayed no inclination to depart from his first resolution. The earl of Queensberry was much affected, and after telling Perth that he saw the poor man would rather die than confess, he ran out of the council, followed by the duke of Hamilton, both being unable longer to witness the scene. Perth sat to the last without betraying any symptoms of compassion for the sufferer. On the contrary, when by his express command the executioner had turned the screw with such violence as to make Carstairs cry out, that now he had squeezed the bones to pieces, the monster, in great indignation, told him that if he continued longer obstinate, he hoped to see every bone in his body squeezed to pieces. Having kept their victim under this cruel infliction for an hour and a half without effect, the executioner was ordered to produce the iron boots, and apply them to his legs; but, happily for Mr Carstairs, the executioner, young at his trade, and composed of less stern stuff than his masters, was so confused that he could not

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fix them on. After repeated attempts, he was obliged to give it up, and the council adjourned.

Torture having thus proved vain, the council once more assailed him in the way of flattery, promising him an ample pardon for himself, and that he should never be called in any court as a witness on any trial, and they further stipulated, that none of his answers to the interrogatories to be put to him, should ever be produced in evidence, either directly or indirectly, in any court, or against any person whatsoever. On these conditions, as they had already extracted from Mr Spence and Major Holmes, nearly all that he could inform them of upon the stipulated questions, he consented to answer them, provided the promise made him was ratified by a deed of court, and recorded in their books. He had, however, scarcely given his answers, when they were printed and hawked through the streets, under the name of Carstairs' Confession. Had they been printed correctly, less might have been said; but they were garbled to suit the purpose of the ruling party, which was to criminate Jerviswood, on whose trial Mackenzie the advocate read them to the jury as an *admi-nicle* of proof, without taking any notice of the qualifications with which they were clothed, the alleviating circumstances with which the facts to which they related were accompanied, or the conditions upon which he delivered them. They were so far true to their agreement, however, as to relieve him from his confinement in a dungeon of the castle, where he had remained for some months cut off from all communication with his friends, and struggling under the infirmities of a shattered constitution. He was also permitted to leave Scotland, on condition that he should wait on the secretaries at London, on his way to Holland. Milport being then at court, he went to him and demanded a pass, which he found no difficulty in obtaining; but the king was desirous to see him, and the secretary thought he ought in duty to wait upon him, and receive his commands. On stating, however, that, in such a conversation with the king, he might be led to say what might not be so honourable to some of his majesty's servants in Scotland, the secretary made out his pass, and he departed for Holland, where he arrived in the end of the year 1684, or the beginning of 1685, only a few months before the death of Charles II., and the accession of James VII.

This was by far the most important event in the life of Carstairs, and it is impossible to say how much the human race may be indebted to his firmness and his address on this occasion. He had, at this very time, secrets of the greatest consequence from Holland, trusted to him by the pensionary Fogel, of which his persecutors had no suspicion. The discovering of these secrets would not only have saved him from torture, but would undoubtedly have brought him a high reward, and, had they been at that time discovered, the glorious revolution might have been prevented, and these kingdoms, instead of being the first and most exalted, as they are at this day, been among the lowest and most debased of nations. The great anxiety the Scottish managers were under to take the life of Baillie, by implicating him in the Rye House plot, seems so totally to have blinded them, that they had no suspicion of the Dutch connection, which Carstairs was so apprehensive about, and which he was so successful in concealing. On his return to Holland, William, fully appreciating his merits, received him into his family, appointed him one of his own chaplains, and at the same time procured him to be elected minister of the English protestant congregation at Leyden. To the day of his death William reposed upon the advice of Carstairs with the most perfect confidence. He was now, indeed, much better qualified than ever for being serviceable to his illustrious patron. During his stay in Britain he had had a fair opportunity of judging of public men and public measures. He had not only witnessed in others, but he had felt himself, the

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severities of a popish administration; and he saw the universal alienation of all ranks from the system of government they had adopted, and perceived that the very methods fallen upon for stilling popular clamour was only tending to its increase. The narrow politics of the duke of York he had thoroughly penetrated, was aware of all the schemes he had laid for enslaving the nation, and saw that the tools with which he was working could easily be turned to his own destruction. Of all these interesting particulars he was admitted to give his sentiments freely to the prince of Orange, who was no longer at pains to conceal his aversion to the means James was employing to restore the Catholic church. This encouraged still greater numbers of suffering British subjects to place themselves under his protection, and for the characters of these new comers his Royal Highness generally applied to Carstairs, and he was wont to remark, that he never in one instance had occasion to charge him with the smallest attempt to mislead or deceive him. It cannot indeed be doubted that he was made the channel of many complaints and advices to William, which were never made known to the public. Of these secret warnings the prince had sagacity enough to make the best use, even when he was to outward appearance treating them with neglect, and Carstairs himself was in all probability not a little surprised when he was summoned to attend him on an expedition to Great Britain. Notwithstanding all that has been spoken and written and printed about it, we believe that William felt very little, and cared very little about the sufferings of the British people; but he had an eye steadily fixed upon the British crown, to which, till the birth of a prince of Wales, June 10th, 1688, his wife was the heir apparent, and so long as he had the prospect of a natural succession, whatever might be the disorders of the government or the wishes of the people, he was not disposed to endanger his future greatness by any thing like a premature attempt to secure it. The birth of the prince, however, gave an entirely new aspect to his affairs. He behoved now to fix upon the disorders of the government, and embrace the call of the people, or abandon all reasonable hopes of ever wearing that diadem which he so fondly coveted, and by which alone he could ever hope to carry into effect those mighty plans of policy with which his mind had been so long pregnant. Equally wise to discern and prompt to act, he lost not a moment in idle hesitation; but while he seemed to discourage all the invitations he was now daily receiving, hastened to complete his preparations, and on the 19th of October, 1688, set sail for the shore of Britain with sixty-five ships of war, and five hundred transports, carrying upwards of fifteen thousand men. The subject of this memoir accompanied him as his domestic chaplain aboard his own ship, and he had in his train a numerous retinue of British subjects, whom the tyranny of the times had compelled to take refuge in Holland. On the evening of the same day, the fleet was dispersed in a tremendous hurricane, and by the dawn of next morning not two of the whole fleet were to be seen together. On the third day William returned to port, with only four ships of war and forty transports. The ship in which he himself sailed narrowly escaped being wrecked, which was looked on by some about him as an evil omen, and among the rest by Burnet, afterwards bishop of Salisbury, who remarked that it seemed predestined they should not set foot on English ground. A few days, however, collected the whole fleet once more, and on the 1st of November, the whole sailed again with a fair wind, and on Monday the 5th, the troops were safely landed at Torbay in Devonshire, the English fleet all the while lying wind-bound at Harwich. On the landing of the troops, Mr Carstairs performed divine service at their head, after which the whole army drawn up along the beach sang the 118th psalm before going into a camp. From this time till the settlement of the crowns upon William and Mary, Car-

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stairs continued about the person of the prince, being consulted and employed in negotiating affairs of peculiar delicacy, and disposing of sums of money with which he was entrusted, in various quarters. "It was during this interval," says his biographer, and the editor of his state papers, the Rev. Joseph M'Cormick, "that he had it in his power to be of the greatest service to the prince of Orange, nothing being carried on relative to the settlement of Scotland which the prince did not communicate to him, and permit him to give his sentiments of in private." He was highly instrumental in procuring the settlement of the church of Scotland in its present presbyterian form; which was found to be a matter of no small difficulty, as the king was anxious that the same system should continue in both parts of the island. Carstairs has been often blamed for having acceded to the king's wishes for maintaining patronage, and also for recommending that some of the worst instruments of the late monarch should be continued in office, which he did upon the plea that most of them were possessed of influence and qualifications, which, if properly directed, might be useful under the new régime. It must be recollected, that, at such a critical time, a man of Carstairs' political sagacity was apt to be guided rather by what was practically expedient than what was abstractly proper. It is probable that Carstairs, who was unquestionably a sincere man, was anxious to render the settlement of the church and of the government as liberal as he thought consistent with their stability, or as the circumstances he had to contend against would permit. King William now took an opportunity of atoning to his counsellor for all his former sufferings; he appointed Mr Carstairs his chaplain for Scotland, with the whole revenue of the Chapel Royal. He also required the constant presence of Mr Carstairs about his person, assigning him apartments in the palace when at home, and when abroad with the army allowing him £500 a year for camp equipage.

He was of course with his majesty at all times, and by being thus always at hand was enabled on some occasions, to do signal service both to his king and his country. Of this we have a remarkable instance, which happened in the year 1694. In 1693, the Scottish parliament had passed an act, obliging all who were in office to take the oath of allegiance to their majesties, and at the same time to sign the assurance, as it was called, whereby they declared William to be king *de jure* as well as *de facto*. This was one of the first of a long series of oppressive acts, intended secretly to ruin the Scottish church, by bringing her into collision with the civil authorities, and in the end depriving her of that protection and countenance which she now enjoyed from them. This act had been artfully carried through the parliament by allowing a dispensing power to the privy council in cases where no known enmity to the king's prerogative existed. No honest presbyterian at that time had any objection to king William's title to the crown; but they had insuperable objections to the taking of a civil oath, as a qualification for a sacred office. Numerous applications were of course made to the privy council for dispensations; but that court which had still in it a number of the old persecutors, so far from complying with the demand, recommended to his majesty, to allow no one to sit down in the ensuing general assembly till he had taken the oath and signed the assurance. Orders were accordingly transmitted to lord Carmichael, the commissioner to the assembly to that effect. When his lordship arrived in Edinburgh, however, he found the clergy obstinately determined to refuse compliance with his demand, and they assured him it would kindle a flame over the nation which it would surpass the power of those who had given his majesty this pernicious council to extinguish. Lord Carmichael, firmly attached to his majesty, and aware that the dissolution of this assembly might not only be fatal to the church

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of Scotland, but to the interests of his majesty in that country, sent a flying packet to the king, representing the difficulty, and requesting further instructions. Some of the ministers at the same time wrote a statement of the case to Carstairs, requesting his best offices in the matter. Lord Carmichael's packet arrived at Kensington on a forenoon in the absence of Mr Carstairs, and William, who, when he could do it with safety, was as fond of stretching the prerogative as any of his predecessors, with the advice of the trimming lord Stair and the infamous Tarbet, both of whom being with him at the time, calumniously represented the refusal on the part of the clergy to take the oaths, as arising from disaffection to his majesty's title and authority, peremptorily renewed his instructions to the commissioner, and despatched them for Scotland without a moment's delay.

Scarcely was this done, when Carstairs arrived; and learning the nature of the despatch that had been sent for Scotland, hastened to find the messenger before his final departure, and having found him, demanded back the packet, in his majesty's name. It was now late in the evening; but no time was to be lost; so he ran straight to his majesty's apartment, where he was told by the lord in waiting that his majesty was in bed. Carstairs, however, insisted on seeing him; and, being introduced to his chamber, found him fast asleep. He turned aside the curtain, and gently awakened him; the king, astonished to see him at so late an hour, and on his knees by his bedside, asked, with some emotion, what was the matter. "I am come," said Carstairs," to beg my life!" "Is it possible," said the king, with still higher emotion, "that you can have been guilty of a crime that deserves death?" "I have, Sire," he replied, showing the packet he had just brought back from the messenger. "And have you, indeed," said the king, with a severe frown, "presumed to countermand my orders?" "Let me be heard but for a few moments," said Carstairs, "and I am ready to submit to any punishment your majesty shall think proper to inflict." He then pointed out very briefly the danger of the advice he had acted upon, and the consequences that would necessarily follow if it was persisted in, to which his majesty listened with great attention. When he had done, the king gave him the despatches to read, after which he ordered him to throw them into the fire, and draw out others to please himself, which he would sign. This was done accordingly; but so many hours' delay prevented the messenger from reaching Edinburgh, till the very morning when the assembly was to meet; when nothing but confusion was expected; the commissioner finding himself under the necessity of dissolving the assembly, and the ministers being determined to assert their own authority independent of the civil magistrate. Both parties were apprehensive of the consequences, and both were happily relieved by the arrival of the messenger with his majesty's letter, signifying that it was his pleasure that the oaths should be dispensed with. With the exception of the act establishing presbytery, this was the most popular act of his majesty's government in Scotland. It also gained Mr Carstairs, when his part of it came to be known, more credit with his brethren and with presbyterians in general, than perhaps any other part of his public procedure. From this period, down to the death of the king, there is nothing to be told concerning Carstairs, but that he continued still in favour, and was assiduously courted by all parties; and was supposed to have so much influence, particularly in what related to the church, that he was called Cardinal Carstairs.

Having only the letters that were addressed to him, without any of his replies, we can only conjecture what these may have been. The presumption is, that they were prudent and discreet. Though he was so great a favourite with William, there was no provision made for him at his death. Anne, however,

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though she gave him no political employment, continued him in the chaplainship for Scotland, with the same revenues he had enjoyed under her predecessor. In the year 1704, he was elected principal of the college of Edinburgh, for which he drew up a new and very minute set of rules; and, as he was wanted to manage affairs in the church courts, he was, at the same time, (at least in the same year,) presented to the church of Greyfriars; and, in consequence of uniting this with his office in the university, he was allowed a salary of 2200 merks a year. Three years after this he was translated to the High Church. Though so deeply immersed in politics, literature had always engaged much of Carstairs' attention; and he had, so early as 1693, obtained a gift from the crown to each of the Scottish universities, of three hundred pounds sterling per annum, out of the bishops' rents in Scotland. Now that he was more closely connected with these learned bodies, he exerted all his influence with the government to extend its encouragement and protection towards them, and thus essentially promoted the cause of learning. It has indeed been said, that from the donations he at various times procured for the Scottish colleges, he was the greatest benefactor, under the rank of royalty, to those institutions, that his country ever produced. The first General Assembly that met after he became a minister of the church of Scotland, made choice of him for moderator; and in the space of eleven years, he was four times called to fill that office. From his personal influence and the manner in which he was supported, he may be truly said to have had the entire management of the church of Scotland. In leading the church he displayed great ability and comprehensiveness of mind, with uncommon judgment. "He moderated the keenness of party zeal, and infused a spirit of cautious mildness into the deliberations of the General Assembly.[1] As the great body of the more zealous clergy were hostile to the union of the kingdoms, it required all his influence to reconcile them to a measure, which he, as a whole, approved of, as of mutual benefit to the two countries; and although, after this era, the church of Scotland lost much of her weight in the councils of the kingdom, she still retained her respectability, and perhaps was all the better of a disconnection with political affairs. When queen Anne, among the last acts of her reign, restored the system of patronage, he vigorously opposed it; and, though unsuccessful, his visit to London at that time was of essential service in securing on a stable basis the endangered liberty of the church. The ultra-tory ministry, hostile to the protestant interests of these realms, had devised certain strong measures for curtailing the power of the church of Scotland, by discontinuing her assemblies, or, at least, by subjecting them wholly to the nod of the court. Mr Carstairs prevailed on the administration to abandon the attempt; and he, on his part, promised to use all his influence to prevent the discontents occasioned by the patronage bill from breaking out into open insurrection. It may be remarked, that, although patronage is a privilege which, if harshly exercised, acts as a severe oppression upon the people; yet, while justified so far in abstract right, by the support which the patron is always understood to give to the clergyman, it was, to say the least of it, more expedient to be enforced at the commencement of last century than perhaps at present, as it tended to reconcile to the church many of the nobility and gentry of the country, who were, in general, votaries of episcopacy, and therefore disaffected to the state and to the general interests."

Principal Carstairs was, it may be supposed, a zealous promoter of the succession of the house of Hanover. Of so much importance were his services deemed, that George I., two years before his accession, signified his acknow-

[1] We here quote from a memoir of Principal Carstairs, which appeared in the Christian Instructor, for March, 1827.

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ledgments by a letter, and, immediately after arriving in England, renewed his appointment as chaplain for Scotland. The last considerable duty upon which the Principal was engaged, was a mission from the Scottish church to congratulate the first prince of the house of Brunswick upon his accession. He did not long survive this period. In August, 1715, he was seized with an apoplectic fit, which carried him off about the end of the December following, in the 67th year of his age. His body lies interred in the Greyfriars' churchyard, where a monument is erected to his memory, with a suitable inscription in Latin. The university, the clergy, and the nation at large, united in lamenting the loss of one of their brightest ornaments, and most distinguished benefactors.

Carstairs was one of the most remarkable men ever produced by this country. He appears to have been born with a genius for managing great political undertakings; his father, in one of his letters, expresses a fear lest his "*boy Willie*" should become too much of a *public political* man, and get himself into scrapes. His first move in public life was for the emancipation of his country from tyrannical misrule; and nothing could well equal the sagacity with which he conducted some of the most delicate and hazardous enterprises for that purpose. In consequence of the triumph of the principles which he then advocated, he became possessed of more real influence in the state than has fallen to the lot of many responsible ministers; so that the later part of his life presented the strangest contrast to the earlier part. What is strangest of all, he preserved through these vicissitudes of fortune the same humble spirit and simple worth, the same zealous and sincere piety, the same amiable and affectionate heart. It fell to the lot of Carstairs to have it in his power to do much good; and nothing could be said more emphatically in his praise, than that he improved every opportunity. The home and heart of Carstairs were constantly alike open. The former was the resort of all orders of good men; the latter was alive to every beneficent and kindly feeling. It is related of him, that, although perhaps the most efficient enemy which the episcopal church of Scotland ever had, he exercised perpetual deeds of charity towards the unfortunate ministers of that communion who were displaced at the revolution. The effect of his generosity to them in overcoming prejudice and conciliating affection, appeared strong at his funeral. When his body was laid in the dust, two men were observed to turn aside from the rest of the company, and, bursting into tears, bewailed their mutual loss. Upon inquiry, it was found that these were two non-jurant clergymen, whose families had been supported for a considerable time by his benefactions.

In the midst of all his greatness, Carstairs never forgot the charities of domestic life. His sister, who had been married to a clergyman in Fife, lost her husband a few days before her brother arrived from London on matters of great importance to the nation. Hearing of his arrival, she came to Edinburgh to see him. Upon calling at his lodgings in the forenoon, she was told he was not at leisure, as several of the nobility and officers of state were gone in to see him. She then bid the servant only whisper to him, that she desired to know when it would be convenient for him to see her. He returned for answer—*immediately;* and, leaving the company, ran to her and embraced her in the most affectionate manner. Upon her attempting to make some apology for her unseasonable interruption to business, "Make yourself easy," said he, "these gentlemen are come hither, not on my account, but their own. They will wait with patience till I return. You know I never pray long,"—and, after a short, but fervent prayer, adapted to her melancholy circumstances, he fixed the time when he could see her more at leisure; and returned in tears to his company.

The close attention which he must have paid to politics does not appear to

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have injured his literature any more than his religion, though it perhaps prevented him from committing any work of either kind to the press. We are told that his first oration in the public hall of the university, after his installation as principal, exhibited so much profound erudition, so much acquaintance with classical learning, and such an accurate knowledge of the Latin tongue, that his hearers were delighted, and the celebrated Dr Pitcairn declared, that when Mr Carstairs began his address, he could not help fancying himself in the forum of ancient Rome. In the strange mixed character which he bore through life, he must have corresponded with men of all orders; but, unfortunately, there is no collection of his letters known to exist. A great number of letters addressed to him by the most eminent men of his time, were preserved by his widow, and conveyed through her executor to his descendant, Principal M'Cormick, of St Andrews, by whom they were published in the year 1774.

CHAMBERS, DAVID, a distinguished historical and legal writer, of the sixteenth century, was a native of Ross-shire, and generally styled "of Ormond" in that county. He received his education in the laws and theology at Aberdeen college, and afterwards pursued his studies in the former branch of knowledge in France and Italy. The earliest date ascertained in his life is his studying at Bologna under Marianus Sozenus in 1556. Soon after, returning to his native country, he assumed the clerical offices of parson of Study and chancellor of the diocese of Ross. His time, however, seems to have been devoted to the legal profession, which was not then incompatible with the clerical, as has already been remarkably shown in the biography of his contemporary and friend Sir James Balfour. In 1564, he was elevated to the bench by his patroness Queen Mary, to whose fortunes he was faithfully attached through life. He was one of the high legal functionaries, entrusted at this time with the duty of compiling and publishing the acts of the Scottish parliament. The result of the labours of these men was a volume, now known by the title of "the Black Acts," from the letter in which it is printed. While thus engaged in ascertaining the laws of his country, and diffusing a knowledge of them among his countrymen, he became concerned in one of the basest crimes which the whole range of Scottish history presents. Undeterred either by a regard to fundamental morality, or, what sometimes has a stronger influence over men, a regard to his high professional character, he engaged in the conspiracy for destroying the queen's husband, the unfortunate Darnley. After that deed was perpetrated, a placard was put up by night on the door of the tolbooth, or hall of justice, which publicly denounced lord Ormond as one of the guilty persons. "I have made inquisition," so ran this anonymous accusation, "for the slaughter of the king, and do find the earl of Bothwell, Mr James Balfour, parson of Flisk, Mr David Chambers, and black Mr John Spence, the principal devysers thereof." It affords a curious picture of the times, that two of these men were judges, while the one last mentioned was one of the two crown advocates, or public prosecutors, and actually appeared in that character at the trial of his accomplice Bothwell. There is matter of further surprise in the partly *clerical* character of Balfour and Chambers. The latter person appears to have experienced marks of the queen's favour almost immediately after the murder of her husband. On the 19th of April, he had a ratification in parliament of the lands of Ochterslo and Castleton. On the ensuing 12th of May, he sat as one of the lords of Session, when the queen came forward to absolve Bothwell from all guilt he might have incurred, by the constraint under which he had recently placed her. He also appears in a sederunt of privy council held on the 22d of May. But after this period, the fortunes of his mistress experienced a

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strange overthrow, and Chambers, unable to protect himself from the wrath of the ascendant party, found it necessary to take refuge in Spain.

He here experienced a beneficent protection from king Philip, to whom he must have been strongly recommended by his faith, and probably also the transactions in which he had lately been engaged. Subsequently retiring to France, he published in 1572, "Histoire Abrégée de tous les Roys de France, Angleterre, et Ecosse," which he dedicated to Henry III. His chief authority in this work was the fabulous narrative of Boece. In 1579, he published other two works in the French language, "La Recherche des singularités les plus remarkables concernant l' Estait d' Ecosse," and "Discours de la legitime succession des femmes aux possessions des leurs pàrens, et du gouvernement des princesses aux empires et royaume." The first is a panegyric upon the law, religion, and valour of his native country—all of which, a modern may be inclined to think, he had already rendered the reverse of illustrious by his own conduct. The second work is a vindication of the right of succession of females, being in reality a compliment to his now imprisoned mistress, to whom it was dedicated. In France, Chambers was a popular and respected character; and he testified his own predilection for the people by selecting their language for his compositions against the fashion of the age, which would have dictated an adherence to the classic language of ancient Rome. Dempster gives his literary character in a few words—"vir multæ et variæ lectionis, nec inamœni ingenii," a man of much and varied reading, and of not unkindly genius." He was, to use the quaint phrase of Mackenzie, who gives a laborious dissection of his writings, "well seen in the Greek, Latin, English, French, Italian, and Spanish languages."

On the return of quieter times, this strange mixture of learning and political and moral guilt returned to his native country, where, so far from being called to account by the easy James for his concern in the murder of his father, he was, in the year 1586, restored to the bench, in which situation he continued till his death in November 1592.

Another literary character, of the same name and the same faith, lived in the immediately following age. He was the author of a work intitled "Davidis Camerarii Scoti, de Scotorum Fortitudine, Doctrina, et Pietate Libri Quatuor," which appeared at Paris, in small quarto, in 1631, and is addressed by the author in a flattering dedication to Charles I. The volume contains a complete calendar of the saints connected with Scotland, the multitude of whom is apt to astonish a modern protestant.

CHALMERS, George, an eminent antiquary and general writer, was born in the latter part of the year 1742, at Fochabers, in Banffshire, being a younger son of the family of Pittensear, in that county. He was educated, first at the grammar-school of Fochabers, and afterwards at king's college, Aberdeen, where he had for his preceptor the celebrated Dr Reid, author of the Enquiry into the Human Mind. Having studied law at Edinburgh, he removed to America, where he practised that profession for upwards of ten years, till the colonies declared themselves independent. Mr Chalmers being a keen loyalist, returned to Britain, where his sufferings recommended him to the government, and he was, in 1786, appointed to the respectable situation of clerk to the Board of Trade. The duties of this office he continued to execute, with diligence and ability, for the remainder of his life, a period of thirty-nine years.

Previous to his appointment, he had distinguished himself by various literary undertakings, particularly a work entitled "Political Annals of the United Colonies," which appeared in 1780 in 4to, and manifested a profound knowledge of colonial history, law, and policy. He had also published, in 1782, an Es-

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timate of the Comparative Strength of Great Britain, during the present, and four preceding reigns; and, in 1784, Opinions on Interesting Subjects of Public Law and Commercial Policy, arising from American Independence, the former work in quarto, the latter in octavo. After his appointment, he transferred his attention in a great measure from political science to literature. In 1790, he published his life of Daniel Defoe; in 1794, his life of Thomas Ruddiman, (a very curious book); and in the course of the few subsequent years, various pamphlets apologising for those, himself included, who had believed in the authenticity of the Shakspeare manuscripts forged by Mr Ireland. He also wrote a life of Thomas Paine, in order to inspire a salutary horror for that infamous person. In 1800, Mr Chalmers edited the works of Allan Ramsay, with an elaborate memoir of the poet; in 1805, the works of Sir James Stewart of Coltness, also with a life prefixed; and in 1806, the writings of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, which was embellished in like manner. All these works, however, though very respectable, sink into insignificance when compared with one which now proceeded from his pen. The first volume of his "Caledonia" appeared in 1807, in quarto, and astonished the world with the vast extent of its erudition and research. It professes to be an account, historical and topographical, of North Britain, from the most ancient to the present times; and the original intention of the author was, that it should be completed in four volumes, quarto, each containing nearly a thousand pages. Former historians had not presumed to inquire any further back into Scottish history than the reign of Canmore, describing all before that time as obscurity and fable, as Strabo, in his maps, represents the inhabitants of every place which he did not know as Ichthyophagi. But George Chalmers was not contented to start from this point. He plunged fearlessly into the middle ages, and was able, by dint of incredible research, to give a pretty clear account of the inhabitants of the northern part of the island since the Roman conquest. The historical part of his work, which occupies the first volume, is divided into periods analogous to the different races who predominated in the country: thus we have the Romish period, the Pictish period, the Scottish period (between the subjugation of the Picts, and the intrusion of the Saxons under Malcolm Canmore,) and the Scoto-Saxon period, which ends with the accession of Robert Bruce, after which the learned author professes to give only an outline of our national history. The pains which he must have taken, in compiling information for this work, are almost beyond belief—although he tells us in his preface that it had only been the amusement of his evenings. The remaining three volumes were destined to contain a topographical and historical account of each county, and the second of these completed his task so far as the Lowlands were concerned, when death stepped in, and arrested the busy pen of the antiquary, May 31, 1825. Mr Chalmers is understood to have left the remainder of his great work nearly ready for the press; and it is to be hoped that his nephew, Mr James Chalmers, who for many years was his intimate associate and literary assistant, will see fit to give it speedily to the world. As a writer, George Chalmers does not rank high in point of elegance of style; but the solid value of his matter is far more than sufficient to counterbalance both that defect, and a certain number of prejudices by which his labours are otherwise a little deformed. Besides the works which we have mentioned, he was the author of some of inferior note, including various political pamphlets on the Tory side of the question. He was also the writer of two papers in the Looker-on, the one on Illicit Hopes, the other on the Equalization of Follies and Diseases.

CHAPMAN, (Dr) George, an eminent teacher and respectable writer on education, was born at the farm of little Blacktown in the parish of Alvale,

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Banffshire, in August, 1723. After receiving the rudiments of his education at the parish school, he went to King's College, Aberdeen, where he was successful in obtaining a bursary against a great number of competitors. Upon this exhibition, he studied four seasons, during which he made great progress in languages and philosophy. He then became tutor in the family of a private gentleman, named Stewart, by whose recommendation he was appointed master of the school of his native parish. His great merit as a teacher speedily brought him nearer the capital. In 1747, he became assistant to the well known Mr John Love, in the school at Dalkeith, which was then, and has ever since been, one of high reputation. Four years afterwards, he was appointed joint master of the grammar school of Dumfries, where, as his colleague was very aged and infirm, he had most of the duty. In this situation he continued for twenty seven years, during which he acquired extensive reputation as a teacher, and amassed considerable wealth. He was at length induced by the multitude of the boarders who came to his house, to throw himself entirely into that line of life, which he accounted more lucrative and less laborious than teaching a school. It was found, however, that the preference given to his house injured the prospects of his successor; and accordingly, with a generosity which cannot be too highly praised, he retired from the town altogether, and established himself upon his native farm in Banffshire, where he kept a small academy. He was soon after invited by the magistrates of Banff to superintend the grammar school of that town. With their approbation, he converted it into an academy, and appointed such teachers as he knew to be well qualified. He finally removed to Edinburgh, where for some years near the close of the last century, he carried on business as a printer. At the same time he received boarders into his country house at Libberton, for the purpose of amusing himself with his favourite business of instruction. He died February 22d, 1806, having almost to the last day of his life been engaged in his usual duties. Dr Chapman's Treatise on Education appeared in 1782; a work of great practical utility. He was also the author of some smaller works on subjects connected with education.

CHARLES I., king of Great Britain, was the second son of James VI. of Scotland, and First of Great Britain, by Anne, daughter of Frederick II., king of Denmark and Norway. Charles was born at Dunfermline palace, which was the dotarial or jointure house of his mother the queen, on the 19th of November, 1600, being the very day on which the earl of Gowry and his brother were publicly dismembered at the cross of Edinburgh, for their concern in the celebrated conspiracy. King James remarked with surprise that the principal incidents of his own personal and domestic history had taken place on this particular day of the month: he had been born, he said, on the 19th of June; he first saw his wife on the 19th of May; and his two former children, as well as this one, had been born on the 19th day of different months. Charles was only two years and a half old when his father was called up to England to fill the throne of Elizabeth. The young prince was left behind, in charge of the earl of Dunfermline, but joined his father in July, 1603, along with his mother and the rest of the royal family. Being a very weakly child, and not likely to live long, the honour of keeping him, which in other circumstances would have been eagerly sought, was bandied about by the courtiers, and with some difficulty was at length accepted by Sir Robert Carey and his wife. This was the gentleman who hurried, with such mean alacrity, to inform king James of the demise of his cousin Elizabeth, from whom, in life, he had received as many favours as he could now hope for from her successor. Carey tells us in his own Memoirs, that the legs of the child were unable to support him, and that the king had some thoughts of mending the matter by a pair of iron boots, from which, how-

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ever, he was dissuaded. At his baptism, December 23, 1600, Charles had received the titles of duke of Albany, marquis of Ormond, earl of Ross, and lord Ardmanach. He was now, January 1605, honoured with the second title of the English royal family—duke of York.

King James, whatever may have been the frivolity of his character in some respects, is undeniably entitled to the credit of having carefully educated his children. Prince Henry, the elder brother, and also Charles, were proficients in English, Latin, and French, at an amazingly early age. Although, from their living in separate houses, he did not see them often, he was perpetually writing them instructive and encouraging letters, to which they replied, by his desire, in language exclusively supplied by themselves. The king was also in the habit of sending many little presents to his children. "Sweete, sweete father," says Charles, in an almost infantine epistle, yet preserved in the Advocates' Library, "I learn to decline substantives and adjectives. Give me your blessing. I thank you for my *best man*. Your loving son, York." The character of Charles was mild, patient, and serious, as a child is apt to be who is depressed by ill health, or an inability to take a share in youthful sports. His brother Henry, who was nearly seven years his senior, and of more robust character, one day seized the cap of archbishop Abbot, which he put upon Charles' head, telling him, at the same time, that when he was king, he would make him archbishop of Canterbury. Henry dying in November 1612, left a brighter prospect open before his younger brother, who, in 1616, was formally created prince of Wales. At this splendid ceremony the queen could not venture to appear, lest the sight should renew her grief for the amiable Henry, whom she had seen go through the same solemnity only a short time before his death. As he grew up towards manhood, Charles gradually acquired strength, so that at twenty he was well skilled in manly exercises, and accounted the best rider of the great horse in his father's dominions. His person was slender, and his face—but the majestic melancholy of that face is too deeply impressed on every mind to require description. It was justly accounted very strange that the marquis of Buckingham, the frivolous favourite of king James, should have become equally agreeable to the grave temperament of the prince of Wales. Charles was perpetually in the company of that gay courtier, and the king used to consider them both as his children. He always addressed the prince by the epithet "Baby Charles," and in writing to Buckingham, he as invariably subscribed himself as "his dear dad." James had high abstract notions as to the rank of those who should become the wives of princes. He considered the sacred character of a king degraded by a union with one under his own rank. While his parliament, therefore, wished him to match his son to some small German princess, who had the advantage of being a good protestant, he contemplated wedding him to the grand-daughter of Charles V., the sister of the reigning king of Spain. Both James and Charles had a sincere sense of the errors of Rome; but the fatality of matching with a Catholic princess was not then an established maxim in English policy—and the time seems approaching when it will be so no more. It was also hoped that the Spanish monarch might be instrumental in procuring a restoration of the Palatinate of the Rhine for the son-in-law of the king of Great Britain, who had lost it in consequence of his placing himself at the head of the Bohemians, in a rebellion against the emperor of Germany. The earl of Bristol, British ambassador at Madrid, was carrying on negotiations for this match, when Charles, with the romantic feeling of youth, resolved to travel into Spain, and woo the young princess in person. In February 1623, he set out with the marquis of Buckingham, and only two other attendants, himself bearing the incognito title of Mr John Smith, a union of the two most familiar

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names in England, while the marquis assumed that of Mr Thomas Smith. At Paris, they obtained admission to the rehearsal or practising of a masque, where the prince beheld the princess Henrietta Maria of France, daughter of the illustrious Henry IV., and sister of the reigning king, Louis XIII., who was in reality destined to be his wife. It appears, however, that he paid no attention to this lady on the present occasion. His heart being full of the object of his journey, he directed his whole attention to the queen of France, because she was sister to the Spanish princess, whom he was going to see. In a letter to his father, he speaks in terms of high expectation of the latter individual, seeing that her sister was the handsomest of twenty women (Henrietta was of course included) whom he saw at this masque. That Charles subsequently placed his whole affections on a woman whom he now saw with indifference is only another added to the many proofs, that love is among the most transferable of all things. On his arrival at Madrid, he was received in the most courteous manner by the Spanish court, and his gallantry, as might be expected, made a strong impression upon the people. The celebrated Lopez de Vega wrote a canzonet on the occasion, of which the first verse has chanced to meet our eye:

Carlos Estuardo soy;
Que siendo amor mi guia
Al cielo de Espana voy
Por ver mi estrello Maria.

[Charles Stuart am I:
Love has guided me far
To this fair Spanish sky,
To see Mary my star.]

But, while he was entertained in the most affectionate manner by the people, and also by their prince, the formal policy of the court dictated that he should hardly ever see his intended bride. The marquis of Buckingham seriously proposed that he should send home for some perspective glasses, in order to reduce the distance at which she was kept from him. So far as his opportunities permitted him to judge of her personal merits, he admired her very much; but we suspect that if he had fallen in love, as he had expected, he never would have broken off the match. After spending all the summer at the Spanish court, waiting for a dispensation from the Pope, to enable the princess to marry a protestant, he was suddenly inspired with some disgust, and abruptly announced his intention of returning home. The marquis, now duke, of Buckingham, whose mercurial manners had given great offence to the Spaniards, and who had conceived great offence in return, is supposed to have caused this sudden change of purpose. The earl of Bristol was left to marry the princess in the way of proxy, but with secret instructions not to do so till he should receive further orders.

It would be rash to pronounce judgment upon this affair with so little evidence as history has left us; but it seems probable that the match was broken off, and the subsequent war incurred, purely through some freakish caprice of the favourite—for upon such things then depended the welfare of the nations. This contemptible court-butterfly ruled with absolute power over both the king and his son, but now chiefly sided with the latter against his father, being sensible that the old king was no longer able to assert his independency against the growing influence of his son. As the English people would have then fought in any quarrel, however unjust, against the Spaniards, simply because they were catholics, the war was very popular; and Buckingham, who chiefly urged it, became as much the favourite of the nation, as he was of the king and prince. A negotiation was subsequently opened with France, for a match with the prin-

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cess Henrietta Maria. On the 27th of March, 1625, Charles succeeded his father as king; and, on the 22d of June, the princess, to whom he had previously been espoused by proxy, arrived in London.

It would be foreign to the character of this work to enter into a full detail of the public transactions in which Charles was concerned in his regal character. We shall, therefore, be content with an outline of these transactions. It was the misfortune of Charles to live at one of those periods, which occur regularly throughout English history, when the people determine to wrench off a new part of their liberties from the prerogative of the king. It is ungenerously assumed by many of the friends of liberty, that Charles was its determined enemy, and that he was ever anxious to reduce the people to more complete subjection than before. The truth is, the popular spirit was the aggressor in the quarrel, and he the defender; though it is, perhaps, to be allowed that, in the course of the contest, he might occasionally take active measures for fencing himself against anticipated attacks, and thus appear for a time as acting in the opposite capacity. This is the natural course of things; for though there may be occasionally such a thing as a ruler naturally disposed to tyrannise for tyranny's sake, the principle of popular resistance is infinitely more active and general, and, what is also to be taken largely into account, infinitely more practicable. During the whole reign of king James, the house of Commons had been in a constant state of warfare with the crown, making every supply which it voted the purchase-money of some concession to the spirit of popular resistance, so as to threaten the complete subjection of the monarchical part of the constitution. The easy nature of James had got over these collisions much better than was to be expected from the grave and stern temperament of his son. After a few such disputes with his parliament, (for the House of Lords always joined with the Commons,) Charles concluded his wars, to save all expense, and, resolving to call no more parliaments, endeavoured to support the crown in the best way he could by the use of his prerogative. For ten years subsequent to 1628, when the duke of Buckingham was assassinated, he contrived to carry on the state with hardly any assistance from his officers, using chiefly the advice of Laud, bishop of London, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, and also relying considerably upon the queen to whom he was devotedly attached. During all this time, the country enjoyed external peace, and an extraordinary degree of internal prosperity. The life of the king was varied in 1633, by a journey to Scotland, in order to be crowned as king of that country.

It was in vain, however, that the British people enjoyed every physical happiness, so long as they conceived themselves to be unjustly ruled. The exactions of the king might be never so light; but then they were imposed without their own consent, as by parliament expressed. Religious sectarianism entered into and gave a strong impulse to the spirit of civil freedom. The dissenters from the church of England were at this time a rapidly increasing body; and the church to maintain her power, thought proper to visit them with some severe sentences. The spirit with which the regular clergy were animated against the non-conformists, may be argued from the fact, that Laud publicly blessed God, when a preacher of the name of Leighton was sentenced to lose his ears, and be whipped through the streets of London. The king and the archbishop had always looked with a jealous eye upon Scotland, where the episcopal form of government was as yet only struggling for supremacy over a people who were almost without exception presbyterian. It was felt to be necessary that no part of the kingdom should continue with a form of worship akin to that of the English dissenters; and hence the liturgy which Charles caused to be introduced into the Scottish churches, in 1637.

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The Scots united themselves in a solemn covenant against this innovation, and at the close of the year, 1638, felt themselves so confident in their own strength as to abolish episcopacy in a General Assembly of the church. The king, in spring, 1639, conducted an army of 20,000 to put down the Scots; but they met him with an equal force, and the king was reduced to a pacification, which left the grounds of quarrel undecided. Next year, Charles raised another army; but the Scots anticipated him by invading England, and at Newburn on the Tyne overthrew a large detachment of his forces, and immediately after gained possession of Newcastle. All expedients for supporting his army now failed, and he seemed about to be deserted in a great measure by the affections of his subjects. A large portion of the English entered heartily into the views of the Scots, whose zeal against episcopacy promised to be an excellent weapon against the extent of the royal prerogative, and also against the church. It was agreed by all parties that the northern army should be kept up at a certain monthly pay, till such time as a parliament should settle the grievances of the nation. Charles called together the celebrated assembly which afterwards acquired the name of the *Long Parliament*. This was only giving collective force and energy to the party which longed for his overthrow. He was obliged to resign his favourite minister, Strafford, as a victim to this assembly. Some of his other servants only escaped by a timely flight. He was himself obliged to abandon many points of his prerogative which he had hitherto exercised. Fearing that nothing but the sword could decide the quarrel, he paid a visit in autumn, 1641, to Scotland, and endeavoured, by making every concession to the religious prepossessions of that nation, to secure its friendship, or at least its neutrality. In August, 1642, he erected his standard at Nottingham, and soon found himself at the head of a considerable army, composed chiefly of the country gentry and their retainers. The parliament, on the other hand, was supported by the city of London, and by the mercantile interest in general. At the first, Charles gained several advantages over the parliament; but the balance was restored by the Scots, who, notwithstanding the fulfilment of all their desires, took side against the king, and, in February, 1644, entered England with a large army. The cause of royalty from this time declined, and in May 1646, the king was reduced to the necessity of taking refuge in the camp of the Scottish army at Newark. By the Scots he was subsequently delivered up to the English parliament, in consideration of a large sum which they received as arrears of military pay. If Charles would have now consented to abolish episcopacy, and reign as a very limited monarch, he would have been supported by the presbyterian party, and might have escaped a violent death. But his conscience directed him to resist every encroachment upon that form of ecclesiastical polity; and he therefore lost, in a great measure, the support of the presbyterians, who, though the men that had begun the war, were now sincerely anxious for a pacification, being in some alarm respecting a more violent class, who had latterly sprung up, and who, from their denial of all forms of church government, were styled Independents. This latter party, which reckoned almost the whole army in its numbers, eventually acquired an ascendancy over the more modern presbyterians; and, the latter being forcibly excluded from parliament, the few individuals who remained formed themselves into a court of justice, before which the king was arraigned. Having been found guilty of appearing in arms against the parliament, Charles was by this court condemned to suffer death as a traitor, which sentence was put in execution, January 30, 1649, in front of his own palace of Whitehall.

The personal character of this sovereign has been less a matter of dispute than the nature of his public acts. He is allowed to have been distinguished by

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every virtue which can adorn private life. By his queen, who survived him for some years, he left six children, of whom the two eldest, Charles and James, were successively kings of Great Britain; a son and a daughter died in early youth; and his two remaining daughters, Mary and Henrietta, were respectively married to the prince of Orange, and to the duke of Orleans, brother of Louis XIV. In literature Charles is entitled to a high rank. There was published after his death, a work entitled EIKON BASILIKE, which contained a series of reflections proceeding from himself, respecting various situations in which he was placed towards the close of his life. This, in a short space of time, went through upwards of forty editions, and it every where excited a keen interest in the fate of the king and high admiration of his mental gifts. Although for a long time suspected to have been written by another hand, it appears incontestibly proved by Dr Christopher Wordsworth, in his work on this subject, (published in 1824,) to have been his own express composition.

CHEPMAN, WALTER, who appears to have been chiefly concerned in introducing the art of printing into Scotland, was a servant of king James IV., who patronised him in that undertaking. None of the honours of learning are known to have been attached to the name of Walter Chepman; but it is to be inferred that his office in the royal household was of a clerical or literary character, as we find that on the 21st of February, 1496, the lord treasurer enters the following disbursement in his books: "Giffen to a boy to rynne fra Edinburgh to Linlithq, to Watte Chepman, to signet twa letteris to pas to Woddis, 12d." His name is frequently mentioned in this curious record; for instance, in August, 1503, amidst a variety of expenses "*pro servitoribus*" on the occasion of the king's marriage, eight pounds ten shillings are given for "five elne Inglis (English) claith to Walter Chepman, ilk elne 34 shillings," which may show the high consideration in which this individual was held. Walter Chepman is found at a somewhat later period in the condition of a merchant and burgess of Edinburgh, and joining with one Andro Millar, another merchant, in the business of a printer. It appears to have been owing to the urgent wishes of the king that Scotland was first favoured with the possession of a printing press. A grant under the privy seal, dated in 1507, recites the causes and objects of this measure in the following terms:—

JAMES, &c.—To al and sindrj our officiaris liegis and subdittis quham it efferis, quhais knawlage thir our lettres salcum, greting; wit ye that forsamekill as our lovittis servitouris Walter Chepman and Andro Millar burgessis of our burgh of Edinburgh, has, at our instance and request, for our plesour, the honour and proffit of our Realme and leigis, takin on thame to furnis and bring hame ane prent, with all stuff belangand tharto, and expert men to use the samyne, for imprenting within our Realme of the bukis of our Lawis, actis of parliament, croniclis, mess bukis, and portuus efter the use of our Realme, with addicions and legendis of Scottish sanctis, now gaderit to be ekit tharto, and al utheris bukis that salbe sene necessar, and to sel the sammyn for competent pricis, be our avis and discrecioun, thair labouris and expens being considerit; And because we wnderstand that this cannot be perfurnist without rycht greit cost labour and expens, we have granted and promittit to thame that thai sall nocht be hurt nor prevenit tharon be ony utheris to tak copyis of ony bukis furtht of our Realme, to ger imprent the samyne in utheris countreis, to be brocht and sauld agane within our Realme, to cause the said Walter and Andro tyne thair gret labour and expens; And als It is divisit and thocht expedient be us and our consall, that in tyme cuming mess bukis, manualis, matyne bukis, and portuus bukis, efter our awin scottis use, and with legendis of Scottis sanctis, as is now gaderit and ekit be ane Reverend fader in god, and our traist consalour

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Williame bischope of abirdene and utheris, be usit generaly within al our Realme alsone as the sammyn may be imprented and providit, and that no maner of sic bukis of Salisbury use be brocht to be sauld within our Realme in tym cuming; and gif ony dois in the contrar, that thai sal tyne the sammyne; Quharfor we charge straitlie and commandis yow al and sindrj our officiaris, liegis, and subdittis, that nane of yow tak apon hand to do ony thing incontrar this our awn promitt, devise and ordinance, in tyme cuming, under the pane of escheting of the bukis, and punishing of thair persons bringaris tharof within our Realme, in contrar this our statut, with al vigour as efferis. Geven under our prive Sel at Edinburgh, the xv day of September, and of our Regne the xx^ti yer.

(*Registrum Sec. Sig.* iii. 139.)

This typographical business would appear to have been in full operation before the end of 1507, as, on the 22d of December that year, we find the royal treasurer paying fifty shillings for "3 prentit bukes to the king, tane fra Andro Millaris wyff." The Cowgate, a mean street, now inhabited by the least instructed class of the citizens of Edinburgh, was the place where that grand engine of knowledge was established; as appears from the imprints of some of Chepman and Millar's publications, and also from a passage in the Traditions of Edinburgh, where the exact site of the house is thus made out:—"In the lower part of the church-yard [of St Giles, adjoining the Cowgate] there was a small place of worship, denominated the *Chapel of Holyrood*. Walter Chepman, the first printer in Edinburgh, in 1528, endowed an altar in this chapel with his tenement in the Cowgate; and, by the tenor of this charter, we are enabled to point out very nearly the residence of this remarkable person. The tenement is thus described:—'All and haill this tenement of land, back and foir, with houses, biggings, yards, and well, thereof, lying in the Cowgate of Edinburgh, on the south side thereof, near the said chapel, betwixt the lands of James Lamb on the east, and the lands of John Aber on the west, the arable lands, called Wairam's croft, on the south, and the said street on the north part.'" It is probable that the site is now covered by the new bridge thrown across the Cowgate at that point.

In the course of a few years, Chepman and Millar produced works,[1] of which hardly any other set is known to exist than that preserved in the Advocates' Library.

The privilege granted to Chepman and Millar was of a rigidly exclusive kind—for at this early period the system of monopolising knowledge, which is now an absurdity and a disgrace, was a matter of necessity. In January 1509, we find Walter Chepman asserting the right of his patent against various individuals who had infringed upon it by importing books into the country. The lords of council thus re-inforced the privilege they had formerly granted to him:—

Anent the complaint maid by Walter Chepman, that quhar he, at the desyre of our soverane lord, furnist and brocht hame ane prent and prentaris, for prenting of croniclis, missalis, portuuss, and utheris buikis within this realme,

[1] The Porteous of Nobleness, translatit out of Ffrenche in Scottis, be Maister Andro Cadyou.—The Knightly tale of Golagras and Gawane.—Sir Glamore.—Balade: In all our Gardenne growes their no flowres.—The Golden Targe; compilit be Maister William Dunbar.—The Mayng, or Disport of Chaucere.—The flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy.—The Traite of Orpheus King.—The Nobilness and grete Magneficence.—The Balade of ane right Noble Victorious and Mighty Lord Barnard Stewart, of Aubigny, Earl of Beaumont, &c. Compilit be Mr Wilyam Dunbar.—The Tale of the Twa Mariit Wemen and the Wedo.—Lament for the death of the Makkaris.—Poetical Peice, of one page in length, commencing, My Gudame was a gay Wyf.—The Testament of Mr Andro Kennedy.—Fitts, &c. of Robyn Hud.—Breuiarij Aberdonensis ad percelebris Ecclesie Scotor.—Ejusdem Breviarii Pars Æstivalis, per Reverendum in Christo Patrem Wilelmum, Abirdon. Episcopum, studiosius, maximisque cum laboribus collect.

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and to seclude *salisberyis* use; And to that effect thair wes lettres under our said soverane lordis priue sele direct, till command and charge oure soverane lordis liegis, that nain of thaim suld inbring or sell ony bukis of the said use of Salisbery, under the pane of escheting of the samyn; Neuirtheless, Wilyiam Frost, Francis Frost, William Sym, Andro Ross, and diuers uthers, merchandis within the burgh of Edinburgh, hes brocht haim, and selis daly, diuers bukis of the said use, sik as mess bukis, mannualis, portuiss, matinbuikis, and diuers uther bukis, in the disobeing of the said command and lettres, lik as at mar lenth Is contenit in the said complaint: The saidis Walter, William, Francis, William, and Andro, being personally present, And thair Richtis reasons and allegacions herd sene and understand, and thairwith being Riply avisit, The Lordis of Counsale forsaidis commandit and chargit the saids William Frost, Francis Frost, William Sym, and Andro Ros, personaly, that nain of thaim, in tyme to cum, bring hame, nor sell within this Realme, ony misale bukis, mannuals, portuiss, or matinbukis, of the said use of Salusbery, under the payn of escheting of the samyn; And that lettres be written in dew forme to the provest and balyies of Edr and to officeris of the kingis Sheriffes in that pairt, to command and charge be oppin proclamation, all utheris merchandis and persons, that nain of thaim bring haim, nor sell within this Realme, ony of the bukis abonewritten of the said use of salusbury, in tyme to come under the said pain, according to the said lettres under our souerane lordis priue sele direct thairuppon; And as to the bukis that ar ellis brocht hame be the saidis merchantis and uther persons, that thai bring nain to the merket, nor sell nain, within this Realme, bot that thei have the samyn furth of this Realme, and sell thaim; and that the saidist provest, baillies, and officiaris forsaidis, serche and seik quhar ony of the saidis manuale, bukis, mesbukis, matinbukis, and portuiss, of the said use beis brocht haim in tyme tocum, or sauld of thaim that ar ellis brocht hame, and eschete the samyn to our soverane lordis use: And als, that na persons tak copijs of the buikis abonwrittin and donatis, and . . . . or uther buikis that the said Walter hes prentit ellis for till haf thaim to uther Realmes to ger thaim be prentit, brocht haim, or sauld, within this Realme In tyme tocum, under the pain of escheting of the samin; And quha dois in the contrair, that the said pain be put to executioun on thaim, And that lettres be direct herapon, in dew forme, as said Is. (*Acta Dom. Conc.* xxi. 70.)

The troubles which befell the kingdom in 1513, in consequence of the battle of Flodden and the death of the king, appear to have put a stop for another age to the progress of the typographical art in Scotland. There is no further trace of it till the year 1542, when the national mind was beginning to feel the impulse of the Reformation. Nothing further is known of Walter Chepman, except what is to be gathered from the above passage in the Traditions of Edinburgh—namely, that he was employed in 1528 in bequeathing his property to the church, being then in all probability near the end of life.

CHEYNE, GEORGE, a physician of considerable eminence, was born in 1671, "of a *good* family, though neither the name of his father, nor the place of his birth, has been commemorated. He received a regular and liberal education, and was at first designed by his parents for the church. But though his mind was naturally of a studious and abstracted turn, he afterwards preferred the medical profession. He studied physic at Edinburgh, under the celebrated Dr Pitcairne, to whom he became much attached, and whom he styles, in the preface to his Essay on Health and Long Life, "his great master and generous friend." He has informed us that he was, at this period of his life, addicted to gay studies and indulgences; but that he was soon apprised by the shaking of his hands, and a disposition to be easily ruffled on a surprise, of the unfitness of

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his constitution for intemperance. When about thirty years of age, having taken the degree of M. D. he repaired to London, and there commenced practice as a physician. It affords a curious picture of the times, that he found it necessary to become a frequenter of taverns in order to get into practice. His cheerful temper, and vivacious conversation soon rendered him the favourite of the other gentlemen who frequented those places; he "grew daily," he says, "in bulk, and in friendship with those gay men, and their acquaintances." But this could not last long. He soon became excessively fat, short-winded, and lethargic, and being further admonished by an attack of vertigo, nearly approaching to apoplexy, he was obliged to abandon that style of life altogether.

Previous to this period, he had written, at the request of Dr Pitcairne, "A new Theory of Acute and Slow continued Fevers; wherein, besides the appearances of such, and the manner of their cure, occasionally, the structure of the glands, and the Manner and Laws of Secretion, the operation of purgative, vomitive, and mercurial medicines, are mechanically explained." Dr Pitcairne had wished to write such a work himself, in order to overthrow the opposing theories of some of his brethren, but was prevented from doing so by his constant application to practice, and therefore desired Dr Cheyne to undertake the task in his place. The work was hastily produced, and, though it was favourably received, the author never thought it worthy of receiving his name. The next work of Dr Cheyne was entitled, "Fluxionum Methodus Inversa: sive quantitatum fluentium leges generales." Like many men who are eminent in one professional branch of knowledge, he was anxious to display an amateur's accomplishment in another; and hence this attempt at throwing light upon the mysteries of abstract geometry. In later life, he had the candour to say of this work, that it was "brought forth in ambition, and brought up in vanity. There are some things in it," he adds, "tolerable for the time, when the methods of quadratures, the mensuration of ratios, and transformation of curves into those of other kinds, were not advanced to such heights as they now are. But it is a long time since I was forced to forego these barren and airy studies for more substantial and commodious speculations: indulging and rioting in these so exquisitely bewitching contemplations being only proper to public professors, and those who are under no outward necessities. Besides, to own a great but grievous truth, though they may quicken and sharpen the invention, strengthen and extend the imagination, improve and refine the reasoning faculty, and are of use both in the necessary and luxurious refinement of mechanical arts; yet, having no tendency to rectify the will, sweeten the temper, or mend the heart, they often leave a stiffness, positiveness, and sufficiency on weak minds, much more pernicious to society, and the interests of the great ends of our being, than all the advantages they can bring can recompense."

On finding his health so materially affected by intemperance, Dr Cheyne left off eating suppers entirely, and in his other meals took only a little animal food, and hardly any fermented liquor. He informs us, that being now confined to the penitential solitude of a sick chamber, he had occasion to experience the faithlessness of all friendship formed on the principle of a common taste for sensual indulgences. His boon companions, even those who had been particularly obliged to him, left him like the stricken deer, to bewail his own unhappy condition; "so that at last," says the doctor, "I was forced into the country alone, reduced to the state of cardinal Wolsey, when he said, 'if he had served his Maker as faithfully and warmly as he had his prince, he would not have forsaken him in that extremity;' and so will every one find, when union and friendship is not founded on solid virtue, and in conformity to the divine order,

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but in mere jollity. Being thus forsaken, dejected, melancholy, and confined in my country retirement, my body melting away like a snow-ball in summer, I had a long season for reflection. Having had a regular and liberal education, with the instruction and example of pious parents, I had preserved a firm persuasion of the great fundamental principles of all virtue and morality; namely, pure religion; in which I had been confirmed from abstract reasonings, as well as from the best natural philosophy. This led me to consider who of all my acquaintance I could wish to resemble most, or which of them had received and lived up to the plain truths and precepts contained in the gospels, or particularly our Saviour's sermon on the Mount. I then fixed on one, a worthy and learned clergyman; and as in studying mathematics, and in turning over Sir Isaac Newton's philosophical works, I always marked down the authors and writings mostly used and recommended, so in this case I purchased and studied such spiritual and dogmatic authors as I knew this venerable man approved. Thus I collected a set of religious books of the first ages since Christianity, with a few of the most spiritual of the moderns, which have been my study, delight, and entertainment ever since, and on these I have formed my ideas, principles, and sentiments, which have never been shaken." Dr Cheyne further informs us, that this reformation in his religious temperament, contributed greatly to forward the cure of his nervous diseases, which he perfected by a visit to Bath.

On his return to London, Dr Cheyne commenced living upon a milk diet, which he found remarkably salutary; but after a long course of years he gradually relapsed into a freer style of living, and though he never indulged to the least excess either in eating or drinking, his fat returned upon him, and at last he weighed upwards of thirty-two stone. Being again admonished of the evil effects of his indulgences, he all at once reverted to his milk diet, and in time regained his usual health. From this moderate style of living he never again departed; and accordingly he enjoyed tolerable health till 1743, when, on the 12th of April, he died at Bath, in full possession of his faculties to the last, and without experiencing a pang.

Besides the works already mentioned, Dr Cheyne published, in 1705, his "Philosophical Principles of Natural Religion, containing the Elements of Natural Philosophy, and the Proofs for Natural Religion, arising from them." This work he dedicated to the earl of Roxburgh, at whose request, and for whose instruction, it appears to have been originally written. He also published "An Essay on the True Nature and Due Method of treating the Gout, together with an account of the Nature and Quality of the Bath Waters," which passed through at least five editions, and was followed by "An Essay on Health and Long Life." The latter work he afterwards published in Latin. In 1733 appeared his "English Malady, or a Treatise on Nervous Diseases of all kinds, as Spleen, Vapours, Lowness of Spirits, Hypochondriacal and Hysterical Distempers." From the preface of this work we have derived the particulars here related respecting his own health through life. In 1740, Dr Cheyne published "An Essay on Regimen." His last work, which he dedicated to his friend and correspondent the earl of Chesterfield, was entitled, "The Natural Method of Curing the Diseases of the Human Body, and the Disorders of the Mind attending on the Body."

Dr Cheyne was eminently the physician of nervous distempers. He wrote chiefly to the studious, the voluptuous, and those who inherited bad constitutions from their parents. As a physician, he seemed to proceed, like Hippocrates of old, and Sydenham of modern times, upon a few great perceptible truths. He is to be ranked among those who have accounted for the operations of medicine, and the morbid alterations which take place upon the human body, upon me-

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chanical principles. A spirit of piety and benevolence, and an ardent zeal for the interests of virtue, run through all his writings. It was commonly said, that most of the physicians of his own day were secretly or openly tainted with irreligion; but from this charge Dr Cheyne rendered himself an illustrious exception. He was as much the enemy of irreligion in general society, as of intemperance in his professional character. Some of the metaphysical notions which he has introduced in his writings, may be thought fanciful and ill-grounded; but there is an agreeable vivacity in his productions, together with much candour and frankness, and, in general, great perspicuity. Of his relatives, his half-brother, the Rev. William Cheyne, vicar of Weston, near Bath, died September 6, 1767, and his son, the Rev. John Cheyne, vicar of Brigstock, Northamptonshire, died August 11, 1768.

CLAPPERTON, Hugh, the distinguished African traveller, was born at Annan, in Dumfriesshire, in the year 1788. His father, Mr George Clapperton, was a respectable surgeon in that town. His paternal grandfather, who was a physician of considerable ability, was a native of the north of Scotland, and married to a cousin of colonel Archibald Campbell of Glenlyon: this person settled in practice at Lochmaben, another town in Dumfriesshire, and enjoyed some local fame as a collector of mineralogical and antiquarian curiosities, as well as of old Border ballads and genealogies, some of which were used by Sir Walter Scott in his 'Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border." Mr George Clapperton, the father of the traveller, was married twice; by the first marriage, he had ten or eleven sons and a daughter, by the second, three sons and three daughters. The subject of this memoir was the youngest son by the first marriage. Owing partly to the number of his family, and partly to an improvident disposition, Mr Clapperton was unable to give his son Hugh that classical education which is so generally bestowed by people of the middle ranks in Scotland upon their children. When able to do little more than read and write indifferently, Hugh was placed under the care of Mr Bryce Downie, eminent as a mathematical teacher, through whom he acquired a knowledge of practical mathematics, including navigation and trigonometry. Mr Downie ever after spoke in terms of warm affection respecting his pupil, whom he described both as an apt scholar, and a most obliging boy, and able to bear with indifference the extremes of heat and cold.

It is frequently the fate of a large family of the middle order in Scotland, that at least one half of the sons leave their father's house, at an early age, with little more than the sailor's inheritance of a light heart and a thin pair of breeches, to push their way in search of fortune over every quarter of the globe, and in every kind of employment. The family of Mr George Clapperton appears to have been one of this order, for, while Hugh found distinction and a grave in the plains of Africa, no fewer than five of his brothers had also adopted an adventurous career, in the course of which some rose to a considerable rank in the navy and marine service, while others perished in their bloom. At the age of seventeen, the subject of this memoir was bound apprentice to Mr Smith, of the Postlethwaite of Maryport, a large vessel trading between Liverpool and North America. In this situation he continued for some years, already distinguished for coolness, dexterity, and intrepidity, when his course of life was suddenly changed by what appeared to be a most unhappy incident. On one occasion the ship, when at Liverpool, was partly laden with rock-salt, and as that commodity was then dear, the mistress of a house which the crew frequented very improperly enticed Clapperton to bring her ashore a few pounds in his handkerchief. After some intreaty the youth complied, probably from his ignorance of the revenue laws; was caught in the act by a custom-house officer, and

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menaced with the terrors of trial and imprisonment, unless he consented to go on board the Tender. He immediately chose the latter alternative, and, shortly after, gave a brief account of what had occurred, and the new situation in which he found himself placed, in a letter addressed to Mr Scott, banker, Annan, concluding, though in modest and diffident terms, by soliciting the good offices of this gentleman to procure him promotion. By the influence of Mr Scott, exerted through general Dirom of Mount Annan, and his equally amiable lady, Clapperton was draughted on board the Clorinde, which was then fitting out for the East Indies. The commander of this vessel, in compliance with the request of Mrs general Dirom, to whom he was related, paid some attention to Clapperton, and finding him active and intelligent beyond his years, speedily promoted him to the rank of a midshipman; a circumstance which tended in no mean degree to fix his destiny, and shape his fortune in life. "It has often been remarked," says his biographer, Mr M'Diarmid, "that what at first appears to be a misfortune, is sometimes the happiest thing that could have befallen us; and so it chanced in the present instance. It may be safely said, that if Clapperton had not smuggled a few pounds of salt, he would never have figured as an African traveller. Had he remained in the American or coasting trade, he might first have become mate, then master, then ship's husband and part owner, and finally retired to his native burgh, with a fortune of a few thousand pounds, and vegetated tranquilly for ten or twenty years, reading the newspapers, or playing at billiards in the forenoon, and smoking cigars, and drinking whisky punch or negus in the evening. But where would have been his laurels—where his glory—where his zeal in the cause of science—where his defiance of death and danger—where his place in the British annals!"

Without allowing that the one fate has been much better than the other, either for the traveller or for his country, it is sufficiently obvious, that this step was in itself a fortunate one for Clapperton, as it opened up to him a much higher career of exertion, and one more worthy of his genius, than that which he had hitherto pursued. Previous to 1813, the British sailors were trained to no particular method of managing the cutlass. It being suggested that this was a defect, a few clever midshipmen, among whom was Clapperton, were ordered to repair to Plymouth Dock-yard, to be instructed by the celebrated swordsman, Angelo, in what was called the improved cutlass exercise. When their own instructions had been completed, they were distributed as teachers over the fleet, and Mr Clapperton happened to be appointed to the Asia, 74, the flag-ship of vice-admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, then lying at Spithead. This vessel set sail in January, 1814, for Bermuda, and Mr Clapperton continued during the voyage to act as drill-sergeant. At this time occurred an incident which strikingly illustrates his characteristic coolness and intrepidity. One evening the alarm was given that the ship was on fire; the drums immediately beat to quarters, and the firemen were piped away to the gun-room, where an immense quantity of luggage had been temporarily deposited, and whence were issuing huge and increasing volumes of smoke. The after magazine, containing some hundred barrels of gun-powder, was immediately beneath, and the appearance of the combustion had become so alarming, that every man awaited his fate in silence, under an impression that the vessel would be speedily blown to atoms. At this moment, Clapperton was observed by a friend, sitting at a table in the larboard berth, very quietly smoking a cigar. His friend having expressed surprise at his seeming indifference, he stated quite coolly, "that being only a supernumerary, no particular station had been assigned to him, and it was therefore of no importance where he was at the time the ship blew up." The fire was fortunately extinguished.

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While lying at Bermuda, and on the passage out, nothing could exceed Mr Clapperton's diligence in discharging the duties of his new occupation. Officers as well as men, received instructions from him in the cutlass exercise; and his manly figure, and sailor-like appearance tended, in the opinion of all who saw him, to fix the attention, and improve the patriotic spirit of the crew. At his own, as well as the other messes, where he was a frequent guest, he was the very life and soul of the party; sung a good song, told a merry tale, painted scenes for the ship's theatricals, sketched views, drew caricatures, and, in one word, was an exceedingly amusing and interesting person. Even the admiral became acquainted with his delightful properties, and honoured him with his warmest friendship and patronage. Clapperton was obliged, however, to repair to the Canadian lakes, which were then about to become the scene of important naval operations. Here he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant, and soon after appointed to the command of the Confiance schooner, the crew of which was composed of nearly all the unmanageable characters in the squadron. To keep these men in order was no easy task; yet his measures were at once so firm and so judicious, that, although he rarely had recourse to flogging, and withheld or disbursed allowances of grog, as a better system of rewards and punishments, his troops in the end became so orderly, that the Confiance was allowed to be one of the smartest barks on the water. When she rode at anchor on the spacious shores of Lake Erie or Lake Huron, her commander occasionally repaired to the woods, and with his gun kept himself in fresh provisions. In these excursions he cultivated an acquaintance with the aborigines, and was so much charmed with a mode of life, full of romance, incident, and danger, that he once entertained serious thoughts, when the war was ended, of becoming a denizen of the forest himself. It was his custom, on returning to the vessel, to swim out to it, instead of taking a boat, so that he might, by approaching unperceived, detect the crew in any little neglect of duty. On one occasion, having dined heartily on shore, the water propelled the blood to his head, so that he soon became too weak either to retreat or advance. In this situation he contrived to float, and called for a boat as loudly as he was able. For a long time his cries were disregarded; and he often expressed his firm conviction, that the watch were willing to leave him to his fate, as the best means of getting rid of a rigid disciplinarian. But at length, fearing that if he survived, a worse fate would befall them, they sent out a boat, which saved him when at the very point of sinking through exhaustion. This adventure frightened him out of the practice.

In the year 1817, when the flotilla on the lakes was dismantled, Clapperton returned to England, to be placed, like many others, on half pay, and he ultimately retired to the old burgh of Lochmaben. There he remained till 1820, amusing himself chiefly with rural sports, when he removed to Edinburgh, and shortly after became acquainted with a young Englishman of the name of Oudney, who had just taken his degree as doctor of medicine in the college. It was at the suggestion of this gentleman that he first turned his thoughts to African discovery. On the return of captain Lyon from his unsuccessful attempt to penetrate northern Africa, earl Bathurst, then Colonial Secretary, relying on the strong assurances of his majesty's consul at Tripoli, that the road to the south of Mourzook, (the extreme point of Lyon's expedition,) was now open, resolved that a second mission should be sent out, to explore this unhappy quarter of the globe. Dr Oudney was, upon strong recommendations from Edinburgh, appointed to proceed on this expedition, in the capacity of consul at Bornou in central Africa, being allowed to take Clapperton along with him as a companion. About that time, the late colonel Denham having volunteered his services in an

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attempt to pass from Tripoli to Timbuctoo; and it being intended that researches should be made from Bornou, as the fixed residence of the consul, to the east and to the west, lord Bathurst added his name to the expedition. The expedition set out from Tripoli early in 1822. It advanced in a line nearly south to Mourzook, which is situated in lat. 25 N. and long. 14 E., and which it reached on the 8th of April. Unfortunately, from various circumstances, it was here found impossible to proceed any further this season; and while Denham returned to Tripoli to make new arrangements, Oudney and Clapperton made an excursion during June, July, and August, to the westward of Mourzook, into the country of the Tuaricks, which they penetrated to Ghrasat, in the eleventh degree of east longitude.

On the return of Denham in October, he found Clapperton ill of an ague, and Oudney of a cold, and both were in a very wretched condition. On the 29th of November, however, the whole expedition was able to proceed. Keeping as nearly as possible in a direction due south, and very nearly in the fourteenth degree of east longitude, they arrived in February 1823, in the kingdom of Bornou, which they found to be a far more powerful and civilized state than they could have formerly believed, the most of the inhabitants professing Mahomedanism. This, it must be observed, was a part of the world never before known to have been trodden by a European foot. On the 17th, the travellers, who went in company with a great African merchant named Boo-Khaloom, reached Kouka, the capital of the country, where the sultan had several thousand well mounted cavalry drawn up to receive them. This city became their head quarters for the winter; and while Clapperton and Oudney remained there, Denham made an excursion still farther to the south, which he penetrated to Musfeia in latitude 9° 15′ N., thereby adding in all 14½ degrees, or nearly 900 geographical miles to the European knowledge of Africa in this direction. Afterwards, Denham made an excursion with Oudney to Munga and Gambaroo in a western direction.

On the 14th of December, 1823, Mr Clapperton, accompanied by Dr Oudney, commenced a journey to the west, for the purpose of exploring the course of the Niger, leaving Denham to explore the neighbouring shores of the great lake Chad, which may be called the Caspian of Africa. The two travellers arrived in safety at Murmur, where Oudney, who had previously been very weakly, breathed his last in the arms of his companion. "At any time, in any place," says Clapperton in his narrative, "to be bereaved of such a friend had proved a severe trial; but to me his friend and fellow-traveller, labouring also under disease, and now left alone amid a strange people, and proceeding through a country which had hitherto been never trod by European feet, the loss was severe and afflicting in the extreme." Proceeding on his journey, Clapperton reached Kano, the capital of the kingdom of Houssa, which he entered on the 23d of January, 1824. In general the native chiefs treated him with kindness, partly from a sense of the greatness of his master, the king of Great Britain. On the 10th of March, he reached Jackatoo, a large city in lat. 13 N. and long. 6½ E., which was the extreme point of the expedition in that direction. The sultan of this place treated him with much attention, and was found to be a person of no small intelligence, considering his situation.

"March 19, I was sent for," says Clapperton, "by the sultan, and desired to bring with me the 'looking-glass of the sun,' the name they gave to my sextant. I first exhibited a planisphere of the heavenly bodies. The sultan knew all the signs of the Zodiac, some of the constellations, and many of the stars, by their Arabic names. The looking-glass of the sun was then brought forward, and occasioned much surprise. I had to explain all its appendages. The in-

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verting telescope was an object of immense astonishment; and I had to stand at some little distance, to let the sultan look at me through it, for his people were all afraid of placing themselves within its magical influence. I had next to show him how to take an observation of the sun. The case of the artificial horizon, of which I had lost the key, was sometimes very difficult to open, as happened on this occasion: I asked one of the people near me for a knife to press up the lid. He handed me one quite too small, and I quite inadvertently asked for a dagger for the same purpose. The sultan was immediately thrown into a fright; he seized his sword, and half-drawing it from the scabbard, placed it before him, trembling all the time like an aspen leaf. I did not deem it prudent to take the least notice of his alarm, although it was I who had in reality most cause of fear; and on receiving the dagger, I calmly opened the case, and returned the weapon to its owner with apparent unconcern. When the artificial horizon was arranged, the sultan, and all his attendants had a peep at the sun; and my breach of etiquette seemed entirely forgotten." The courage and presence of mind of Clapperton are most strikingly displayed in this anecdote.

Clapperton was very anxious to have pressed westwards in order to fall in with the Niger, which he was told was within five days' journey, and the course of which was described to him by the sultan. But owing to some of those malign jealousies which the slave trade inspires into the African mind, he was not permitted to proceed. He set out, May 4, on his return to Kouka, which he reached on the 8th of July. Here he was rejoined by Denham, who scarcely knew him, on account of the ravages which illness had committed upon his once manly frame. The two remaining travellers then set out on their return to Tripoli, which, after a harassing journey across the desert, they reached, January, 26, 1825, about three years after they had first set foot in Africa. They returned through Italy to Europe, and arrived in England on the 1st of June.

The result of this expedition was a work published in 1826, under the title of "Narrative of Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa, in the years 1822, 1823, and 1824, by Major Denham, F.R.S., Captain Clapperton, and the late Dr Oudney," of which a third edition was published in 1828. The greater part of this work was the composition of Denham, Clapperton only writing a minor part, respecting the excursion to Jackatoo, which, however, is not the least interesting in the book. The subject of our memoir wrote in a plain, manly, unaffected style, as might have been expected from his character. The work was published under the immediate superintendence of major Denham; and it was not the fate of Clapperton ever to see the result of his labours in print.

This enterprising person was solicited, immediately after his return, to undertake the management of another expedition to Africa, in company with captain Pearce of the royal navy, Dr Morrison, and Mr Dickson. On this occasion it was projected, that he should enter the continent, with his companions, at the Guinea coast, and thence endeavour to reach Jackatoo in a north-easterly direction, so as to make sure of intersecting the Niger. An enterprising youth, named Richard Lander, applied to Clapperton for permission to join the expedition in any capacity he might think proper. "The captain," we are informed by this individual, in his Narrative subsequently published, "listened to me with attention, and, after I had answered a few interrogations, willingly engaged me to be his confidential servant. In this interview," adds Mr Lander, "the keen, penetrating eye of the African traveller did not escape my observation, and by its fire, energy, and quickness, denoted, in my own opinion at least, the very soul of enterprise and adventure." After being entrusted with

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an answer from the king to a letter which he had brought from the sultan Bello of Jackatoo, and with a letter to El Kanemy, the Shiekh of Bornou, Clapperton left England with his company, on the 27th August, not three months from the time of his return. Mr Dickson having been, at his own request, landed at Whydah, the rest disembarked, on the 28th of November, at Badagry in the Bight of Benin.

The journey into the interior was commenced on the 7th of December, and Clapperton soon had the pain of seeing his two companions, Pearce and Morrison, fall a sacrifice to its hardships. Accompanied by a merchant named Houtson, who joined him as a volunteer, he pursued his enterprise, and on the 15th of January 1826, arrived at Katunga, the capital of Youriba. From this point Mr Houtson returned without molestation, leaving Clapperton and Lander to pursue their journey alone. They soon after crossed the Quorra, or Niger, at Boussa, the place where Park had met his untimely fate. In July, the travellers reached Kano, a large city on the line of road which Clapperton had formerly traversed, and here, on the 24th, the latter individual left his servant with the baggage, while he proceeded by himself to Soccatoo. This parting in the wilderness is affectingly described by Mr Lander. "Every arrangement having been previously made, my master came to bid me adieu, and gave me final instructions relative to proceeding to Bornou and Tripoli, in case of his death, or of any unforeseen accident that might befall him. On this occasion each of us was much moved. Our little party had left their native country full of hope and enterprising spirit, and we had seen them sicken and die by our sides without being in a condition to mitigate their sufferings, or 'smooth down their lonely pillow.' Like the characters in Mozart's 'Farewell,' they had dropped one by one; and they were buried in a strange land, far from the graves of their fathers, with scarce a memento to point out the solitary spot. These were my thoughts at the moment of separation from my valued master. I knew that it was by no means unlikely we might never meet again, and we were well assured, that in the event of our dissolution when apart, no one would be found to close our eyes, still less to perform the rites of Christian burial over our remains. My master therefore left me with emotion. For my own part, I was yet, if possible, more sensibly agitated: as soon as the captain was out of sight, I threw myself upon my couch, from which I did not again arise for twenty-four hours."

It was the wish of Clapperton to obtain permission from sultan Bello to visit Timbuctoo, and revisit Bornou. But all his plans were frustrated in consequence of Bello having engaged in a war with the Shiekh of Bornou. Clapperton, in his former visit, had presented the latter individual with several Congreve rockets, which he had employed effectually in setting fire to some of the sultan's towns. The traveller also bore, on this occasion, some considerable presents from the king of England to the Shiekh of Bornou; and thus every circumstance conspired to introduce jealousy into the mind of the sultan. Clapperton was detained for several months at Soccatoo in bad health, and Lander was inveigled by the sultan to come also to that city, along with the baggage, in order that the presents intended for Bornou might be intercepted. Lander reached Soccatoo in November, to the surprise of his master, and immediately their baggage was seized in the most shameless manner, and the travellers expressly forbidden to proceed to Bornou.

To pursue the narrative of Lander: "My master and myself enjoyed tolerable health for some weeks after my arrival, I say *tolerable*, for *perfect* health we felt not even a single day in Africa. We variously employed our leisure hours, as inclination or circumstances might guide our choice. We

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each went a-shooting repeatedly: this was captain Clapperton's favourite amusement, and almost the only out-of-door exercise he was at all eager to cultivate. He frequently went out with his gun at an early hour in the morning, and returned not till the evening was pretty far advanced. On all of these occasions the captain was dressed in the costume of the country, which consisted, besides other articles, of a large, flowing tobe, and a red cap with a white muslin turban: the tobe was confined to his waist by a broad belt, in which a brace of pistols and a short dagger were stuck;—thus accoutred, my master looked more like a mountain robber setting out on a predatory excursion, than a British naval officer. His beard, also, which he had permitted gradually to grow, had undisputed possession of his chin, and was of a truly patriarchal length, extending even below his breast. This imparted to his countenance a venerable expression, and to his general appearance a degree of dignity, that excited the envy and admiration of the Arabs and Falatahs, who attach great importance to large bushy beards, which they all strive to obtain by various means."

Mr Lander next describes the way in which they generally spent their evenings, while confined in this place. "Sometimes, although neither of us was gifted with a voice of much power or compass, we attempted to sing a few English or Scottish tunes; and sometimes I played others on my bugle-horn. How often have the pleasing strains of 'Sweet, sweet Home,' resounded through the melancholy streets of Soccatoo? How often have its inhabitants listened with breathless attention to the white-faced strangers? and observed to each other, as they went away, 'Surely those Christians are sending a blessing to their country and friends!' Any thing that reminded my master of his native Scotland was always heard with interest and emotion. The little poem, 'My native Highland home,' I have sung scores of times to him, as he has sat with his arms folded on his breast opposite to me in our dwelling; and notwithstanding his masculine understanding, and boasted strength of nerve, the captain used to be somewhat moved on listening to the lines:

'Then gang wi' me to Scotland dear,
We ne'er again will roam;
And with thy smile, so bonny, cheer
My native Highland home!
For blithesome is the breath of day,
And sweet 's the bonny broom,
And pure the dimpling rills that play
Around my Highland home.'

* * *

"On the 12th of March [1827], all thoughts of further enjoyment ceased, through the sudden illness of my dear kind master, who was attacked with dysentery on that day. He had been almost insensibly declining for a week or two previously, but without the slightest symptoms of this frightful malady. From the moment he was first taken ill, captain Clapperton perspired freely, large drops of sweat continually rolling over every part of his body, which weakened him exceedingly; and, being unable to obtain any one, even of our own servants, to assist, I was obliged to wash the clothes, kindle and keep in the fire, and prepare the victuals with my own hands. Owing to the intense heat, my master was frequently fanned for hours together: indeed, all my leisure moments were devoted to this tedious occupation; and I have often held the fan till, from excessive weakness, it has fallen from my grasp.

Finding that, from increasing debility, I was unable to pay that unremitting

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attention to the numerous wants of the invalid which his melancholy state so peculiarly demanded, I sent to Malam Mudey on the 15th, entreating him to lend me a female slave to perform the operation of fanning. On her arrival the girl began her work with alacrity and cheerfulness; but soon becoming weary of her task, ran away, and never returned to our hut. I was therefore obliged to resume it myself; and, regardless of personal inconvenience and fatigue, strained every nerve, in order to alleviate, as much as possible, the sufferings occasioned by this painful disorder. My master daily grew weaker, and suffered severely from the intolerable heat of the atmosphere, the thermometer being, in the coolest place, 107 at twelve at noon, and 109 at three in the afternoon.

At his own suggestion I made a couch for him outside our dwelling, in the shade, and placed a mat for myself by its side. For five successive days I took him in my arms from his bed to the couch outside, and back again at sunset, after which he was too much debilitated to encounter even so trifling an exertion. He expressed a wish to write once, and but once, during his illness, but before paper and ink could be handed to him, he had fallen back on his bed, completely exhausted by his ineffectual attempt to sit up.

* * * *

"For twenty days the captain remained in a low and distressed state, and during that period was gradually but perceptibly declining; his body, from being strong and vigorous, having become exceedingly weak and emaciated, and, indeed, little better than a skeleton. There could not be a more truly pitiable object in the universe than was my poor dear master, at this time. His days were sorrowfully and ignobly wasting in vexatious indolence; he himself languishing under the influence of a dreadful disease, in a barbarous region, far, very far removed from his tenderest connections, and beloved country; the hope of life quenched in his bosom; the great undertaking, on which his whole soul was bent, unaccomplished; the active powers of his mind consumed away; and his body so torn and racked with pain, that he could move neither head, hand, nor foot without suppressed groans of anguish; while the fire and energy that used to kindle in his eye had passed away, and given place to a glossy appearance—a dull saddening expression of approaching dissolution.

"In those dismal moments, captain Clapperton derived considerable consolation from the exercise of religious duties; and, being unable himself to hold a book in his hand, I used to read aloud to him daily and hourly some portions of the Sacred Scriptures. At times a gleam of hope, which the impressive and appropriate language of the Psalmist is so admirably calculated to excite, would pierce the thick curtain of melancholy that enveloped us; but, like the sun smiling through the dense clouds of a winter's day, it shone but faintly, and left us in a state of gloomier darkness than before.

* * * *

"On the first of April the patient became considerably worse; and, although evidently in want of repose, the virulence of his complaint prevented him from enjoying any refreshing slumbers. On the 9th, Maddie, a native of Bornou, whom my master had retained in his service, brought him about twelve ounces of green bark, from the butter-tree, recommended to him by an Arab in the city; and assured us that it would produce the most beneficial effects. Notwithstanding all my remonstrances, a decoction of it was ordered to be prepared immediately, the too confiding invalid remarking that no one would injure him. Accordingly, Maddie himself boiled two basins full, the whole of which stuff was swallowed in less than an hour.

"On the following day he was greatly altered for the worse, as I had foretold he would be, and expressed regret for not having followed my advice. About

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twelve o'clock at noon, calling me to his bed-side, he said—'Richard! I shall shortly be no more; I feel myself dying.' Almost choked with grief, I replied, 'God forbid! my dear master; you will live many years to come.' 'Do not be so much affected, my dear boy, I entreat you,' rejoined he; 'you distress me by your emotion; it is the will of the Almighty, and therefore cannot be helped. Take care of my journal and papers after my decease; and when you arrive in London, go immediately to my agents, and send for my uncle, who will accompany you to the Colonial office, and see you deposit them with the secretary. After my body is laid in the earth, apply to Bello, and borrow money to purchase camels and provisions for crossing the desert to Fezzan in the train of the Arab merchants. On your arrival at Mourzuk, should your money be expended, send a messenger to Mr Warrington, our consul for Tripoli, and wait till he returns with a remittance. On your reaching the latter place, that gentleman will further advance you what money you may require, and send you to England the first opportunity. Do not lumber yourself with my books, but leave them behind, as well as my barometer and sticks, and indeed every heavy or cumbersome article you can conveniently part with; you may give them to Malam Mudey, who will preserve them. Remark whatever towns or villages you may pass through, and put on paper any thing remarkable that the chiefs of the different places may say to you.' I said, as well as my agitation would permit me, 'If it be the will of God to take you, Sir, you may confidently rely, as far as circumstances will permit me, on my faithfully performing all that you have desired; but I hope and believe that the Almighty will yet spare you to see your home and country again.' 'I thought at one time,' continued he, 'that that would be the case, but I dare not entertain such hopes now; death is on me, and I shall not be long for this world; God's will be done.' He then took my hand betwixt his, and looking me full in the face, while a tear glistened in his eye, said in a tremulous, melancholy tone: 'My dear Richard, if you had not been with me I should have died long ago. I can only thank you with my latest breath for your devotedness and attachment to me; and if I could live to return to England with you, you should be placed beyond the reach of want; the Almighty, however, will reward you.'

"This pathetic conversation, which occupied almost two hours, greatly exhausted my master, and he fainted several times while speaking. The same evening he fell into a slumber, from which he awoke in much perturbation, and said, that he had heard with peculiar distinctness the tolling of an English funeral bell; but I entreated him to be composed, observing, that sick people frequently fancy things which in reality can have no existence. He shook his head, but said nothing.

"About six o'clock on the morning of the 11th April, on my asking him how he did, my master replied in a cheerful tone, that he felt much better; and requested to be shaved. He had not sufficient strength to lift his head from the pillow; and after finishing one side of the face I was obliged myself to turn his head in order to get at the other. As soon as he was shaved, he desired me to fetch him a looking-glass which hung on the opposite side of the hut; and on seeing the reflection of his face in it, observed that he looked quite as ill in Bornou on his former journey, and that as he had borne his disorder for so long a time, there was some possibility of his yet recovering. On the following day he still fancied himself to be convalescent, in which belief I myself agreed, as he was enabled to partake of a little hashed guinea fowl in the course of the afternoon, which he had not done before during the whole of his confinement, having derived his sole sustenance from a little fowl soup, and milk and water.

"These flattering anticipations, however, speedily vanished, for on the morn-

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ing of the 13th, being awake, I was greatly alarmed on hearing a peculiar rattling noise issuing from my master's throat, and his breathing at the same time was loud and difficult. At that moment, on his calling out 'Richard!' in a low, hurried, and singular tone, I was instantly at his side, and was astonished beyond measure on beholding him sitting upright in his bed (not having been able for a long time previously to move a limb), and staring wildly around. Observing him ineffectually struggling to raise himself on his feet, I clasped him in my arms, and whilst I thus held him, could feel his heart palpitating violently. His throes became every moment less vehement, and at last they entirely ceased, insomuch that thinking he had fallen into a slumber, or was overpowered by faintings, I placed his head gently on my left shoulder, gazing for an instant, on his pale and altered features; some indistinct expressions quivered on his lips, and whilst he vainly strove to give them utterance, his heart ceased to vibrate, and his eyes closed for ever!

"I held the lifeless body in my arms for a short period, overwhelmed with grief; nor could I bring myself to believe that the soul which had animated it with being, a few moments before, had actually quitted it. I then unclasped my arms, and held the hand of my dear master in mine; but it was cold and dead, and instead of returning the warmth with which I used to press it, imparted some of its own unearthly chillness to my frame, and fell heavily from my grasp. O God! what was my distress in that agonizing moment? Shedding floods of tears, I flung myself along the bed of death, and prayed that Heaven would in mercy take my life."

By the permission of Sultan Bello, Mr Lander buried his fellow-traveller at Jungavie, about five miles south-east from Soccatoo;—after describing the mournful scene, he thus proceeds to draw the character of his master:

"No one could be better qualified than captain Clapperton by a fearless, indomitable spirit, and utter contempt of danger and death, to undertake and carry into execution an enterprise of so great importance and difficulty, as the one with which he was entrusted. He had studied the African character in all its phases,—in its moral, social, and external form; and, like Alcibiades, accommodated himself with equal ease to good, as well as to bad fortune—to prosperity, as well as to adversity. He was never highly elated at the prospect of accomplishing his darling wishes—the great object of his ambition—nor deeply depressed when environed by danger, care, disappointment, and bodily suffering, which, hanging heavily upon him, forbade him to indulge in hopeful anticipations. The negro loved him, because he admired the simplicity of his manners, and mingled with pleasure in his favourite dance; the Arab hated him, because he was overawed by his commanding appearance, and because the keen penetrating glance of the British captain detected his guilty thoughts, and made him quail with apprehension and fear.

"Captain Clapperton's stature was tall; his disposition was warm and benevolent; his temper mild, even, and cheerful; while his ingenuous manly countenance pourtrayed the generous emotions that reigned in his breast. In fine, he united the figure and determination of a man, with the gentleness and simplicity of a child; and, if I mistake not, he will live in the memory of many thousands of Africans, until they cease to breathe, as something more than mortal; nor have I the least doubt that the period of his visiting their country will be regarded by some as a new era, from which all events of consequence, that affect them, will hereafter be dated."

The surviving traveller was permitted to leave Soccatoo a few days afterwards, and return on the way to Badagry. He reached that part of the coast, after almost incredible hardships, and returning safely to England, prepared for the

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press a work entitled, "Records of Captain Clapperton's Last Expedition to Africa," which appeared in 1830, in two volumes 12mo. Before the publication of this book, Mr Lander had set out on another expedition, in company with his younger brother, John; and pursuing nearly the same route as that of captain Clapperton, again reached the Niger at Boussa. It was an impression of Mr Lander, that that river ran into the Bight of Benin, and he had, on his return, endeavoured to prove the fact by descending the stream, but was prevented by the natives. He now fairly settled the question by sailing down the river, and entering the sea by the outlet which is marked on the maps by the name of Nun. Thus was a youth of about twenty-six years of age at last successful in solving a problem which many older and better instructed men had failed to expound. It is to be allowed, however, that Clapperton is indirectly entitled to a large share of this honour, as it was he who introduced Lander to the field of African adventure, and who inspired him with the desire, and invested him with the accomplishments, necessary for the purpose.

CLEGHORN, George, a learned physician, was the son of a farmer at Granton, in the parish of Cramond, near Edinburgh; and was born there, on the 13th of December 1716. In 1719, the father of Dr Cleghorn died, leaving a widow and five children. George, who was the youngest, received the rudiments of his education at the parish school, and in 1728, was sent to Edinburgh, to be further instructed in Latin, French, and Greek; where, to a singular proficiency in those languages, he added a considerable stock of mathematical knowledge. At the age of fifteen, he commenced the study of physic and surgery, and had the good fortune to be placed under the tuition of the illustrious Monro, and under his roof. For five years, he continued to profit by the instruction and example of his great master; at the same time, he attended the lectures on botany, chemistry, materia medica, and the theory and practice of medicine; and by extraordinary diligence, he attracted the notice of all his preceptors. He was at this time the intimate friend and fellow-student of the celebrated Fothergill, in conjunction with whom, and a few other young men, he established the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh, an institution of a very valuable kind, which still exists. So great was the distinction of Cleghorn, even as a student, that, when little more than nineteen years of age, he was appointed by the recommendation of Dr St Clair, surgeon to the 22d regiment of foot, then stationed at Minorca, under the command of general St Clair. During the thirteen years which he spent in that island, he applied himself most diligently to his improvement in medical and anatomical studies, in which he was much assisted by his friend Fothergill, who sent him out such books as he required from London. On leaving Minorca in 1749, he went with the regiment to Ireland; and next year he repaired to London, in order to give to the world the fruit of some of his observations, in a work entitled, "The diseases of Minorca." This work not only exhibits an accurate statement of the air, but a minute detail of the vegetable productions of the island; and concludes with medical observations, important in every point of view, and in some instances either new, or applied in a manner which preceding practitioners had not admitted. The medical world was indebted to Dr Cleghorn for proving the advantage of acescent vegetables in low, putrid, and remittent fevers, and the copious use of bark, which had been interdicted from mistaken facts, deduced from false theories. While superintending the publication of this work, Dr Cleghorn attended the anatomical lectures of Dr Hunter; and on his return to Dublin, where he settled in practice in 1751, he began to give a similar course himself, and was the first person that established what could, with propriety, be considered an anatomical school in Ireland. Some years afterwards, he was

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admitted into the university as lecturer on anatomy. From this period till his death in December 1789, Dr Cleghorn lived in the enjoyment of a high and lucrative practice, the duties of which he varied and relieved by a taste for farming and horticulture, and by attentions to the family of a deceased brother, which he undertook to support. In private life, Dr Cleghorn is said to have been as amiable and worthy, as in his professional life he was great. He was enabled before his death to acquire considerable estates in the county of Meath, of which his nephew, George Cleghorn of Kilcarty, was High Sheriff in the year 1794.

CLELAND, William, the troubadour, as he may be called, of the covenanters, was born about the year 1671, having been just twenty-eight years of age at his death, in 1689. When only eighteen, he held command as a captain in the covenanting army at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge. It would thus appear likely, that he was born in a respectable grade of society. He seems to have stepped directly from the university into the field of arms; for it is known that he was at college just before completing his eighteenth year; at which age he enjoyed the rank above-mentioned in the whig army. Although Cleland probably left the country after the affair at Bothwell, he is found spending the summer of 1685, in hiding, among the wilds of Clydesdale and Ayrshire, having, perhaps, returned in the unfortunate expedition of the earl of Argyle. Whether he again retired to the continent is not known; but, after the revolution, he re-appears on the stage of public life, in the character of lieutenant-colonel of the earl of Angus' regiment, called the Cameronian regiment, in consequence of its having been raised out of that body of men, for the purpose of protecting the convention parliament. That Cleland had now seen a little of the world, appears from a poem entitled, some Lines made by him upon the observation of the vanity of worldly honours, after he had been at several princes' courts.[1]

It is a strong mark of the early popularity of Hudibras, that, embodying though it did the sarcasms of a cavalier against the friends of civil and religious liberty, it nevertheless travelled into Scotland, and inspired with the principle of imitation a poet of the entirely opposite party. Cleland, who, before he left college, had written some highly fanciful verses, of which we have preserved a copy below,[2] composed a poem in the Hudibrastic style, upon the celebrated

[1] We also observe, in Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica, that he published "Disputatio Juridica de Probationibus," at Utrecht, in 1684; which would imply that he studied civil law at that celebrated seminary.

[2] These form part of a poem entitled, "Hollo, my Fancy," which was printed in Watson's Collection of Scottish Poems, at the beginning of the last century:—

In conceit like Phaeton,
I'll mount Phœbus' chair,
Having ne'er a hat on,
All my hair a-burning,
In my journeying,
Hurrying through the air.
Fain would I hear his fiery horses neighing!
And see how they on foamy bits are playing!
All the stars and planets I will be surveying!
Hollo, my fancy, whither wilt thou go?
O, from what ground of nature
Doth the pelican,
That self-devouring creature,
Prove so froward
And untoward
Her vitals for to strain!
And why the subtle fox, while in death's wounds lying,
Doth not lament his wounds by howling and by crying!
And why the milk-white swan doth sing when she's a-dying!
Hollo, my fancy, whither wilt thou go?
&c. &c. &c.

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expedition of the Highland host, which took place in 1678. His object was to satirise both the men who composed this expedition and those who directed it to take place. It chiefly consists in a ludicrous account of the outlandish appearance, senseless manners, and oppressive conduct of the northern army. So far as satire could repay the rank cruelty of that mode of constraining men's consciences, it was repaid—for the poem is full of poignant sarcasm, expressed in language far above the poetical diction of that day, at least in Scotland. It was not published, however, till 1697, nearly twenty years after the incident which called it forth, when at length it appeared in a small volume, along with several other poems by the same author. We present the reader with the following specimen of the composition, being a description of the Highlanders :—

Some might have judged they were the *creatures*
Call'd *selfies*, whose customes and features
Paracelsus doth descry,
In his occult philosophy,
Or *faunes*, or *brownies*, if ye will,
Or *satyres*, come from *Atlas* hill;
Or that the three-tongu'd tyke was sleeping,
Who hath the *Stygian* door a keeping:
Their head, their neck, their leggs, and thighs
Are influenced by the skies;
Without a clout to interrupt them,
They need not strip them when they whip them;
Nor loose their doublet when they're hanged.

* * *

But those who were their chief commanders,
As such who bore the pirnie standarts;
Who led the van and drove the rear,
Were right well mounted of their gear;
With brogues, and trues, and pirnie plaides,
And good blue bonnets on their heads,
Which on the one side had a flipe,
Adorn'd with a tobacco-pipe.
With dirk, and snap-work, and snuff-mill,
A bagg which they with onions fill,
And, as their strict observers say,
A tasse horn fill'd with usquebay.
A slasht-out coat beneath her plaides,
A targe of timber, nails, and hides;
With a long two handed sword,
As good's the country can afford—
Had they not need of bulk and bones,
Who fight with all these arms at once?
It's marvellous how in such weather
O'er hill and moss they came together;
How in such stormes they came so far;
The reason is, they 're smeared with tar;
Which doth defend them heel and neck,
Just as it doth their sheep protect—

* * *

Nought like religion they retain,
Of moral honestie they're clean.
In nothing they're accounted sharp,
Except in bagpipe and in harp.

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For a misobliging word,
She'll durk her neighbour o'er the boord,
And then she'll flee like fire from flint,
She'll scarcely ward the second dint:
If any ask her of her thrift,
Foresooth, her *nainsell* lives by theft."

Colonel Cleland was not destined long to enjoy his command in the Cameronian regiment, or the better times which the revolution had at length introduced. In August, 1689, the month after the battle of Killiecrankie, he was sent with his men to take post at Dunkeld, in order to prepare the way for a second invasion of the Highlands. The remains of that army which Dundee had led to victory, but without gaining its fruits, gathered suddenly into the neighbourhood, and, on the 21st of August, made a most determined attack upon the town. Cleland, though he had only eight hundred men to oppose to four thousand, resolved to fight it out to the last, telling his men, that, if they chose to desert him, he would stand out by himself, for the honour of the regiment, and the good cause in which he was engaged. The soldiers were animated so much by his eloquence and example, that they withstood the immense odds brought against them, and finally caused the Highlanders to retire discomfited, leaving about three hundred men behind them. Perhaps there was not a single skirmish or battle during the whole of the war of liberty, from 1639, to 1689, which conferred more honour on either party than this affair of Dunkeld. Cleland, to whom so much of the glory was due, unfortunately fell in the action, at the early age of twenty-eight. He was employed in encouraging his soldiers in front of Dunkeld house, when two bullets pierced his head, and one his liver, simultaneously. He turned about, and endeavoured to get back into the house, in order that his death might not discourage his men; but he fell before reaching the threshold.

It is stated by the editor of the Border Minstrelsy, but we know not with what authority, that this brave officer was the father of a second colonel Cleland, who flourished in the *beau monde* at London, in the reign of queen Anne, and George I., and who, besides enjoying the honour of having his character embalmed in the Spectator under the delightful fiction of Will. Honeycomb, was the author of a letter to Pope, prefixed to the Dunciad. The son of this latter gentleman was also a literary character, but one of no good fame. John Cleland, to whom we are alluding, was born in 1709, and received a good education at Westminster school, where he was the contemporary of Lord Mansfield. He went on some mercantile pursuit to Smyrna, where he perhaps imbibed those loose principles which afterwards tarnished his literary reputation. After his return from the Mediterranean, he went to the East Indies, but, quarrelling with some of the members of the Presidency of Bombay, he made a precipitate retreat from the east, with little or no advantage to his fortune. After living for some time in London, in a state little short of destitution, he was tempted by a bookseller, for the sum of twenty guineas, to write a novel of a singularly indecent character, which was published in 1749, in two volumes, and had so successful a run that the profits are said to have exceeded £10,000. It is related, that having been called before the privy council for this offence, he pleaded his destitute circumstances as his only excuse, which induced the president, Lord Granville, to buy the pen of the unfortunate author over to the side of virtue, by granting him a pension of £100 a year. He lived many years upon this income, which he aided by writing occasional pieces in the newspapers, and also by the publication of various works; but in none of these was he very success-

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ful. He published a novel called the Man of Honour, as an *amende honorable* for his flagitious work, and also a work entitled the Memoirs of a Coxcomb. His political essays, which appeared in the public prints under the signatures, Modestus, a Briton, &c. are said to have been somewhat heavy and dull. He wrote some philological tracts, chiefly relating to the Celtic language. But it was in songs and novels that he chiefly shone; and yet not one of these compositions has continued popular to the present day. In the latter part of his life, he lived in a retired manner in Petty France, Westminster, where he had a good library; in which hung a portrait of his father, indicating all the manners and *d' aboard* of the fashionable town-rake, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Though obliged to live frugally, in order that he might not exceed his narrow income, Mr Cleland occasionally received visits from his friends, to whom his conversation, enriched by many observations of foreign travel, and all the literary anecdote of the past century, strongly recommended him. He spoke with fluency the languages of Italy and France, through which countries, as well as Spain and Portugal, he had travelled on his return from the East Indies. He died in his house in Little France, January 23, 1789, at the age of eighty.

CLERK, JOHN, of Eldin, inventor of some invaluable improvements in the modern system of naval tactics, was the sixth son of Sir John Clerk of Pennycuick, baronet, who filled the situation of a baron in his majesty's Scottish exchequer between the years 1707 and 1755, and was one of the most enlightened men of his age and country. The mother of John Clerk was Janet Inglis, daughter of Sir John Inglis of Cramond. He appears at an early period of his life to have inherited from his father the estate of Eldin, in the neighbourhood of Pennycuick, and southern part of the county of Edinburgh, and to have married Miss Susanna Adam, sister of the celebrated architects, by whom he had several children. The private life of Mr Clerk of Eldin presents as few incidents as that of most country gentlemen. He was distinguished chiefly by his extraordinary conceptions on the subject of naval tactics; and it is to those that we are to direct our chief attention.

In a fragment of an intended life of Mr Clerk, written by the late professor Playfair, and published in the transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, that eminent man begins by remarking that the author of the Naval Tactics was one of those men, who by the force of their own genius, have carried great improvements into professions which were not properly their own. The learned professor shows how in many professions, and as particularly in the naval as in any, the individual regularly bred to it is apt to become blindly habituated to particular modes of procedure, and thus is unfitted for suggesting any improvement in it, while a man of talent, not belonging to it, may see possibilities of improvement, and instruct those who are apt to think themselves beyond instruction. "Mr Clerk," he says, "was precisely the kind of man by whom a successful inroad into a foreign territory was likely to be made. He possessed a strong and inventive mind, to which the love of knowledge and the pleasure derived from the acquisition of it, were always sufficient motives for application. He had naturally no great respect for authority, or for opinions, either speculative or practical, which rested only on fashion or custom. He had never circumscribed his studies by the circle of things immediately useful to himself; and I may say of him, that he was more guided in his pursuits, by the inclinations and capacities of his own mind, and less by circumstances and situation than any man I have ever known. Thus it was that he studied the surface of the land as if he had been a general, and the surface of the sea as an admiral, though he had no direct connection with the profession either of the one or of the other.

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"From his early youth, a fortunate instinct seems to have directed his mind to naval affairs. It is always interesting to observe the small and almost invisible causes from which genius receives its first impulses, and often its most durable impressions. 'I had, (says he,)* acquired a strong passion for nautical affairs when a mere child. At ten years old, before I had seen a ship, or even the sea at a less distance than four or five miles, I formed an acquaintance at school with some boys who had come from a distant sea-port, who instructed me in the different parts of a ship from a model which they had procured. I had afterwards frequent opportunities of seeing and examining ships at the neighbouring port of Leith, which increased my passion for the subject; and I was soon in possession of a number of models, many of them of my own construction, which I used to sail on a piece of water in my father's pleasure grounds, where there was also a boat with sails, which furnished me with much employment. I had studied *Robinson Crusoe*, and I read all the sea voyages I could procure.'

"The desire of going to sea," continues Mr Playfair, "which could not but arise out of these exercises, was forced to yield to family considerations; but fortunately for his country, the propensity to naval affairs, and the pleasure derived from the study of them, were not to be overcome. He had indeed prosecuted the study so far, and had become so well acquainted with naval affairs, that, as he tells us himself, he had begun to study the difficult problem of the way of a ship to windward. This was about the year 1770, when an ingenious and intelligent gentleman, the late commissioner Edgar came to reside in the neighbourhood of Mr Clerk's seat in the country. Mr Edgar had served in the army, and with the company under his command, had been put on board admiral Byng's ship at Gibraltar, in order to supply the want of marines; so that he was present in the action off the island of Minorca, on the 20th of May, 1756. As the friend of Admiral Boscawen, he afterwards accompanied that gallant officer in the more fortunate engagement of Lagoo Bay."

To what extent Mr Clerk was indebted for his nautical knowledge to this gentleman, we are not informed; but it appears that previous to the year 1779, he had become very extensively and accurately acquainted with both the theory and practice of naval tactics. The evil to which Mr Clerk more particularly applied his active genius was the difficulty of bringing the enemy to action. The French, when they met a British fleet, eager for battle, always contrived by a series of skilful manœuvres, to elude the blow, and to pursue the object of their voyage, either parading on the ocean, or transporting troops and stores for the attack and defence of distant settlements; and thus wresting from the British the fair fruits of their superior gallantry, even while they paid a tacit tribute to that gallantry, by planning a defensive system to shelter themselves from its effects; in which they succeeded so well that the fleets of Britain and France generally parted, after some indecisive firing. Mr Clerk now assured himself, from mathematical evidence, that the plan followed by the British of attacking an enemy's fleet at once, from van to rear, exposed the advancing ships to the formidable battery of the whole adverse fleet; by which means they were crippled and disabled, either for action or pursuit, while the enemy might bear away and repeat the same manœuvre, until their assailants are tired out by such a series of fruitless attacks. This Scottish gentleman, in the solitude of his country house, where after dinner, he would get up a mimic fight with bits of cork upon the table, discovered the grand principle of attack, which Buonaparte afterwards brought into such successful practice by land—that is to say, he saw the absurdity of an attacking force extending itself over the whole line of the enemy, by which the amount of resistance became every where as great as the force of attack; when it was possible, by bringing the force to bear upon a

* Preface to the second edition of his "Essay on Naval Tactics," 1804.

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particular point, and carrying that by an irresistible weight, to introduce confusion and defeat over the whole. He conceived various plans for this purpose: one was, to fall upon the rear vessels of the enemy, and endeavour to disable him, as it were; another and more splendid idea, was to direct the line of attacking vessels through the line of those attacked; and, by doubling in upon the ships cut off, which of course must strike to so superior a force, reduce the strength of the enemy, and even subject the remaining ships to the risk of falling successively a prey, as they awkwardly endeavoured to beat up to the rescue of their companions. At the time when he was forming these speculations, the British arms suffered great depression, both by sea and land. A series of great and ill-directed efforts, if they had not exhausted, had so far impaired the strength and resources of the country, that neighbouring nations thought they had found a favourable opportunity for breaking the power, and humbling the pride of a formidable rival. In the naval rencounters which took place after France had joined herself to America, the superiority of the British navy seemed almost to disappear; the naval armies of our enemies were every day gaining strength; the number and force of their ships were augmenting; the skill and experience of their seamen appeared to be coming nearer an equality with our own. All this was owing to the generous waste of strength which the British commanders had undergone in their gallant but vain attempts to come to a fair engagement with the enemy.

"Being fully satisfied," says Mr Playfair, "as to the principles of his system, Mr Clerk had begun to make it known to his friends so early as 1779. After the trial of admiral Keppell had brought the whole proceedings of the affair off Ushant before the public, Mr Clerk made some strictures on the action, which he put in writing, illustrating them by drawings and plans, containing sketches of what might have been attempted, if the attack had been regulated by other principles, and these he communicated to several naval officers, and to his friends both in Edinburgh and London. In the following year, [January, 1780] he visited London himself, and had many conferences with men connected with the navy, among whom he has mentioned Mr Atkinson, the particular friend of Sir George Rodney, the admiral who was now preparing to take the command of the fleet in the West Indies. A more direct channel of communication with admiral Rodney, was the late Sir Charles Douglas, who went out several months after the admiral, in order to serve as his captain, and did actually serve in that capacity in the memorable action of the 12th of April, 1782. Sir Charles, before leaving Britain, had many conversations with Mr Clerk on the subject of naval tactics, and before he sailed, was in complete possession of that system. Some of the conferences with Sir Charles were by appointment of the late Dr Blair of Westminster, and at one of these interviews were present Mr William and Mr James Adam, with their nephew, the present lord chief commissioner for Scotland. Sir Charles had commanded the Stirling Castle in Keppell's engagement; and Mr Clerk now communicated to him the whole of his strictures on that action, with the plans and demonstrations, on which the manner of the attack from the leeward was fully developed.

"The matter which Sir Charles seemed most unwilling to admit, was the advantage of the attack from that quarter; and it was indeed the thing most inconsistent with the instructions given to all admirals.

"Lord Rodney himself, however, was more easily convinced, and in the action off Martinico, in April, 1780, the original plan seemed regulated by the principles of the *Naval Tactics*. * * * It was not till two years afterwards, in April, 1782, that lord Rodney gave the first example of completely breaking through the line of the enemy, and of the signal success which will

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ever accompany that manœuvre, when skilfully conducted. The circumstances were very remarkable, and highly to the credit of the gallantry, as well as conduct of the admiral. The British fleet was to leeward, and its van, on reaching the centre of the enemy, bore away as usual along his line; and had the same been done by all the ships that followed, the ordinary indecisive result would infallibly have ensued. But the Formidable, lord Rodney's own ship, kept close to the wind, and on perceiving an opening near the centre of the enemy, broke through at the head of the rear division, so that, for the first time, the enemy's line was completely cut in two, and all the consequences produced which Mr Clerk had predicted. This action, which introduced a new system, gave a new turn to our affairs at sea, and delivered the country from that state of depression, into which it had been thrown, not by the defeat of its fleets, but by the entire want of success.

"It was in the beginning of this year, that the [Essay on] Naval Tactics appeared in print, though, for more than a year before, copies of the book had been in circulation among Mr Clerk's friends.[1] Immediately on the publication, copies were presented to the minister and the first lord of the admiralty; and the duke of Montague, who was a zealous friend of Mr Clerk's system, undertook the office of presenting a copy to the king.

"Lord Rodney, who had done so much to prove the utility of this system, in conversation never concealed the obligation he felt to the author of it. Before going out to take the command of the fleet in the West Indies, he said one day to Mr Dundas, afterwards lord Melville, 'There is one Clerk, a countryman of yours, who has taught us how to fight, and appears to know more of the matter than any of us. If ever I meet the French fleet, I intend to try his way.'

"He held the same language after his return. Lord Melville used often to meet him in society, and particularly at the house of Mr Henry Drummond, where he talked very unreservedly of the Naval Tactics, and of the use he had made of the system in his action of the 12th of April. A letter from general Ross states very particularly a conversation of the same kind, at which he was present. 'It is,' says the general,' 'with an equal degree of pleasure and truth, that I now commit to writing what you heard me say in company at your house, to wit, that at the table of the late Sir John Dalling, where I was in the habit of dining often, and meeting lord Rodney, I heard his lordship distinctly state, that he owed his success in the West Indies to the manœuvre of breaking the line, which he learned from Mr Clerk's book. This honourable and liberal confession of the gallant admiral made so deep an impression on me, that I can never forget it; and I am pleased to think that my recollection of the circumstance can be of the smallest use to a man with whom I am not acquainted, but who, in my opinion, has deserved well of his country.'"

Mr Playfair then proceeds to mention a copy of Mr Clerk's Essay, on which lord Rodney had written many marginal notes, full of remarks on the justness of Mr Clerk's views, and on the instances wherein his own conduct had been in strict conformity with those views; and which copy of the Essay is now deposited in the family library at Pennycuick. The learned professor next relates "an anecdote which sets a seal on the great and decisive testimony of the noble admiral. The present [now late] lord Haddington met lord Rodney at Spa, in the decline of life, when both his bodily and his mental powers were sinking under the weight of years. The great commander, who had been the bulwark of his country, and the terror of her enemies, lay stretched on his

1 Fifty copies were printed of this edition, and distributed in a private way. The work was not published for sale till 1790. The edition of that year is therefore styled the *first*, and that of 1804, the *second* edition.

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couch, while the memory of his own exploits seemed the only thing that interested his feelings, or afforded a subject for conversation. In this situation he would often break out in praise of the *Naval Tactics*, exclaiming with great earnestness, 'John Clerk of Eldin for ever.' Generosity and candour seemed to have been such constituent elements in the mind of this gallant admiral, that they were among the parts which longest resisted the influence of decay."

Mr Playfair then details some of the victories of the succeeding war, in which Mr Clerk's system had been pursued. The great action fought by lord Howe, on the 1st of June, 1794, was, in its management, quite conformable to that system, and its success entirely owing to the manœuvre of breaking the line. Mr Playfair mentions, that Mr James Clerk, the youngest son of the author of the essay, and who was a midshipman on board lord Howe's ship, in 1793, had a copy of the recent edition of the work, "which was borrowed by captain Christian, no doubt for the admiral's use." Lord St Vincent, who possessed a copy of the book, also gained the famous battle off the coast of Spain, by breaking the line of the enemy—as did lord Duncan, the more important victory of Camperdown. But the grandest testimony of all to the excellence of Mr Clerk's system, was the battle of Trafalgar, which finally set at rest the dominion of Britain over the sea. Lord Nelson's instructions on that occasion contained some entire sentences out of the "Essay on Naval Tactics." And it must also be mentioned, that, in his splendid victory of the Nile, he had pursued the same system.

We have hitherto pursued the train of demonstration favourable to Mr Clerk, and to the originality and utility of his system; it must now be mentioned that a controversy, menacing the better part of his reputation, has arisen since his decease. The family of Rodney, in a late publication of his memoirs, disavow the claim made by the friends of Mr Clerk, and maintain, that no communication of that gentleman's plan was ever made to their relative, or that he had the least knowledge of any such book or plan as that of Mr Clerk. Immediately after the publication of this disavowal, Sir Howard Douglas, son of the late Sir Charles Douglas, who was Rodney's captain at the time of the victory, came forward, in a pamphlet, supported by authentic documents, to claim the honour on behalf of his father. It would be vain to enter into a full discussion of the controversy which has arisen on this subject; the result seems to be, that Mr Clerk's friends have not proved that lord Rodney adopted the idea of breaking the enemy's line, on the 12th of April, from his system, although there are several reports, by most honourable men, of acknowledgments from his lordship to that effect. The testimony of these men would, in ordinary cases, be very good; but in this case it is invalidated by a *tache* of a very extraordinary nature, which has fallen upon a particular part of professor Playfair's narrative. In contradiction of the assertion that Mr Clerk had frequent interviews with Sir Charles Douglas, for the explanation of his system, previous to the battle; Sir Howard, the son of that officer, brings forward a letter written by his father at St Lucie, March 2, 1783, in answer to some representation of Mr Clerk's claim, which had been set forward by one of his friends. Of this letter Sir Howard gives the following account and extracts:—

"After acknowledging the receipt of the letter, communicating Mr Clerk's claim to the honour of having suggested the manœuvre of breaking the line, by which the victory had been gained, my father declares 'the whole story to be so far-fetched, improbable, and groundless, as not to deserve a serious refutation.' That, in being so near his commander-in-chief, he had a far more experienced instructor to guide and direct him in the execution of his duty, than the author alluded to; and so entirely positive was he that he had never

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spoken on such matters with any civilian of the name, that he took the person to whom allusion had been made, to be a lieutenant Clerk of the navy; but that even of such conversation he (my father) had no recollection whatever. He then instructs his correspondent, that, inasmuch as he is mentioned or alluded to, 'the subject should be treated as a production offensive to himself, and as highly injurious to the person who commanded in chief on that celebrated day,' and who certainly did not stand in need of any instruction derived, or that could be derived, from lieutenant Clerk, or any other person that he knew of."

Whether Mr Clerk be really entitled or not to the merit of having suggested the manœuvre of breaking the line, there can be no doubt that he conceived on land, and without the least experience of sea life, that idea, at a period antecedent to the time when it was put in practice.[1] There is also no pretence in any quarter to deny, that his system became a guide to all the operations of the British navy subsequent to the particular victory in which it first seemed to be acted upon, and thus was the means of enabling British valour to gain a series of conquests, which unquestionably proved the salvation of the country.

Mr Clerk died at an advanced age, on the 10th of May, 1812; and, strange to say, there exists no public monument whatsoever, to record the gratitude of the country for his services. It may be mentioned, that Mr Clerk was the father of the late John Clerk, Esq. advocate, (afterwards raised to the bench, where he took the designation of lord Eldin,) whose professional abilities, joined to his exquisite taste in the fine arts, and the rich eccentricity of his manners and conversation will long be remembered.[2]

COCHRANE, Archibald, ninth earl of Dundonald, a nobleman distinguished by his useful scientific investigations, was the son of Thomas, the eighth earl, by Jane, daughter of Archibald Stewart of Torrence; and was born on the 1st of January, 1748. His lordship, before his father's death, entered life as a cornet, in the 3d dragoons, which commission he afterwards abandoned, in order to become a midshipman under his countryman captain Stair Douglas. While stationed as acting lieutenant in a vessel off the coast of Guinea, he had occasion to observe the liability of vessels to be rotted by the sea, which in some cases was so very great, that a few months was sufficient to render them not seaworthy. He conceived the idea of laying them over with tar extracted from coal, a substance which was then little known, though now identified with the very idea of marine craft. The experiment was first tried in Holland, and found to answer all the purposes required. Being then tried upon a decked boat at the Nore, and found equally answerable, his lordship procured a patent of his invention for a short term, which was afterwards (1785) changed for an act of parliament, vesting it in him and his heirs for twenty years. Unfortunately, the general adoption of copper-sheathing rendered the speculation not only

1 Mr Clerk has been heard to acknowledge in the later part of his life, that he never enjoyed a longer sail than to the island of Arran, in the Firth of Clyde.

2 Sir George Clerk Maxwell, of Pennycuick, an elder brother of the author of the Naval Tactics, born in 1715, and who succeeded his elder brother, Sir James, in the baronetcy, in 1783, was distinguished by his public spirited efforts to advance the commercial interests of Scotland, at a time when they were in a state of infancy. He established, at a considerable expense, a linen manufactory at Dumfries, and likewise set on foot many different projects for working lead and copper mines. In 1755, he addressed two letters to the trustees for fisheries, manufactures, and improvements, in Scotland, containing observations on the common mode of treating wool in this country, and suggesting a more judicious scheme of management. These were published, by direction of the Board, in 1756. He likewise wrote a paper on the advantages of shallow ploughing, which was read to the Philosophical Society, and is published in the 3d volume of their essays. In 1741, this ingenious person was appointed king's remembrancer, an office of trust in the exchequer, of which his father was then one of the judges; and, in 1763, commissioner of the customs in Scotland. Sir George Clerk Maxwell (the latter name had been assumed for an estate) died in January, 1784.

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abortive, but ruinous to the inventor, who had burdened all his estates in order to raise the necessary works. His lordship had succeeded to the family honours in 1778. In 1785, he published two pamphlets—one entitled, "The Present State of the Manufacture of Salt explained," the other, "An Account of the Qualities and Uses of Coal Tar and Coal Varnish." In 1795, his lordship published a treatise showing the intimate connection between agriculture and chemistry, and in 1807 he obtained a patent for improvements in spinning machinery. It unfortunately happened that his lordship's inventions, although all of them seemed to tend to the public good, proved unprofitable to himself. The latter half of his long life was, on this account, spent in embarrassments and privations, which may well excite our sympathy. His lordship was thrice married; first to Anne, daughter of captain Gilchrist of Annsfield, R. N.; secondly, to Isabella, daughter of Samuel Raymond, Esq. of Belchamp, in Essex; thirdly, to Anna Maria Plowden, daughter of the well-known historian of Ireland. By the first of these matches, he had six sons, the eldest of whom, under the designation of lord Cochrane, distinguished himself by his gallant naval achievements in the war of the French Revolution. The following remarks were made in allusion to this noble and unfortunate votary of science, in the annual address of the Registrars of the Literary Fund Society, in the year 1823:—

"A man born in the high class of the old British peerage has devoted his acute and investigating mind solely to the prosecution of science; and his powers have prevailed in the pursuit. The discoveries effected by his scientific research, with its direction altogether to utility, have been in many instances beneficial to the community, and in many have been the sources of wealth to individuals. To himself alone they have been unprofitable; for with a superior disdain, or (if you please) a culpable disregard of the goods of fortune, he has scattered around him the produce of his intellect with a lavish and wild hand. If we may use the consecrated words of an apostle, 'though poor, he hath made many rich,' and though in the immediate neighbourhood of wealth, he has been doomed to suffer, through a long series of laborious years, the severities of want. In his advanced age he found an estimable woman, in poverty, it is true, like himself, but of unspotted character, and of high, though untitled family, to participate the calamity of his fortunes; and with her virtues and prudence, assisted by a small pension which she obtained from the benevolence of the crown, she threw a gleam of light over the dark decline of his day. She was soon, however, torn from him by death, and, with an infant whom she bequeathed to him, he was abandoned to destitution and distress, (for the pension was extinguished with her life.) To this man, thus favoured by nature, and thus persecuted by fortune, we have been happy to offer some little alleviation of his sorrows; and to prevent him from breathing his last under the oppressive sense of the ingratitude of his species."

The earl of Dundonald died in poverty at Paris, on the 1st of July 1831, at the advanced age of eighty-three years.

COCKBURN, JOHN, of Ormiston, the Father of Scottish husbandry, was born in the latter part of the seventeenth century. His father, Adam Cockburn, of Ormiston, (in East Lothian,) held the eminent office of Lord Justice Clerk after the Revolution. His mother was lady Susan Hamilton, third daughter of John, fourth earl of Haddington. So early as the days of the reformation, the family had distinguished itself by its zeal in behalf of liberal institutions and public liberty. The laird of that day maintained an alliance with the English reformers, when hardly any other Scottish gentleman dared to oppose the tyranny of Beatoun; and it was in his house that the celebrated George Wishart was found, previous to his being brought to trial and burnt.

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From that period, down to the Revolution, the Cockburns of Ormiston were invariably on the liberal side of the question. The subject of this memoir inherited all the patriotism of his race, and in the lifetime of his father, in his capacity as a member of the last Scottish parliament, took an active interest in accomplishing the union. He was the first representative of East Lothian in the parliament of Great Britain, and continued to be elected to that distinguished place in all the successive parliaments, till 1741. Mr Cockburn, at one period of his parliamentary career, held the post of lord of the Admiralty.

It was not, however, in a political career that this great man was destined to gather his chief laurels. At the close of the 17th century, on account of the religious and civil broils which had so long distracted the country, the condition of agriculture in Scotland was at a very low ebb. The tenantry, so far from being able to make any improvement, were too poor in general even to stock the lands they occupied. Fletcher of Salton, who published a treatise on the affairs of Scotland, in 1698, describes their situation as abject and miserable; and Lord Kaimes, in still stronger language, declares, that, before the union, they were so benumbed with oppression, that the most able tutor in husbandry would have made nothing of them. By a short-sighted policy, the landlords in general had no other principle than to force as much from the soil for every passing year as they could. The tenants were so much disheartened, that it was difficult to let a farm, and none were taken upon leases of more than five years. But, even if other circumstances had been more favourable, there was such a rooted prepossession in favour of old systems, and so much ignorance of the *science* of agriculture, that improvement was almost hopeless.

Lord Ormiston, father of Mr Cockburn, had made an attempt so early as 1698, to break through the old system of short leases. He then granted Robert Wight, eldest son of Alexander Wight, one of his tenants in Ormiston, a lease of the farm of *Muirhouse*, now *Murrays*, to endure for *eleven* years. Mr Wight accordingly commenced enclosing his fields, a process heretofore quite unknown in Scotland. In 1713, lord Ormiston granted to the same person a lease of a neighbouring farm, to endure for *nine* years.

John Cockburn, who became possessed of the estate about the year 1714, immediately entered upon a much more extensive system of improvement. He had marked, with extreme concern, the supine condition of Scottish husbandry, which his parliamentary visits to England had enabled him to contrast with the more fortunate condition of that country; and with an enlarged liberality of soul, which scorned all his own immediate interests for the sake of ultimate general good, he began to grant long leases of his farms upon exceedingly small rents. As an instance it may be mentioned, that he granted to Robert Wight a new lease of the Murrays farm for thirty-eight years, from 1718, at a rent of £750 Scots, or £62 : 10 : 0 sterling, and upon paying £1200 Scots, on £100 sterling, by way of fine or grassum, at the expiration of that term, a renewal thereof for other nineteen years, and so on from one period of nineteen years to another in all time coming: a degree of liberality which speaks more strongly than any thing else possibly could, for the backward state of agriculture at the time. But the enterprising spirit of Mr Cockburn did not rest here. In giving long leases he had enabled his tenants to make the improvements he wished; but still it was necessary to teach them how these improvements should be conducted. For this purpose he brought down skilful persons from England, who introduced the culture of turnips, rape, and clover; and at the same time he sent up the sons of his tenants to study agriculture in the best cultivated districts of the south. Experiments were likewise made of the effects of enriching the land by flooding. Turnips were sown upon the es-

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tate so early as 1725, and Alexander Wight, one of his tenants, was probably the first man in the island who sowed them in drills, and cultivated them with the plough. The culture of this valuable root was brought by him to such perfection, that, in 1735, a turnip of his raising, weighing 34¾ lbs, was carried to Edinburgh, and hung up in John's Coffee-house as a show.

Even while engaged in his public duties in England, Mr Cockburn was constantly reverting in thought to the improvements he had set on foot in East Lothian, and he carried on a constant correspondence with his tenants respecting the progress of their mutual plans. In some of these letters he breathes the strongest sentiments of benevolence and patriotism. "No person," says he to Mr Alexander Wight in 1725, "can have more satisfaction in the prosperity of his children, than I have in the welfare of persons situated on my estate. I hate tyranny in every shape; and shall always show greater pleasure in seeing my tenants making something under me, they can call their own, than in getting a little more money myself, by squeezing a hundred poor families, till their necessities make them my slaves."

His proceedings were at first the subject of ridicule among the more narrow-minded of his neighbours; but the results in time overpowered every mean feeling, and gradually inspired a principle of imitation. In 1726, he encouraged his tenant Alexander Wight, in setting up a malting brewery, and distillery, which soon got into repute, and promoted the raising of grain in the neighbourhood. As a preliminary step to further improvements, he reformed the village of Ormiston, changing it from the original mean and squalid hamlet into a neat and well built street. He then commenced a series of operations for setting up a linen manufactory. This he considered as one of the staple trades of Scotland, and as the best support of the general interest. He viewed it as intimately connected with husbandry; the land affording an opportunity of producing the raw article to the manufacturers; while they in return furnished hands for carrying on agricultural works, especially in harvest, and for the consumption of its various produce. To attain these objects, an eminent undertaker from Ireland, both in the manufacturing and whitening of linen, was induced to take up his residence at Ormiston; and a favourable lease of a piece of ground for a bleachfield and some lands in the neighbourhood was granted to him. This was the first bleachfield in East Lothian, probably the second in Scotland—for, before 1730, fine linens were sent to Haarlem in Holland to be whitened and dressed. It is said that this Irish colony was the means of introducing the potato in Scotland, at least as an object of field culture; and that valuable root was raised in the grounds on this estate so early as 1734. Mr Cockburn also introduced some workmen from Holland, to give instructions in the art of bleaching. He obtained, for his rising manufactory, the patronage of the Board of Trustees, and likewise some pecuniary aid.

About the year 1736, the progress of agricultural improvement at Ormiston had excited so much notice all over Scotland, that Mr Cockburn, always awake to every circumstance which could forward his darling object, seized upon such a notable opportunity of disseminating useful knowledge among his brother proprietors and their tenantry. He instituted what was called the Ormiston Society, composed of noblemen, gentlemen, and farmers, who met monthly for the discussion of some appropriate question in rural economy, settled upon at their former meeting, on which question all the members present delivered their opinion. This club lasted for about eleven years, and was of great service in promoting the views of its founder. It consisted at last of one hundred and six members, comprising almost all the best intellects of Scotland at that time.

Mr Cockburn was married, *first*, in 1700, to the Hon. Miss Beatrix Car-

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michael, eldest daughter of John, first earl of Hyndford; *secondly*, to an English lady, related to the duchess of Gordon, by whom he had a son named George. It is distressing to think that, about the year 1748, this great patriot was obliged, probably in consequence of his spirited exertions for the public good, to dispose of his estate to the earl of Hopetoun. He died at his son's house at the Navy Office, London, on the 12th of November, 1758. His son, who was a comptroller of the navy, married Caroline, baroness Forrester in her own right, and was the father of Anna Maria, also baroness Forrester in her own right, who died unmarried in 1808.—Patrick Cockburn, advocate, brother of the agriculturist, was married, in 1731, to Miss Alison Rutherford of Fernilie, a woman of poetical genius, authoress of the more modern verses to the tune of "The Flowers of the Forest," and who died in Edinburgh, November 22, 1794.

It would be difficult to do full justice to the merits of such a character as Cockburn of Ormiston, or to describe the full effects of his exertions upon the interests of his country. It may be said, that he lived at a time when the circumstances of Scotland were favourable to improvement, as it was the first age of re-action after a long depression. But, although the country would have no doubt made great advances without his aid, there can, in our opinion, be little doubt that he considerably anticipated the natural period of improvement, and gave it an impulse much greater than was likely to be otherwise received. On what other principle are we to account for the immense degree to which Scotland now transcends the agriculture of England—the country from which it so recently derived its first hints at the art?

COLQUHOUN, Patrick, author of the celebrated treatise on the London Police, was born at Dumbarton, March 14, 1745. His father, who acted as Registrar of the county Records, was nearly allied to Sir Robert Colquhoun, Bart. of Nova Scotia, and also to Sir James Colquhoun of Luss. Having lost his father ere he attained his sixteenth year, Patrick Colquhoun determined, like many others of his countrymen, to seek his fortune abroad. He settled on what was called the Eastern Shore, in Virginia, where for five years he carried on commercial pursuits. It was the general custom of the inhabitants of this district to cross the Chesapeake Bay twice a year, in order to transact business at the seat of government; and such were the qualifications for public business manifested even at this early period by Mr Colquhoun, that many were in the habit of trusting their concerns to him, instead of going to the general mart in person. Besides carrying on these trading speculations, he studied very hard at this period, and endeavoured, both by reading intelligent books, and conversing with intelligent men, particularly of the legal profession, to fit himself for public duties. In 1766, when twenty-one years of age, he returned to his own country for the sake of his health, and settled as a merchant in Glasgow, where he soon after married a lady of his own name, the daughter of the provost of Dumbarton. On the breaking out of the war with the colonies, Mr Colquhoun's sympathies leant to the side of the government, and, in 1776, he was one of fourteen principal contributors to a fund for raising a regiment in Glasgow, for his majesty's service in that struggle. By this and other means he became a person of some consideration in the eyes of the government, and succeeded, in 1780, in carrying through parliament a bill of great consequence to the trade of the country. In 1781, when occupying a place in the town-council of Glasgow, he suggested and carried forward to completion the design for building the coffee-house and exchange, in that city. Next year, he was elected provost of Glasgow. He now became the founder of that excellent institution, the chamber of Commerce and Manufactures at Glasgow, of which he was the first chairman. While holding these distinguished offices, he was also chairman of the

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committee of management of the Forth and Clyde canal, and the leading manager of various other public bodies. A genius for business on a large scale was conspicuous in all his undertakings. In 1785, he repaired to London to obtain legislative relief for the cotton trade, then in a languishing condition, and for some years afterwards he devoted a large portion of his time to similar objects. In 1788, he visited Ostend, then a depot for East India goods, to ascertain how far similar British manufactures could enter into competition with the imports of the Flemings; and it was owing to his exertions that our muslins, then an infant manufacture, became so extensively known throughout the continent. Connected with this subject he published three pamphlets, which tended to make his efforts known to the British merchants. In the same year, Mr Colquhoun laid the plan of a general hall in London for the sale of cottons, which, however, was rendered of little effect by the breaking out of the war with France. On this subject he also published a pamphlet. In the month of November 1789, he settled with his family in London, and soon after began to project those improvements in the London police and magistracy, by which he earned the principal part of his fame. The police of London was at this time in a state of shameful inefficiency, while the magistrates, excepting in the *city* itself, were a set of low mercenary individuals, known by the justly opprobrious title of "trading justices." On this subject Mr Colquhoun composed several popular treatises, and in 1792, when seven public offices were established, with three justices to each, he was appointed one of them, through the influence of his friend Mr Henry Dundas, afterwards viscount Melville. His exertions as a magistrate were of a nature truly useful; and he published the result of his experience in 1796, under the title of "A Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis, explaining the various Crimes and Misdemeanours which at present are felt as a Pressure on the Community, and suggesting Remedies." This work earned a merited reputation, and went through a large annual reprint for the five succeeding years. It obtained the praise of the select committee of finance, and particular marks of approbation from the duke of Portland, then secretary of state for the home department. He was, in consequence of this work, appointed agent in Great Britain for the colony of the Virgin Isles. In 1800, appeared his treatise on the Police of the River Thames, a work certainly demanded in no small degree by the circumstances. Though it may hereafter appear almost incredible, it is nevertheless true, that the shipping of London, previous to this period, was totally unprotected from the vast hordes of thieves which always exist in a large city. While property on the banks of the river was so far protected, that which floated on the river itself had no protection whatever. Accordingly, a generation of thieves called *mudlarks*, prowled constantly about the vessels, and made prey annually of property to a vast amount. Not only did the cargoes suffer, but even sails, anchors, and other such bulky articles, were abstracted by these daring depredators. For many years this had been felt as a grievous hardship, but it is amazing how long an evil may be tolerated for which no remedy has been provided by the necessities of our ancestors. It was looked upon as a matter of course, a mischief incident to the situation of things; and as each individual only suffered his share of the immense amount of loss, there had been no general effort at a reformation. Mr Colquhoun's work, however, effectually roused public attention to the subject, and an effective river police was immediately instituted, by which the shipping has been ever since fully protected. For his services on this occasion, the West India merchants presented him with the sum of five hundred pounds.

Although Mr Colquhoun bore externally a somewhat pompous and domineering aspect, and was certainly a zealous advocate for keeping the people in due

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subjection to the powers above them, there never, perhaps, was a heart more alive than his to the domestic interests of the poor, or a mind more actively bent upon improving both their physical and moral condition. He was one of the first men in this country who promoted a system of feeding the poor, in times of severe distress, by cheap and wholesome soups. And, in the famine of 1800, few men were more active in behalf of the starving population. He also took an early interest in the system of charity schools, being of opinion, that the true way of improving the condition of the people, was to enlighten their minds. In 1803, he was instrumental in founding a school in Orchard street, Westminster, in which three or four hundred children of both sexes were taught the rudiments of human knowledge. He also published, in 1806, a work entitled, "A New System of Education for the Labouring People," which obtained an extensive circulation. Two years afterwards, appeared his "Treatise on Indigence," in which the institution of a provident bank is strongly urged.

In 1797, Mr Colquhoun was honoured with the degree of LL.D., by the university of Glasgow, in consequence of his services in that part of the kingdom. Throughout the course of his long and useful life, he received many other testimonies of the public approbation. His last work appeared in 1814, under the title, "A Treatise on the Population, Wealth, Power, and Resources of the British Empire, in every quarter of the world, including the East Indies." Dr Colquhoun's publications in all amount to twenty; and of these an accurate list is given in the Annual Obituary for 1812. After having been concerned in public life for about thirty-nine years, during which he had transacted business with eight or ten successive administrations, in 1817 he tendered his resignation as a magistrate, in consequence of his increasing years and infirmities: this, however, was not accepted by lord Sidmouth, until the subsequent year, when the secretary of state for the home department expressed the high sense entertained of his long and faithful services by his majesty's government. Dr Colquhoun died of a schirrous stomach, April 25, 1820, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

The character of Dr Colquhoun has been thus drawn by Dr Lettsom: "When the importance of the morals of the community, with its influence on individual as well as general happiness is duly considered, one cannot but contemplate a public character, who, with unceasing exertion, endeavours to promote every virtuous and charitable sentiment, with gratitude and reverence; a magistrate clothed with power to enforce obedience, but possessing benevolence more coercive than power; who is eminently vigilant to arrest in its progress every species of vice, and commiserates, as a man humanized by Christian amenities, every deviation from rectitude, and reforms while he pities—such is a being clothed with robes of divinity. In this point of view, I, indeed, saw my friend, Patrick Colquhoun, Esq., whose exertions point to every direction where morals require correction, or poverty and distress the aid of active benevolence. As an indefatigable magistrate, and an able writer in general, Mr Colquhoun is well known throughout Europe. I introduce him in this place, as the founder and promoter of various institutions for supplying the poor, in distress, with cheap and nutritious articles of food, to an extent truly astonishing, and without which famine must have been superadded to poverty. The enumeration alone of my friend's publications must evince the activity of his benevolence, with which his time and fortune have ever kept pace. May the reader endeavour to emulate his virtues! He will then not only diffuse happiness among the community, particularly the lower classes, but ensure the supreme enjoyment of it in his individual capacity."

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COUTTS, THOMAS, who long moved at the head of the monied and banking interest of the metropolis, was the fourth and youngest son of John Coutts, originally of Dundee, and afterwards of Edinburgh, where he held the office of chief magistrate in 1743. The mother of Mr Coutts was a daughter of Sir John Stuart of Allanbank, in Berwickshire, who was the maternal grandson of Miss Grizel Cochrane, daughter of Sir John Cochrane, the associate of Russell and Sidney, in their project for liberating Britain from the tyranny of the last Stuarts. Of this lady, great-great-grandmother to Mr Coutts, the following anecdote has been related by her relation, the late earl of Dundonald.

"Sir John Cochrane being engaged in Argyle's rebellion against James the Second, was taken prisoner after a desperate resistance, and condemned to be hanged. His daughter having noticed that the death warrant was expected from London, attired herself in men's clothes, and twice attacked and robbed the mails (betwixt Berwick and Belford,) which conveyed the death warrants; thus by delaying the execution, giving time to Sir John Cochrane's father, the earl of Dundonald, to make interest with father Petre, (a Jesuit,) king James's confessor, who, for the sum of five thousand pounds, agreed to intercede with his royal master in behalf of Sir John Cochrane, and to procure his pardon, which was effected."

Mr Coutts was born about the year 1731. His father carried on the business of a general merchant, and established the bank which has since attained such distinguished respectability under the auspices of Sir William Forbes and his descendants. An elder son, James, entered into partnership with a banking house in St Mary Axe, London, which corresponded with that of John Coutts and Co., Edinburgh. Subsequently, Thomas Coutts, the subject of the present memoir, entered also into that house. He then became partner with his brother of a banking house in the Strand, which had long been carried on under the title of Middleton and Campbell; and, finally, on the death of his brother, in 1778, he became the sole manager of this extensive concern.

Mr Coutts possessed the accomplishments and manners of a gentleman; plain but fashionable in his dress; sedate in his deportment; punctual and indefatigable in business even to a very advanced age. His great ambition through life was to establish his character as a man of business, and he certainly obtained such a reputation in this respect as few men have enjoyed. Instances are related of his refusing to overlook a single penny in accounts even with those friends to whom he was in the habit of dispensing his hospitality with the most liberal hand. With such qualifications, and blessed with length of days beyond the usual span of human life, it is not surprising that he acquired immense wealth, and placed himself at the head of that important class to which he belonged. Nor was he exclusively a man of business: he enjoyed the society of literary men in a high degree, and was distinguished for his taste in theatricals. He was also a liberal dispenser of his wealth to the poor.

The dark side of Mr Coutts's character was his low taste respecting female society. His first wife was his brother's servant; his second an abandoned actress, who consented to live with him even before his first wife's death. In both these instances, Mr Coutts followed a very erroneous principle, and one which, if carried to a great extent, would undermine the peace and comfort of society. A match, in which the parties are of violently different rank, generally produces misery to both; to the individual exalted, as well as to the individual exalting. A match made up under the circumstances which attended Mr Coutts's second marriage, is so contrary to all the best affections of our nature, to the honour of human nature itself, that to moralize upon it were to do it too much honour. The second fault, in Mr Coutts's case, was aggravated by his devoting his im-

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mense wealth (said to be about a million) to his widow, without the least recognition of his three surviving daughters by the first marriage, all of whom were married into families of rank, and had children. He died at his house in Piccadilly, February 24, 1822.

CRAIG, James, M.A., was born at Gifford in East Lothian, in 1682, and educated in the university of Edinburgh. He was first minister at Yester, in his native county, then at Haddington, and finally at Edinburgh, where he was very popular as a preacher. While in the first of these situations, he wrote a volume of "Divine poems," which have gone through two editions, and enjoyed at one time a considerable reputation. In 1732, when settled in Edinburgh, he published "Sermons" in three volumes, 8vo, chiefly on the principal heads of Christianity. He died at Edinburgh in 1744, aged sixty two.

CRAIG, John, an eminent preacher of the Reformation, was born about the year 1512, and had the misfortune to lose his father next year at the battle of Flodden. Notwithstanding the hardships to which this subjected him, he obtained a good education, and removing into England, became tutor to the children of lord Dacre. Wars arising soon after between England and Scotland, he returned to his native country, and became a monk of the Dominican order. Having given some grounds for a suspicion of heresy, he was cast into prison, but having cleared himself, he was restored to liberty, and returning to England, endeavoured by the influence of lord Dacre to procure a place at Cambridge, in which he was disappointed. He then travelled to France, and thence to Rome, where he was in such favour with cardinal Pole, that he obtained a place among the Dominicans of Bologna, and was appointed to instruct the novices of the cloister. Being advanced to the rectorate, in consequence of his merit, he had access to the library, where happening to read Calvin's institutions, he became tainted with the protestant heresy. A conscientious regard to the text in which Christ forbids his disciples to deny him before men, induced Craig to make no secret of this change in his sentiments, and he was consequently sent to Rome, thrown into a prison, tried and condemned to be burnt, from which fate he was only saved by an accident. Pope Paul IV. having died the day before his intended execution, the people rose tumultuously, dragged the statue of his late holiness through the streets, and, breaking open all the prisons, set the prisoners at liberty. Craig immediately left the city; and, as he was walking through the suburbs, he met a company of banditti. One of these men, taking him aside, asked if he had ever been in Bologna. On his answering in the affirmative, the man inquired if he recollected, as he was one day walking there in the fields with some young noblemen, having administered relief to a poor maimed soldier, who asked him for alms. Craig replied that he had no recollection of such an event; but in this case the obliged party had the better memory: the bandit told him that he could never forget the kindness he had received on that occasion, which he would now beg to repay by administering to the present necessities of his benefactor. In short, this man gave Craig a sufficient sum to carry him to Bologna.

The fugitive soon found reason to fear that some of his former acquaintances at this place might denounce him to the inquisition, and accordingly he slipped away as privately as possible to Milan, avoiding all the principal roads, for fear of meeting any enemy. One day, when his money and strength were alike exhausted by the journey, he came to a desert place, where, throwing himself down upon the ground, he almost resigned all hope of life. At this moment, a dog came fawning up to him with a bag of money in its mouth, which it laid down at his feet. The forlorn traveller instantly recognised this as "a special token of God's favour," and picking up fresh energy, proceeded on his way till

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he came to a little village, where he obtained some refreshment. He now bent his steps to Vienna, where, professing himself of the Dominican order, he was brought to preach before the emperor Maximilian II, and soon became a favourite at the court of that sovereign. His fame reverting to Rome, Pope Pius III., sent a letter to the emperor, desiring him to be sent back as one that had been condemned for heresy. The emperor adopted the more humane course of giving him a safe conduct out of Germany. Reaching England about the year 1560, Craig heard of the Reformation which had taken place in his native country, and, returning thither, offered his services to the church. He found, however, that the long period of his absence from the country (twentyfour years,) had unfitted him to preach in the vernacular tongue, and he was therefore obliged for some time to hold forth to the learned in Latin.[1] Next year, having partly recovered his native language, he was appointed to be the colleague of Knox in the parish church of Edinburgh, which office he held for nine years. During this period, he had an opportunity of manifesting his conscientious regard to the duties of his calling, by refusing to proclaim the banns for the marriage of the queen to Bothwell, which he thought contrary to the laws, to reason, and to the word of God. For this he was reproved at the time by the council; but his conduct was declared by the General Assembly two years after to have been consistent with his duty as a faithful minister. About the year 1572, he was sent by the General Assembly to preach at Montrose, "for the illuminating the north; and when he had remained two years there, he was sent to Aberdeen, to illuminate these dark places in Mar, Buchan, and Aberdeen, and to teach the youth in the college there." In 1579, Mr Craig being appointed minister to the king, (James VI.) returned to Edinburgh, where he took a leading hand in the general assemblies of the church, being the compiler of part of the second book of Discipline, and, what gives his name its chief historical lustre, the writer of the National Covenant, signed in 1580, by the king and his household, and which was destined in a future age to exercise so mighty an influence over the destinies of the country.

John Craig was a very different man from the royal chaplains of subsequent times. He boldly opposed the proceedings of the court, when he thought them inconsistent with the interests of religion, and did not scruple on some occasions to utter the most poignant and severe truths respecting the king, even in his majesty's own presence. In 1595, being quite worn out with the infirmities of age, he resigned his place in the royal household, and retired from public life. He died on the 4th of December, 1600, aged eighty-eight, his life having extended through the reigns of four sovereigns.

CRAIG, John, an eminent mathematician, flourished at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries. The only circumstance known respecting his life is, that he was vicar of Gillingham in Dorsetshire. The following list of his writings is given in Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica.—"Methodus figurarum, lineis rectis et curvis comprehensarum: quadraturas determinandi. London, 1685, 4to.—Irratatus Mathematicus, de figurarum curvilinearum, &c. et locis geometricis. London, 1692, 1693, 4to.—Theologiæ Christianæ Principia Mathematica. London, 1699, 4to. Reprinted, Leipsic, 1755.—De Calculo fluentium, lib. ii. et de optica analytica, lib. ii. London, 1718, 4to.—The quantity of the Logarithmic Curve; translated from the Latin, Phil. Trans. Abr. iv. 318. 1698.—Quantity of Figures geometrically Irrational. Ib. 202. 1697.—Letter containing solutions of two Problems: 1, on the solid of Least Resis-

[1] His Latin discourses were delivered in Magdalen's Chapel, in the Cowgate, Edinburgh; a curious old place of worship, which still exists, and even retains in its windows, part of the stained glass which adorned it in Catholic times.

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tance; 2. the Curve of Quickest Descent. Ib. 542, 1701.—Specimen of determining the Quadrature of Figures. Ib. v. 24, 1703.—Solution of Bernouilli's Problem. Ib. 90, 1704.—Of the length of Curve Lines. Ib. 406, 1708.—Method of making Logarithms. Ib. 609, 1710.—Description of the head of a monstrous Calf. Ib. 668, 1712."

CRAIG, Thomas, author of the Treatise on the Feudal Law, and of other learned works, was probably born in the year 1538. It is uncertain whether he was the son of Robert Craig, a merchant in Edinburgh, or of William Craig of Craigfintry, afterwards Craigston, in the county of Aberdeen. In 1552, he was entered a student of St Leonard's college, in the university of St Andrews, but does not appear to have completed the usual course of four years, as he left the college in 1555, after receiving his degree as bachelor of arts. He then repaired to France, and studied the civil and canon law in some of the flourishing universities of that country. On his return, about the year 1561, he continued his studies under the superintendence of his relation, John Craig, the subject of a preceding memoir. After distinguishing himself in a very eminent degree as a classical scholar, he was called to the bar in February 1563, and in the succeeding year was placed at the head of the criminal judicature of the country, as justice depute, under the hereditary officer, the justice general, an honour vested in the noble family of Argyle. Among his earliest duties in this capacity, was that of trying and condemning Thomas Scott, sheriff-depute of Perth, and Henry Yair, a priest, for having kept the gates of Holyrood house, to facilitate the assassination of Rizzio. In 1566, when James VI. was born, Craig relaxed from his severer studies at the bar, hailed the birth of the royal infant, and predicted the happiness which such an event promised to his unsettled country, in a Latin poem entitled, "Genethliacon Jacobi Principis Scotorum." This, says Mr Tytler, in his elegant work, the life of Sir Thomas Craig, is a poem of considerable length, written in hexameters, and possessing many passages not only highly descriptive of the state of Scotland at this time, but in themselves eminently poetical: it is to be found in the Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum. "Craig," says Mr Tytler, "appears to have been a man of a modest and retiring disposition, averse to any interference in the political intrigues of the times, devoted to his profession, and fond of that relaxation from the severer labours of the bar, which is to be found in a taste for classical literature. While his contemporaries are to be found perpetually implicated in the conspiracies against their mistress the queen, and their names have come down to us contaminated by crime, the character of this good and upright man shines doubly pure amid the guilt with which it is surrounded. Although a convert to the reformed opinions, and from this circumstance naturally connected with the party which opposed the queen, his sense of religion did not confound or extinguish his principles of loyalty. His name appears only in the journal books of the court in the discharge of the labours of his profession, or it is found in the justiciary records under his official designation of justice-depute, or it is honourably associated with the literature of his country; but it is never connected with the political commotions which the money and intrigues of England had kindled in the heart of our nation." Craig pursued an extensive practice at the bar for a period of upwards of forty years, and during all that time, his name is scarcely ever found mingling with the political movements of the times. During the later part of his career, he devoted much of his time to the composition of his learned treatise on the Feudal Law, upon which his reputation principally rests. To describe the law of our country, as he found it established by the practice of the courts in his own age; to compare it with the written books on the feudal law; and to impart to it somewhat of the form and arrangement of

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a science, demonstrating, at the same time, its congruity in its fundamental principles with the feudal law of England, such were the objects of Sir Thomas Craig in this work, which he completed in 1603, a period when it might have been of signal service, if published, in removing some of the prejudices which stood in the way of a union between the two countries. The treatise, which was written in a vigorous Latin style, was not, however, put forth to the world till forty seven years after the death of the learned author. The enlarged and liberal mind of Sir Thomas Craig rendered him a zealous promoter of every object which tended to preserve the mutual peace, or facilitate the union of England. In January, 1603, he finished a Treatise on the Succession, to further the views of his sovereign, upon the throne about to be vacated by Elizabeth. This work was more immediately occasioned by the celebrated "Conference on the Succession," written by the Jesuit Parsons, under the assumed name of Doleman, in which the right of James VI. was contested in a manner equally able and virulent. The treatise of Craig, probably on account of the quiet succession of James a few months after, was never sent to the press; but an English translation of it was published in 1703 by Dr Gatherer. How much of his time Craig was in the habit of dedicating to the Muses does not appear; but the *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum* contains another poem written by him on the departure of his native monarch from Edinburgh, to take possession of his new kingdom of England. It is entitled, "Ad Serenissimum et Potentissimum Principem Jacobum VI. e sua Scotia discedentem, Paræneticon." "This poem," says Mr Tytler, "is highly characteristic of the simple and upright character of its author. While other and more venal bards exhausted their imagination in the composition of those encomiastic addresses, the incense commonly offered up to kings, the Paræneticon of Craig is grave, dignified, and even admonitory. He is loyal, indeed, but his loyalty has the stamp of truth and sincerity; his praises are neither abject nor excessive; and in the advices which he has not scrupled to give to his sovereign, it is difficult which most to admire, the excellent sense of the precepts, or the energetic latinity in which they are conveyed." Craig also addressed a similar poem to prince Henry, who accompanied his father to England.

It would appear that Craig either was one of those who accompanied the king to England, or soon after followed him; as he was present at the entrance of his majesty into London, and at the subsequent coronation. He celebrated these events in a Latin hexameter poem entitled, ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΦΟΡΙΑ, which is neither the chastest nor the most pleasing of his productions, although the richest in metaphorical ornament and florid description. Craig was, in 1604, one of the commissioners on the part of Scotland, who, by the king's desire, met others on the part of England, for the purpose of considering the possibility of a union between the two countries. He wrote a work on this subject, in which he warmly seconded the patriotic views of the king. This treatise, written, like all his other works, in Latin, has never been published; although, in point of matter and style, in the importance of the subject to which it relates, the variety of historical illustrations, the sagacity of the political remarks, and the insight into the mutual interests of the two countries which it exhibits, it perhaps deserves to rank the highest of all his works. The work upon which he appears to have been last engaged, is one upon the old controversy respecting the homage claimed from Scotland by the English monarch. The "De Hominio" of Craig remained in manuscript till the year 1695, when a translation of it was published by Mr George Ridpath, under the title, "Scotland's Sovereignty Asserted, or a Dispute concerning Homage."

Craig was, in the latter part of his life, advocate for the church, and under

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that character was employed at the famous trial of the six ministers in 1606, on a charge of treason for keeping a general assembly at Aberdeen. He was, perhaps, unfitted, by his studious and modest disposition, to come farther forward in public life. King James repeatedly offered him the honour of knighthood, which he as constantly refused: he is only styled "*Sir* Thomas Craig," in consequence of an order from the king, that every one should give him the title. He had been married, in early life, to Helen Heriot, daughter of the laird of Trabrown, in East Lothian, to which family belonged the mothers of two great men of that age, George Buchanan and the first earl of Haddington. By this lady he had four sons and three daughters. Sir Lewis Craig, the eldest son, who was born in 1569, was raised, at the age of thirty-four, to the bench, where he took the designation of Lord Wrightshouses. As this was in the life-time of his own father, the latter had sometimes occasion to plead before his son. A pleasing tradition regarding the filial respect shown by Sir Lewis, is preserved in the biographical sketch prefixed to the treatise *De Feudis*. The supreme judges in those days sat covered, and heard the counsel who pleaded before them uncovered. "Whenever," says his biographer, "his father appeared before him, Sir Lewis, as became a pious son, uncovered, and listened to his parent with the utmost reverence."

Another family anecdote of a very pleasing character is derived from the same source. The father of Sir Thomas Craig had been educated in the Roman Catholic religion. His son, whose studies, after his return from France, were, as we have seen, superintended by Mr John Craig, the eminent reformer, appears early and zealously to have embraced the new opinions. The old man continued in the faith of the church of Rome till a late period of his life; but, being at length converted by the unanswerable reasons which were incessantly, though reverentially, urged by his son, he became, to the great joy of the subject of this memoir, a convert to the true religion.

This great man died on the 26th of February, 1608, when, if we are right as to the date of his birth, he must have attained his seventieth year.

CRAIG, WILLIAM, a distinguished senator of the college of Justice, and a large contributor to the literary paper styled "the Mirror," was the son of Dr William Craig, one of the ministers of Glasgow; a man of so much eminence, that the editors of the Biographia Britannica thought proper to admit an account of him, drawn up by professor Richardson, into their very select collection.[1] The subject of the present memoir was born in 1745, and received his education at Glasgow college, where he attended the classes of Smith in moral philosophy and political economy, and those of Millar in jurisprudence and civil law. His acquirements were at an early period very great, especially in the belles lettres, and to a less degree in history and metaphysics. He entered at the bar in 1768, and was the contemporary and intimate friend of some of the most distinguished men of the last age. Robert Blair, afterwards lord president, Alexander Abercromby, afterwards lord Abercromby, along with Craig and some others, held for some years a private meeting once every week, for mutual improvement in their legal studies. It is remarkable that, at the commencement of Mr Pitt's administration in 1784, Blair, Abercromby, and Craig were appointed together to be depute advocates under Sir Ilay Campbell, who was at the same time nominated lord advocate. Mr Craig held this office till 1787, when he was nominated sheriff of Ayrshire. On the death of lord Hailes in 1792, Mr Craig was appointed to succeed him on the bench, on which occasion he assumed

1 Dr Craig was author of an Essay on the Life of Christ, and of Twenty Discourses on various subjects.

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the designation of lord Craig. In 1795, he succeeded lord Henderland as a judge of the court of justiciary.

In the concluding number of "the Mirror," which appeared on the 17th of May 1780, it is mentioned that "the idea of publishing a periodical paper in Edinburgh took its rise in a company of gentlemen, whom particular circumstances of connection brought frequently together. Their discourse often turned upon subjects of manners, of taste, and of literature. By one of those accidental resolutions of which the origin cannot easily be traced, it was determined to put their thoughts in writing, and to read them for the entertainment of each other. Their essays assumed the form, and, soon after, some one gave them the name of a periodical publication. The writers of it were naturally associated; and their meetings increased the importance, as well as the number of their productions. Cultivating letters in the midst of business, composition was to them an amusement only; that amusement was heightened by the audience which this society afforded; the idea of publication suggested itself as productive of still higher entertainment. It was not, however, without diffidence that such a resolution was taken. From that and several circumstances, it was thought proper to observe the strictest secrecy with regard to the authors; a purpose in which they have been so successful, that at this moment, the very publisher of the work knows only one of their number, to whom the conduct of it was intrusted."

It is now to be mentioned, upon the credit of the sole survivor of the association above alluded to, that the first idea of starting this periodical work occurred to Mr Craig, who, next to Mr Mackenzie, was the most zealous of them all in the cultivation of the belles lettres. The remaining persons concerned were Mr Alexander Abercromby, of whom a memoir has been given in the present dictionary, Mr Robert Cullen, afterwards lord Cullen, Mr Macleod Bannatyne, afterwards lord Bannatyne, Mr George Home, afterwards lord Wedderburn, and one of the principal clerks of session, Mr William Gordon of Newhall, and Mr George Ogilvy, both also advocates, but of whom the first died, and the latter fell into bad health before having made any contribution to the Mirror. Mr Mackenzie was the only individual unconnected with the bar. The association was at first termed the *Tabernacle;* but when the resolution of publishing was adopted, it assumed the name of the *Mirror Club*, from the title of the projected paper. It was resolved to commit the business of publishing to Mr Creech, the well-known bookseller, and the duty of communicating with him, and of the general superintendence of the work, was devolved on Mr Mackenzie. The club used to meet once a-week, sometimes in one tavern, sometimes in another, in order that their proceedings might be less liable to the observation of their acquaintance. A list of their haunts will tell strangely in the ears of those who, thinking of the Mirror as the pink of elegance in literature, might expect to find that every circumstance connected with its composition was alike elegant. The club met, for instance, sometimes in Clerihugh's, in Writer's court, sometimes in Somers's, opposite the Guardhouse in the High street, sometimes in Stewart's oyster-house in the Old Fish-market close, and fully as often, perhaps, in Lucky Dunbar's, a moderate and obscure house, situated in an alley leading betwixt Forrester's and Libberton's Wynd. On these occasions, any member who had written a paper since the last meeting, produced it to be read and considered. But, as a general invitation had been held out for contributions from persons not members of the club, and a box placed at Mr Creech's shop for receiving them, the papers so contributed, as well as those produced by the members, were read over and considered, and a selection made of those proposed to be adopted. Among these occasional contributors were several individuals of great respectability, of whom we may mention lord Hailes, professor Richard-

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son of Glasgow, Dr Henry, author of the History of Great Britain, and Mr David Hume, now one of the barons of exchequer. Some other papers of no inconsiderable merit were supposed to be from ladies. The Mirror was commenced on the 23d of January, 1779, and finished with the 110th number on the 27th of May, 1780. It appeared in one small folio sheet, which was sold at three half pence, and though not above four hundred were ever sold of any particular number, the public approbation was so high as to demand the immediate republication of the whole in three volumes duodecimo.

Mr Craig's contributions to the Mirror, which were the most numerous, next to those of Mr Mackenzie, are indicated in a later edition of the work:—

To the Lounger, which was started some years after by the same club, he also contributed many excellent papers.

Lord Craig, who possessed originally a very weak constitution, enjoyed so poor a state of health in his latter years as to be obliged to resign his place on the justiciary bench. He died on the 8th of July, 1813. The mental qualifications of this eminent person were of a very high order. Although his practice at the bar had never been very extensive, he was much esteemed in his character as a judge, his decisions being remarkable for their clearness and precision, while his habits were of a singularly industrious order, considering the state of his health. In private life he was beloved on account of his gentle, unassuming manners, and his eminently benevolent and sociable disposition.

CRAWFORD, David, of Drumsoy, near Glasgow, historiographer to queen Anne, was born in 1665, and educated to the bar. Having abandoned professional pursuits in a great measure, for the sake of studying Scottish antiquities and history, he was appointed historiographer royal for Scotland by queen Anne, to whom he was probably recommended by his being a zealous tory and Jacobite. His political prepossessions, which, as usual, extended to a keen zeal in behalf of queen Mary, induced him in 1706 to publish, at London, his well-known work, entitled "Memoirs of the affairs of Scotland, containing a full and impartial account of the Revolution in that kingdom, begun in 1567, faithfully compiled from an authentic MS." The avowed purpose of this publication was to furnish an antidote to the pernicious tendency of Buchanan's history. The substance of the work, he says he derived from an ancient MS. presented to him by Sir James Baird of Saughtonhall, and which seemed to have been composed by a contemporary of the events described. In executing the task which he had imposed upon himself, the learned editor appears to have acted after the manner of a good partizan. In order that his work might the more perfectly meet the calumnies of Buchanan, he expunged from it every passage which told in behalf of the views taken by that writer, and introduced others instead from the contemporary tory writers. The work was reprinted by Goodall in 1767, and still continues to be a popular narrative of the events of the *four Regencies*. In 1804, Mr Malcolm Laing, author of the History of Scotland during the seventeenth century, having obtained possession of the original MS. used by Crawford, published it, with a preface, denouncing the historiographer-royal as a rank impostor, inasmuch as he had set off that as a work of authority which had been vitiated for party purposes by his own hand. The same view has been taken of Mr Crawford's character by Mr Thomas Thomson, in the preface to a new print of the MS. for the use of the Bannatyne Club, which appeared in 1825, under the title of "The History and life of king James the sext." With deference to these writers, it may be suggested, in Crawford's defence, that his work was never pretended to be a faithful transcript of the original MS. except on the title page, where it is so stated by the bookseller *ad captandum*, in obvious contradiction of the statement made by the editor within. The work comes

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forth with the character of a special pleading avowed upon the face of it; and those who depended upon such a *refacciamento* as upon a faithful contemporary chronicle, after the account given of it in the editor's preface, had only to blame their own simplicity. The truth is, Crawford's Memoirs, when fully considered with a regard to the ideas prevalent respecting the purity of historical narrative at the beginning of the last century, will only appear an imposture to an opposite partizan. Crawford died in 1726.

CREECH, WILLIAM, an eminent bookseller, was the son of the Rev. William Creech, minister of Newbattle, a most respectable clergyman, and of Miss Mary Buley, an English lady, related to a family of rank in Devonshire. He was born in the year 1745, and received a complete classical education at the school at Dalkeith, which was taught by Mr Barclay, a preceptor of some distinction, who also educated the first viscount Melville, and the lord chancellor Longborough. He was at first designed for the medical profession, but eventually was bound apprentice to Mr Kincaid, a bookseller in Edinburgh. In the year 1766, Mr Creech went upon a tour of the continent, in company with Lord Kilmaurs, son of the Earl of Glencairn. After his return, in 1771, he was received by his former master into partnership, and finally, in 1773, left in full possession of the business. For forty-four years, Mr Creech carried on by far the most extensive bookselling concern in Scotland, publishing the writings of many of the distinguished men who adorned Scottish literature at the close of the eighteenth century. His shop, which occupied a conspicuous situation in the centre of the old town, and yet, by a curious chance, commanded a view thirty miles into the country, was, during all that long period, the Rialto of literary commerce and intercourse, while his house in the neighbourhood also attracted its more select crowds at the breakfast hour, under the name of *Creech's levee*. While thus busied in sending the works of his friends into the world, he occasionally contributed articles to the newspapers and other periodical works, generally in reference to the passing follies of the day, of which he was a most acute and sarcastic observer. During his own life-time, he published a volume of these trifles, under the title of "Edinburgh Fugitive Pieces," which was re-published with his name, and with some additions, after his death.

Mr Creech's style of composition is only worthy of being spoken of with respect to its ironical humour, which was certainly its only feature of distinction. This humour, though said to have been very powerful when aided by the charm of his own voice and manner in conversation, is of too cold, wiry, and artificial a kind, to have much effect in print. It must also be mentioned, that, although very staid and rigid in style, it involves many allusions by no means of a decorous nature.

In private life, Mr Creech shone conspicuously as a pleasant companion and conversationist, being possessed of an inexhaustible fund of droll anecdote, which he could narrate in a characteristic manner, and with unfailing effect. He thus secured general esteem, in despite, it appeared, of extraordinary fondness for money, and penuriousness of habits, which acted to the preclusion, not only of all benevolence of disposition, but even of the common honesty of discharging his obligations when they were due. He died, unmarried, on the 14th of January, 1815.

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